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Wāhine Kaihautū, Wāhine Whai Mana  
Navigating the tides of change:  
Whakatōhea women and tribal socio-politics

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of Master of Philosophy in Māori Studies at  
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Dorothy Maora Hayes

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## Abstract

This thesis explored the socio-political experiences and views of seven Māori women from the tribe of Whakatōhea. The project adopted a Māori-centred theoretical and research approach that included the researcher as a member of the researched group. It aimed to draw out the common themes, from the women's recollections of their experiences and views of the socio-political decision-making affairs within whānau, hapū, and iwi. The women identified barriers to participation and strategies to overcome these barriers. Qualifications reflected traditional Māori values and practices. Rights according to whakapapa, and the principle "he kanohi kitea", being seen, were the obvious criterion. Poor information channels, minimal consultation, gender bias, age and time constraints were some of the issues identified as barriers to participation. It was found that whānau governance committees more closely reflected traditional values and customs that saw women and men as sharing power, more so than hapū and iwi organisations. The gender imbalance was viewed, by the women participants, as problematic. They concluded that better gender balance at all levels of the socio-political affairs of Whakatōhea would ensure greater informed decision-making for the social, educational, economic, and spiritual well-being of the tribe today and for future generations.

## He Mihi

Titiro atu aku kamo  
Ki ngā tirohanga onamata  
A kui ma, a koro ma  
Kia whakarere iho nga hua pai  
Hei oranga ma ngā whakatipuranga o te iwi nei.

Ki o koutou kua wheturangihia, tena koutou.  
Ki toku whaea keke, ko Aunty Fanny,  
Ko koe te tino whetū o ngā whetū,  
Haere ki tua o te arai  
Haere, haere,  
Moe mai ra.

E ngā reo, e ngā mana, e ngā karangatanga maha,  
tena koutou.

Ko Makeo te Maunga  
Ko Waiaua te Awa  
Ko Muriwai te Whare  
Ko Ngai Tama te hapū  
Ko Whakatōhea te iwi  
Tena koutou katoa

Reflecting back over the time that I have been working on this thesis, I am aware of the emotional tides that it has taken me on. The women's stories were full of heart and emotion. There were tears of joy, sadness, anger, and frustration - a myriad of emotions. Today my heart is heavy and aching for the loss of someone special in my life, and special to this study. I have heard her voice through her beautiful transcript almost everyday for the past three years. I looked forward to presenting the final copy to her. That is not a privilege that I will enjoy now. This can be her legacy for those she has left behind. Her children and grandchildren can enjoy and grow from the wisdom that she shared.

He tohu aroha ki a koutou.

To the women, who shared so willingly their stories, and who have been so patient with me, tena koutou. To my mum, Ihipera, who without her guidance and help, this project would not have begun, tena koe. To Huia, who provides me with a wonderful example of academic excellence, tena koe. To my friends including, Wendy, Trish, and Cathy, tena koutou. To my colleagues Natalene, Ngawari, Zirsha and Noreen tena koutou. To the staff at Maori studies and Student Learning Centre, tena koutou.

Finally to my whānau. To Robert my husband who has endured the emotional rollercoaster - nga piki me nga heke – became a master chef, taxi driver, netball and tennis coach, financial planner, and so much more - love you heaps. To my children Ngārui and Michael - Mum can now come camping, tramping, help you with homework, and become a Mother before you leave the nest. To my brothers and sisters, cousins, aunts and uncles who have been so encouraging, and supportive - he nui te aroha ki a koutou katoa.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

Recent Treaty of Waitangi settlements negotiated between several iwi (Kaitahu, Tainui, Ngāti Awa and the Sealords deal) and the Crown as well as the claim made by a member of the tribe of Whakatōhea against the New Zealand government (Wai 87), provide a timely opportunity to investigate how Māori women participate in the decision-making processes of a tribe. Māori women's experiences of; barriers to participation, along with strategies to overcome these barriers, will be a major focus of this study.

Chapter two reviews the literature relevant to Whakatōhea, Whakatōhea women, and Māori women in tribal socio-politics. It also discusses the role that pākehā writers have played in perpetuating the Victorian male bias in their constructions of Māori people and especially Māori women. It argues that the increase in the number of historical accounts by Māori generally, and in particular, Māori women scholars serve to deconstruct Euro-centric views about Māori women. Some of the recent materials published by Māori women provide the theoretical basis upon which the experiences of Whakatōhea women and their participation in tribal socio-politics will be analysed.

Chapter three aims to outline a Māori centred research methodology based on Māori philosophical understandings of the research process that

recognises appropriate principles and guidelines for conducting research into the lives of Whakatōhea women.

The theoretical perspective of a Māori worldview upon which this study will be analysed is outlined in chapter four. Insights into a Māori worldview are found through an analysis of the cosmological narratives.

Chapter five focuses on the customary narratives about kuia tipuna of Whakatōhea and provides a further reference point of analysis for the seven women participant's life experiences and views of Whakatōhea socio-political affairs today.

The women's experiences and views of participation in whānau, hapū, and iwi social and political affairs will be discussed in Chapters six, seven, and eight. Their views and experiences of their early years, work, marae, and more recently their involvement in tribal political affairs will be discussed. Strategies that the women employed to overcome barriers to participation in iwi socio-politics is also addressed. Chapter six will focus on whakapapa, identity, and the part that the home-place plays in developing a secure identity as Māori and as Whakatōhea. Chapter seven explores the study participants experiences and views as they relate to mana-wāhine and mana-whenua. Chapter eight investigates the women's experiences and views about participation in hui and decision-making.

The concluding chapter draws the threads of the study together and suggests areas for further research. This research makes the point that cosmological narratives and the lessons contained within them provide insights into the ways for how Whakatōhea women can more fully participate in tribal social and political affairs today and in the future.

## Chapter 2

### Literature Review

#### Introduction

Studies specific to Whakatōhea and in particular Whakatōhea women are reviewed. An historical overview of writings about Whakatōhea men and women and their participation in iwi, hapū or whānau, is presented. Māori participation in decision-making is examined with a focus on the role that colonial constructions of Māori people and Māori women perpetuate Eurocentric views in contemporary writings by non-Māori.

Recent publications which have been written or edited by Māori women scholars present critical analysis of Eurocentric constructions. Finally, studies and reviews by indigenous women are included to provide critical analysis for Western constructions.

While research on Māori Women in general is burgeoning, there is as yet, no published material written by a Whakatōhea woman about Whakatōhea women.

### Literature about Whakatōhea

One published book covers the history of Whakatōhea (Lyll, 1979). Lyll, a pākehā married into the tribe and lived among Whakatohea. The majority of his research material comes from the evidence presented by mainly male representatives for Whakatōhea and Ngai Tai hapū in Opōtiki Land Court Minutes (ibid). He includes an account of the events during the 1870s which lead up to the invasion of Whakatōhea by Imperial troops, and the subsequent confiscation of Whakatōhea lands. The book provides a comprehensive description of Whakatōhea history. However, from his writings, one could be forgiven for assuming Whakatōhea to be a tribe of men who were constantly at war. Whakatōhea women are very rarely acknowledged in the stories. Even in the tables of whakapapa only the early female progenitors or later women who were linked to prominent male lineage are visible. After Muriwai, the eponymous ancestress of Whakatōhea, women's deeds, are paid the honour of mention, when they are associated with a well-known warrior or leader, more often a puhī; or through ones death at the hands of a man.<sup>1</sup> As a pākehā and male, Lyll has interpreted Whakatōhea tribal history from a male bias as evidenced by his use of male only informants.

Whakatōhea women can be found in other historical accounts written by Lyll (1979), Stirling (1979), Walker (1990), Mead (1994) and Tarakawa (1894). Acknowledgement is made of two women of influence. The first is the ancestress Muriwai from whence Whakatōhea have taken their name, and

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<sup>1</sup> See Uhengaparaoa p.106, and Te Atakura p.107 Chapter 5.

the other is Wairaka the daughter of Toroa, Muriwai's brother. Muriwai is acknowledged as the woman who saved the Mātaatua canoe (Lyll 1979) by Whakatōhea and other iwi such as Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Ngāti Porou (Stirling, 1980). Whilst acknowledging Whakatōhea's version, Mead (1994) of Ngāti Awa recognises Wairaka as the ancestress who saved the Mātaatua canoe from floating out to deep sea. However, Mead (1994:30-31) honours Muriwai with possessing priestly, and healing powers inherited from her father Irakewa. Muriwai performed the act of reciting incantations to establish a tuahu, which became known as 'te mānuka tū tahi'. She was and still is revered for her priestly powers that she used to protect her iwi throughout her lifetime (ibid). Her protection continues to be called upon by her descendants. Muriwai was given the sacred task of saving the talisman of the canoe, which Mead asserts was the ritual heart and of greater importance than the physical canoe (p. 31).

The priestly gifts that Muriwai was endowed with are, said to have been, inherited from her father, Irakewa, who was also a priest (Mead, 1994). However, there is confusion over whether Irakewa was in fact her mother or her father (Mead, 1994; Tarakawa 1984; Best 1952:711-713). Tarakawa (1894:66-68) refers to Wairakewa (or Irakewa) as being the mother of Muriwai and her father as Hikaroa. Mead (1994:31-32) instead attributes Muriwai's priestly gifts as being passed down through a male descent line, and not a female descent line and rationalises that consistent with a Māori world view of gender roles, the chief's sister would have an important ritual

role in the affairs of the iwi. Mead (p. 32) cites whakapapa included in Best (1952), and Lyall (1979), to support his interpretation, which shows her father as Irākewa and her mother Weka-nui. Mead (p. 32) theorises that Tarakawa's interpretations may be founded in his difficulty in accepting that priestly gifts could be passed down from a male line to a woman. Mead's rationalisation for his view could also be seen as male bias due to the fact that he does not acknowledge that through female lineage women may receive spiritual powers but instead gives examples where women do so through association with men (Mead 1994: 31-33). It is my belief that priestly powers that have their roots in genealogy are passed down through male and female lineages.

As well as paying homage to Muriwai, Mead (1994:29) also acknowledges the achievements of his ancestress Wairaka, as an explorer evidenced by the names of landmarks covering the whole of the North Island, of note Owairaka in Auckland and a rock in Wellington called Wairaka (ibid.).

Other historical accounts focus on the period and events surrounding conflicts between Whakatōhea and Government forces, and is pertinent to the present Raupatu Negotiations between the Crown and Whakatōhea, a topic that forms the background to the present study. Biographies of two Whakatōhea men, Mokomoko, Tuakana Aporotanga, are written by one of their descendants, Amoamo (Orange, 1993). Mokomoko was accused of killing the missionary to Opōtiki, Carl Volkner, on very thin evidence, and

was consequently imprisoned, tried, and executed in Auckland. Tuakana Aporotanga was a follower and fought for Te Kooti for a short time. He also possessed healing and priestly powers. He is said to have found through a vision, the lost adze Waiwharangi, which was important in presenting evidence in a Court sitting for ownership of lands at Waiaua (Amoamo in Orange, 1993). The lack of biographies about Whakatōhea women and their participation in Whakatōhea traditions in the early editions of the New Zealand Biographies (Orange (1993), is an indication of the low status attributed to Whakatōhea women by the historians writing for this publication.

A report that was commissioned by the Treaty of Waitangi Policy Unit, and written by Gillings (1994), presents a largely state institutional view of events surrounding the confiscation of Whakatōhea land. His written sources were drawn from letters, government officials, and church documents, as well as published works. He does not marry up the various names given to tipuna, and places. Perhaps, this is an example of the limitations of working only from written sources. Of note though are accounts of the callous disregard of the government soldiers for their own law, when they indiscriminately plundered and destroyed property, and raped Whakatōhea women. Overall, the report provides an analysis of the Government motives, in the colonial invasion of the 1860s and 1870s, which can be attributed to the de-franchising of Whakatōhea from its tribal lands and the resulting damaging breakdown in Whakatōhea's traditional social structures.

The history of Whakatōhea is found in the stories of other tribes (Mead, 1994; Binney & Chapman, 1986; Binney, 1996; Best, 1952; Mahuika A, 1969; Taiapa J, 1980). Literature about Whakatohea history is mainly dealt with in documents about Treaty of Waitangi claims, and the fiscal envelope and their effects on Whakatōhea (Durie, 1998; Gardner, 1995; Graham, 1998; Sinclair, 1981; Walker, 1997). Graham (1998), the Crown Prosecutor and Minister of Treaty Settlements, writes largely from a pākehā parliamentary minister's perspective, with the pākehā electorate in mind. His focus being to the pākehā electorate his justification for the need to address Maori claims under the Treaty of Waitangi.

In his book, Gardiner (1995), of Whakatōhea descent also writes from the stance of a Crown representative. The audience he aims at is Māoridom. While providing relays of events leading up to, during, and the aftermath of the Fiscal Envelope Hui held around the country during 1995, the reactions of Maori, the personal attacks and Gardiner's analysis of these experiences makes this book a valuable historical resource for Māori and pākehā as well. Gardiner capitulates in his postscript when he acknowledges that the call at the second hui at Hirangi, for Māori to determine their own ideas before talking to the Crown, may have credence for Māori development and may be a worthy framework for Māori-Crown discourse. This book provides the background information for the present study.

Walker (1997), of Whakatōhea descent, served as a Whakatōhea negotiator for Whakatōhea's Raupatu claim (Wai 217). This article provides a contrast to that written by Gardiner. He outlines a historical framework for analysis of how Māori have and continue to be dealt with by the Crown. He warned of the risks inherent in the notion of direct negotiation, using the Whakatōhea negotiating process as an example.

The problems faced by Whakatōhea according to Walker, were internal as well as external. The internal problems were to do with dispersal of the skill-base, as well as a loss of recognised leadership. Walker attributed the internal strife to the erosion of traditional social structures, which have left Whakatōhea without the leadership based on lineage, such as Waikato has. Walker also rationalises that another problem faced by Whakatōhea is that 75% of the skill-base lives outside the traditional rohe. With the lack of a skill base, Whakatōhea were not on an equal playing field with the Crown negotiators, who had access to the best lawyers, as well as the public purse.

Walker's article emphasised the state of power-relations between Crown and iwi, as being unequal, based on access to financial and human resources.

There is no discussion of the part of Whakatōhea women within the negotiation process. It may be that Walker includes women when referring to Whakatōhea. It may also indicate the lack of representation, participation, and consultation that Whakatōhea women had in the negotiation process.

Walker's article highlights the possible problems that Māori may encounter in direct negotiations with government.

Durie (1998), an astute political observer, in his book on Maori Politics and Maori self-determination, makes scant reference to Maori women and their roles in modern political discourses. This is in my view, a further reflection of how little Maori women in general have had in being heard at the political level. Alemein Koopu, the first woman from Whakatōhea to make it into the parliamentary chambers is given small mention.

Matiu Ratima (1999) presents a Whakatōhea insider's view of the Whakatōhea Raupatu claim, in his unpublished Whakatōhea case study entitled "Mana, Whānau and Full and Final Settlement". The thesis considers the implications of the process of direct negotiation with the Crown on whānau and hapū. Ratima draws from contemporary literature and recent government or independent reports regarding Treaty of Waitangi claims, as well as the views of seven participants involved in Whakatōhea's negotiation process about the structure and process for Whakatōhea and the Crown Deed of Settlement Offer. He discusses the issues of membership to modern iwi, hapū and whānau, leadership and representation, mandate, the values of mana and utu (pp 43-56) as well as the roles of five key Whakatōhea groups involved at various stages of the negotiations of the claims. Those groups were: The hapū of Whakatōhea, the Mokokoko whānau, the Whakatōhea

Māori Trust Board, the Whakatōhea Raupatu Negotiating Committee, and Te Tāwharau o Te Whakatōhea (p. 144).

Although, not central to his study, Ratima mentions that Whakatōhea women as well as Rangatahi had not been consulted widely in the Whakatōhea Raupatu Claims process. He gave examples of a similar pattern with other tribes, for instance Waikato and Ngaitahu (p.147). He referred to Wairemana Mokomoko who, as the eldest surviving descendant of the tipuna Mokomoko received on 15 June 1992 a government pardon at Waiaua marae (p.147).

Ratima's study provides valuable insight into the views of members of Whakatōhea, from a tribal perspective.

It is very difficult to find in stories about Māori Women by Māori Women, inclusions about or by Whakatōhea women. However, the book 'He Timatanga Tatou Tatou: The stories from the founding members of the Māori Women's Welfare League', is one source that does. It documents the lives of sixty-six foundation members of the Māori Women's Welfare League, including a kuia of Whakatōhea descent, Katerina Maxwell. Her leadership in the establishment of branches of the Māori Women's Health League in and around the Opōtiki district is recognised and is written entirely in the Māori language (Rogers & Simpson, 1993).

This narrative demonstrates the relevance and value of “insider” research<sup>2</sup>, and the use of Māori language as the medium. Kātarina’s story is part of a collection of stories that provides a rich resource about a generation of Māori women who through strong cultural and spiritual ties survived the colonial process of dispossession of land, language and resources.

The narratives of two Whakatōhea women are found in the book “Opōtiki the Women’s Stories: Ngā purākau a ngā wāhine”. This is a Women’s Suffrage Commemoration booklet edited by three pākehā women Connor, Allen and Olliver (1994). Unlike the League Anthology, these stories do not have the same depth. Allen is the editor of the local newspaper, Connor is a woman who has wide knowledge of the people of Opōtiki and Olliver is a Councillor. The sources for the book include female descendants, family records, newspaper clippings, and the Opōtiki Museum (ibid.). This book provides real life experiences, and faces to the pākehā settlers. It is a valuable historical compilation of the birth of the township of Opōtiki.

The cover of the booklet, shows a photograph of a Māori woman, Kāterina, set amongst kowhai flowers, (perhaps symbolising the pre-European name of the township Opōtiki which was Pā-kōwhai) which gives the impression that local Maori women’s stories are a major feature. However, out of more than thirty biographical and autobiographical stories of prominent Opōtiki women spanning the last 100 years, the booklet includes only two narratives

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<sup>2</sup>“Insider” meaning shared identity and experiences, belonging to the same organisation as opposed to

featuring women who acknowledge Whakatōhea descent. Four Māori women identify with other iwi. Kāterina was the only woman who has been recognised by the authors as being Māori, to have registered to vote in Opōtiki 1893. The narrator of Kāterina's story is her granddaughter. The story covers the period from before Opōtiki was settled by pākehā to Kāterina's death at the age of 103. Kāterina grew up beside the Opōtiki wharf where trading ships visited Opōtiki to transport crops grown by Whakatōhea. Kāterina married William Gundry who had been part of the armed constabulary, which invaded Opōtiki. They had three children. After his death while fighting in the Taranaki, she later married an Englishman named George Matchitt (*ibid.*).

The two Whakatōhea women were Rēmana Taia (Wairemana Mokomoko) and Ani Chrisite, both descendants of Mokomoko, the tipuna who was accused of killing the Anglican minister Carl Volkner in the 1860s.

Rēmana's story provides examples of the destructive colonial influences European had on Whakatōhea and therefore Whakatōhea women. For example, after being dispossessed of her fertile lands, Whakatōhea became servants of the dispossessors to work on lands which once belonged to her. They also contracted diseases introduced by the new settlers and schools became the means of assimilation.

Connor and others (1994) cover the story of Ani Christie, and their sources are K. Coleman, W. Rewharewha, and 'Opotiki 100 years' (p. 64). Ani's

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<sup>2</sup> 'Outsider', someone who has not been part of the organisation, therefore does not share first hand experiences.

story spans from her birth in 1902 to her death in 1976. Ani is presented as a sports-woman of note due to her determined character, but other than this the majority of the narrative is dedicated to the telling of her father's work as a sailor, and his shipping and commercial endeavours. Ani helped her father who was an Opōtiki harbour pilot by taking soundings using a pole on the scow (ibid.). Although the narrative is of value in its description of the part that shipping played in the commercial development of Opōtiki, Ani is merely an add-on to her father's story.

The biographies of two more women of Whakatōhea descent, Mereana and Heni (Jane) Topia, are found in Volume 4 of *The Dictionary of the New Zealand Biographies* (1998:533-534), co-written by Janie Topia and Agnes Daley. The biographies cover their life experiences during a very volatile period of Whakatōhea's history that included the confiscation and Te Kooti periods. Jane's story runs on from her mother's, and both stories are told as one. Jane became a carver and also taught carving, roles which in traditional Māori society, were normally reserved for men.

The story of Rea Waitauhi Nikorima of Whakatōhea and Te Whānau-a-Apanui, is part of the biography of George Gage written by Tairongo Amoamo of Whakatōhea in Volume 4, of *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biographies* (1998:188-189). Waitauhi married John Gage of Ngāti Maniapoto and together they had seven children including George. Waitauhi was a tapu woman of rank. She and her sisters Ngarori and

Mokeke were the matriarchal figures of the local senior families. Waitauhi knew Te Kooti and held office in the Ringatu church where she was responsible for discipline, organisation, and ministering to the sick. She was regarded as a tohunga or healer and had an important influence on the life of her son George (1895 - 1961) who became a tohunga 'faith healer', in his own right.

The publication 'Nga Mōrehu The Survivors' (Binney & Chaplin 1986), documents the herstories of eight Māori women who tell of living in communities of the Bay of Plenty, East Coast, and Poverty Bay. Their stories span period from late 1800s to 1980s. The authors, both non-Māori recorded their stories without alteration the women's words. The unifying theme for the book is the Ringatū Church. This is an invaluable herstorical resource.

Maaka Jones, the grand-daughter of Ngarori Arihia's (Waitauhi's sister) tells of her memories and experiences of living in a Ringatū family. Maaka was born on 8 November 1927. Her paternal grandfather Te Kohi Delamere bought Te Kooti and his teaching to Te Whānau a Apanui. Maaka grew up at Whitianga where her father Paul Delamere a tohunga of the Ringatu Church was a great influence in her life. He taught Maaka the karakia, prayers, in a traditional way in their home. She attended the Easter camps her father set up to teach all the children, and often travelled with him to the Rā, the Ringatū gatherings held on ritually important days for Ringatu (Binney & Chapman 1986:72-73).

Maaka worked in Wellington as a teacher of Māori at the Correspondence School (where she became my first teacher of te reo Māori). While living in Wellington she was widely consulted on many aspects of Maori knowledge and was sought out as a tohunga by Māori. Her healing power took the form of directing people to look into themselves and she sought to reinforce sense of pride in being Māori. She believed in the importance of the family and the family *kaitiaki*, guardian forces that were transferred from one generation to the next.

### **Māori women**

The following writings by Māori women provide an analysis of how colonisation has influenced the values and relationships between Māori men and Māori women generally. Kupenga, Rata & Nepe (1990) for example provide historical and linguistic evidence to show that Māori women in ‘traditional times’, possessed and exercised power and authority within Māori society, at whānau, hapū, iwi and waka levels. Mana wāhine was different, but complementary, and not inferior to male authority. They (Kupenga et. al) show that clearly defined gender roles were the basis upon which effective and harmonious tribal, hapū, and whānau affairs were conducted.

Selby (1996:27), of Ngāti Raukawa descent, investigated Māori women’s success in tertiary education. Selby (1996) recorded the oral narratives of six

Māori women, who at the time held positions of responsibility and decision-making in various educational institutions and agencies. A major part of the study looked at what the participants considered essential to, as well as their visions for, future Māori development. Concepts of wairua, whakapapa, and ingredients of Māoritanga such as aroha, tautoko, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, which includes courtesy, hospitality and te reo Māori were identified as essential elements for Māori women to succeed. One of the factors identified by Selby as leading to the women's success was the influence of successful older women and whānau role models. The study found that other factors which included commitment to whānau, strong whānau support systems, and holding fast to the best aspects of te ao Māori, also contributed to the participants' success. Therefore, her study gives sound indices that Māori women may achieve success in their lives with support from within traditional social structures of Māori society that is the whānau, hapū, and iwi.

A study by Tomlins-Jahnke (1996) of Māori women in education focuses on the strategies the participant women employed to affect and deal with change, and their visions for future education of Māori people. This study showed how the participants adapted the expectations placed on their roles within their educational institution, to satisfy the expectations of the place and role of a woman of a certain tribe. Tomlins-Jahnke's study also found that strong older female relatives were role models of success for her participants. Supportive whānau, and strong attachment to ancestral land were important

factors as well. Tribal protocol, was found to be transferred into the workplace. Where Māori women were not permitted to speak on their marae, the tradition was transferred into the school context. Speaking rights was seen as a non-issue in one case, due to the belief that men speak as women's representatives. However the real political power stayed with the women who held the higher position within the school structure. Karanga and its use in work places is another issue which Tomlins-Jahnke's (1996) study also raises. The appropriateness of transferring marae practises into work places is questionable. This study is valuable in the examples of how Māori women deal with the issues that may arise in the workplace.

The selected writings on Māori Women's Art, Culture and Politics by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991a) paint a glum picture of the effects of colonialism were Māori women have lost, or been deprived of, economic, social, political and spiritual power. Māori men changed they way they related to Māori women after taking on paid employment. This has lead to the erosion of the status of Māori women (pp 17-21, 45-47). The European construct that places the value of roles in an economic framework has been detrimental to the relationship between Māori women and Māori men.

Since the 1993 Commemoration of Women's Suffrage, writings about Māori women increased. Prior to 1993 there was very little literature by Māori women about Māori women in leadership roles. Tania Rei (1993a), in her book 'Māori Women and The Vote', gives a chronological Time-line of

activities of Māori women in politics between the years of 1890 and 1910, up to 1993. Rei points out that as well as caring for family needs, some women of Rangatira status represented their people in tribal politics. They were also landowners. Waitohi, Rangatira of Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Ngāti Rau, persuaded a section of her iwi to settle in the Horowhenua, where they remain today on land designated by her. Rei provides examples of Māori women who had authority to make decisions for iwi and to fight in wars. An example being, Heni Pore of Te Arawa, who fought against the British troops in support of the Māori King at Gate Pā (ibid.).

From 1865, Māori women continued to represent their iwi in land matters presented to the Native Land Court. Maata Te Taiawatea of Ngāti Awa was one such woman, who devoted forty years to seeking the return of confiscated tribal lands. In the 1880s Māori women along with Māori men made direct petitions to the Crown urging fulfilment of its obligations as a Treaty partner. Māori women supported the idea of a separate Māori parliament, which promised more opportunities for representation, than the existing system (ibid.).

Rei further points out that nineteenth century Māori women became faced with restrictions on them from European society that was dominated by men. Until 1884, when a woman married, any land she owned passed through the Native Land Court became the property of her husband (ibid.). The restriction on women to speak on marae became reinforced by the influence of European attitudes to women (ibid.). Māori women then sort alternative

ways of retaining their political voice. These included the establishment of the Māori Parliament, and the WCTU. With compulsory primary education Māori women became literate and aware of the processes of government. From 1886 to 1896, Māori women continued to represent themselves and their iwi, and presented at least forty petitions concerning land issues to Parliament. Māori women sought an independent voice in political institutions by supporting the vote (ibid.).

The political voice fought for and won by these women in the Māori Parliament ended in 1902. However the Women's committees continued operations on most marae up until the Second World War (ibid.). After the First World War, Māori women brought their organising skills to local societies such as the Country Women's Institute, where they joined in with Pākeha women. The first separate Māori Institute was formed in 1929, in Hawkes Bay. In the Bay of Plenty League, Māori women together with Nurse Cameron founded the Women's Health in 1937. As a response to Māori women moving into urban areas, the Māori Women's Welfare League was formed to give women a forum to discuss and act on political issues of concern to them. Māori women continued working to regain their tribal lands. Te Puea Herangi in the 1930s and 1940s set up land development schemes and worked to re-establish the Waikato people economically and culturally (ibid.).

In the protest movements of the 1970s and 1980s, women such as Eva Rickard spoke out in defence of their land rights and used direct action to

illuminate the injustices they suffered. Although women were given the right to stand for Parliament in 1893, it was not until 1935 before the first Māori women, Rehutai Maihi stood for candidacy. She received criticism from older Māori who believed women should not enter politics. The first Māori woman to win a seat in the New Zealand parliament was Western Māori candidate, Iriaka Ratana in 1949, after her husband, the previous member of that seat, had died. She held the seat until 1969. During this time she received opposition from Māori, who asserted that it was not possible for a woman to represent them adequately, especially as she was a mother of a large family. Other women who were to contest seats were faced with the same criticism. The first Māori woman to hold a Cabinet portfolio was Whetū Tirikatene, in 1967. Others, such as Georgina Te Heu Heu, Donna Awatere-Huata, and Alemein Kopu of Whakatōhea have become parliamentarians since.

The Women's suffrage was about gaining the right for women to vote in elections and to create opportunities for women to speak (*ibid.*). This historical overview by Rei (1993a), highlights the struggle by Māori women to retain and regain a political voice for Māori women as a whole.

Berys Heurer's (1972) book about the role of Māori women in Māori society draws on material from Pākehā male historians, ethnographers and economists from last century. The book focuses on societal attitudes towards Māori women, marriage, their role in procreation and socialisation, property ownership and their ritual functions.

Her analysis of Māori women reflects the Pākehā male-centred view, and the few Māori sources are used to support this construction. She affirms the Victorian interpretations of women by emphasising the association of negative and destructive elements with women. Women are described as passive and the receptacles for the dominant male spirit. Men are the providers, and women are the property of men. Children are either legitimate or illegitimate in terms of full inheritance rights (Jahnke 1996). Heuer fails to recognise tribal and regional differences in her analysis of the role of Māori women in society. Heuer imposes a Western philosophical framework to describe Māori society and Māori women, and as a consequence her writing has only served to perpetuate the stereotypical view of Māori women, as passive.

### **Indigenous Women**

Other Indigenous nation's experiences with colonisation and how the events have been recorded mirror those of Māori.

Mariana Jaimes (1993), in an essay, exposes the Eurocentric constructions of Native American culture and in particular the roles of men and women such as subordination of women and the 'myths of male dominance', which are portrayed in books and movies, anthropology, and leftist and rightist political ideologues. Jaimes counters these views with evidence that women were the 'backbone' of their societies. She highlights the effects of colonial domination that Native American women confront in the context of the

Native American experiences. These included the disempowerment and oppression not only as women but also importantly as Native American women. Some of the women she writes about were involved in politics of indigenous struggle, the politics of the feminist movement.

According to Jaimes, “Women of colour in general tend not to favour the notion of “politics” which would divide and weaken their communities by defining “male energy” as “the enemy”, (p. 335). This essay provides valuable insights into the realities of the detrimental effects of the colonial experience on an indigenous nation and its women, which shares some parallels with the experiences of Māori and Māori women.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has shown that there are very few studies written by Maori women that focus on Māori women and their participation in politics. There is even less material about Whakatōhea women. Contemporary pākehā writers (Graham 1995; Heurer 1972) continue to perpetuate the Victorian male bias in their constructions of Māori people and especially Māori women. The increase in the number of historical accounts by Māori generally, and in particular, Māori women scholars, serve to deconstruct Eurocentric views about Māori women. Some of these recent written or edited published materials, by Māori women provide the theoretical basis upon which to the experiences of Whakatōhea women and their participation in tribal socio-politics will be analysed.

### Chapter 3

#### Research Methodology

The following chapter outlines theoretical issues surrounding research into Maori communities. These provide the basis for the process of the present study that follows. There are several significant issues involved in undertaking research involving an iwi, hapū, or whānau. They include whakapapa; wairua; the researcher; the participants and their knowledge, all of which intertwine and impact on each other. Royal (1993) describes the ultimate aim of tribal research as the preservation of knowledge in pursuit of the advancement of the iwi, hapū, or whānau as well as the individuals who are participants of any particular study. An appropriate research methodology, which is based on a historical Maori-centred perspective should therefore include all the above aspects.

This study is concerned with identifying significant themes or issues within the contemporary socio-political experiences of seven Whakatōhea women. It is based on a historical perspective of Māori research that assumes that a Māori worldview is valid and legitimate. A Māori worldview is located in genealogical, cosmological, historical, and geographical life experiences that give value to Māori knowledge, language, and culture. An appropriate methodology therefore, would encompass principles of mana, mauri, mahitahi, and maramatanga as outlined by A. Durie (1997). It would also include principles and practices that underlie two developing approaches, a Māori Centred Approach (Durie M., 1997) and the Kaupapa Māori Approach (Smith, L., 1995).

The principles of mana, mauri, mahitahi and maramatanga are significantly important when carrying out research with Māori (Durie A., 1992; 1993).

Recognising the pre-existence of mana and ensuring that mana of all participants including the researcher is maintained throughout the research process is paramount. Closely aligned to mana is the recognition of tribal mauri that is invested in intellectual property and that requires respectful negotiation with Māori authorities. Mahitahi (working together as one), and monitoring the process provides the means through which mana and mauri are maintained, and maramatanga (understanding of the project at hand) is achieved (Durie, A., 1993).

Linda Smith (1995) defines Kaupapa Māori research as research in which Māori maintain control of the concepts, design, methodology, and the interpretations. Māori research then should be carried out ‘by Māori, for Māori,’ and importantly ‘with Māori’ (ibid: 1).

Durie, (M, 1997:10) identifies three principles that underpin a Māori centred approach, (i) whakapikitanga – enablement, (ii) whakatuia – integration, and (iii) Mana Māori – Māori control drawing on the concept of tino rangatiratanga; Māori self-determination.

The first principle proposes that research ‘should aim to enhance people so that either their position improves as a result of the research or they are better equipped to take control of their own futures’. The second principle recognises

a holistic world view that combines well-being, culture, economics, social standing into a matrix that recognises the individual, the collective and the complex interactions between past and present. The third principle locates the locus of control of research involving Māori, or aspects of Māori society, culture, or knowledge with Māori. Associated with this principle are issues of intellectual property rights, guardianship, and management of research design and processes (ibid.). All the above assumptions are the basis for which the present study will proceed.

There is very little research, literature, or guidance for Māori researchers to carry out research within their own communities (ibid:8). An accumulation of the views and responses to research issues of those Māori scholars and academics engaged in the process of research in regard to Māori people, forms the basis for the assumption that Māori knowledge exists and is valid (Stokes, 1985; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Bishop, 1991; Bishop and Glynn, 1992; Durie, A, 1992; Royal, 1993; Smith L.T., 1995; 1996; 1999; Soutar, 1995; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996; Waitere-Ang, 1997). Similarly, there is very little research, literature or guidance for researchers of indigenous or minority groups carrying out research within their own communities (Smith, L.T., 1995:8, Smith, L.T., 1999).

The present research was completed by a Māori woman with other women of her tribe. It is hoped that it will contribute to the body of knowledge and understanding about Indigenous research, and in particular Māori tribal research.

According to Tomlins-Jahnke (1996:30-35), traditions relating to Māori research and Māori as researchers have their foundations in the stories handed down through the generations. Therefore I will begin with a brief overview of recorded customary narratives and the association between these stories and Māori research to provide background to the present study. Literature about the Māori research issues and philosophical understanding will be discussed in relation to Western research methods. The methodology for the present study draws on Kaupapa Māori Research as described by Linda Smith (1999), and the principles of conduct in a Māori context as presented by Arohia Durie (1992), and Te Ahukaramu Royal (1993).

Since pākehā first came to New Zealand information about Māori knowledge and Māori society has been recorded (Royal, 1993) but their involvement in research has usually been as the researched and not as the researcher (Durie, 1992:2). However, prior to European contact Māori were researchers, as revealed in the customary narratives.

As noted in the literature (Tomlins-Jahnke 1996), an examination of the cosmological narratives provides lessons for Māori research. The first example is Tāne's<sup>3</sup> journey to the twelfth heaven to gain nga-kete wānanga, the three baskets of knowledge (Smith, 1991:49). The lessons learned from this narrative are that firstly Tāne sought knowledge on behalf of everyone else; and secondly each basket contained different types of knowledge, each essential to the well-being of the whole tribe (ibid.).

Tāne's search for the uha (the female principle essential for the creation of humankind), provides another example of Māori in the researcher role. Tāne carried out the search on behalf of his brothers, and was motivated to fulfil the needs of the group (Buck, 1977:450; Jahnke 1996:31). Tāne experimented to extract that knowledge and consulted with his brothers during the pursuit, and finally created the first human, Hine-ahu-one (ibid.).

These narratives provide a framework for investigating the lives of contemporary Māori, may be carried out. A recurring theme in the Tāne narratives is that research comes from a collective need, not an individual self-interest, and is therefore carried out on behalf of others (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996:31). The process is consultative where the researched are actively involved in the research, just as Tāne consulted his brothers (ibid.). The authority, control, and ownership of the research is located in the researched whānau, hapū, or iwi, and the obligation is on the researcher to ensure that the expectations of the researched are met (Durie, 1992:4).

Perseverance and commitment are qualities required to meet the needs of the collective. Tāne demonstrated these qualities in successfully procuring the baskets of knowledge and finding the uha (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996:32).

The concepts of collective accountability and collective benefits have their roots in Māori attitudes to knowledge, such as accessibility, sanctioning, preserving,

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<sup>3</sup> Go to Chapter 4 pp70-77 for the narrative that includes Tane.

and protecting of knowledge for the benefit of the tribe or whānau<sup>4</sup> (ibid: 33).

The three baskets retrieved by Tāne are the blueprint for how knowledge is valued, graded, and specialised (ibid). The kete tuauri contained knowledge of goodness, peace, and love; kete tuatea contained knowledge of prayers, incantations and ritual; and kete aronui - war, agriculture, woodwork, stonework, and earthwork (Buck, 1977:449). Knowledge necessary for everyday living 'kauae raro' was available to all. Knowledge pertaining to whakapapa, tribal law, and kawa 'kauae runga' was entrusted to a select few. They in turn taught by kaumātua or kuia, and they in turn became the tribal repositories of that knowledge. Tribal knowledge was preserved and sanctioned through ritual and protected by laws of tapu (Smith, 1991:50). According to Pewhairangi (1981):

When you learn anything Māori, it has to be taken seriously. It involves the laws of tapu: genealogies, history, traditional knowledge, carving, preparing flax, in fact, nature itself. Tapu is something that teaches you how to respect the whole of nature, Because Māori things involve the whole of nature.

(p. 8)

Taha wairua or the spiritual dimension is part of being Māori, and has its expressions in tapu and mauri, and wairua. Rangihau (1981:12) warns that if knowledge is not used in the right way, then the effects of the misuse may be to damage the mauri or the prestige of other people. Māori as the researched have been damaged by inferior research based in philosophy, practices, and methodologies, which are Western. The interpretations of the research data,

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<sup>4</sup> 'Whanau' may be several family units who share a common near tupuna (up to four generations back); whanau also refers to a family unit consisting of parents and children.

'Hapu', may be several 'whānau' who have a common tūpuna (more than four generations back).

'Iwi', is a larger social organisation consisting of at least one hapū.

validity, and the beliefs, which underpin the research process, have tended to misrepresent Māori (Smith, 1991:51), and Māori have developed mistrust for research, due to its exploitative nature. As a result, there have been calls by Māori for Māori research to be carried out by Māori only; a view supported by Bishop and Glynn (1992) who point out that:

*Insisting that researchers should have Māori ancestry was not seen as 'biological essentialism' but rather as a safeguard against facile exploitation of Māori material, and as a means of guaranteeing accountability of the researcher to those being researched.*

(p. 128).

Although Stokes supports the view that Māori have not been served well by non-Māori researchers, she does not regard the problem as racial but one of skills. She believes that a researcher who is bilingual and bicultural, and is involved with the issues facing Māori society, and possesses the skills, knowledge, or expertise necessary to confront and investigate the issues, is of more concern than whether the researcher is Māori or Pākehā (1985:9).

Bishop and Glynn (1992; 1995) also believe that there is a place for non-Māori researchers and their expertise. They believe that a methodology that employs a collaborative and interactive between the researcher and researched group allows power and control of the research and the process to stay with the whānau of whom the researchers are accountable to. However as Tomlins-Jahnke (1996:36) maintains this approach ignores a very basic fact, and that is that Māori researchers are differentiated according to iwi, hapū, or whānau links, and therefore the relationship to the researched would always be different to a Pākehā. Other issues such as age, gender, in the research process, and the

association between authorship and authority are of concern, especially if a non-Māori may become regarded as a mouthpiece for Māori (Tomlins-Jahnke 1996:36).

These are issues for a Māori researcher. Considerations of the researcher's knowledge of tikanga, tribal affiliations, age, gender, and knowledge of te reo Māori needs to be taken into account. They must have the necessary skills required to carry out research of hapū, iwi, on whānau, who view knowledge that as a taonga (precious gift). Informants need to feel the taonga<sup>5</sup> they have will be cared for in the best way possible (Royal, 1993). Other important skills would include an ability to get on well with people; sound written and oral skills; ability to use recording equipment; and commitment to seeing a job to its completion (Fyfe & Manson, 1997; Royal, 1993).

A good command of Te reo Māori (Māori language) is another important skill. Embedded in the Māori language is the Māori worldview. Māori speaking kaumātua (elders) would be more comfortable speaking to a researcher who has a basic knowledge of te reo, rather than someone who has none. Ability to speak Maori opens up access to a whole body of knowledge that is still not translated, such as manuscripts, and some court minutes. Understanding Te reo means a researcher is likely to engage in social practices conducted in Te reo Maori. It is important to be proficient in Te reo, in order that the integrity of the philosophies inherent in Te reo is maintained. Being able to speak Te reo is an advantage when participating in tribal research (Royal, 1993).

Traditionally, knowledge was passed down from parents and elders to children in informal and formal learning situations by word of mouth. Sitting with kaumātua and other knowledgeable people is where we usually begin to learn about our own history. Here, the seeds of curiosity and enquiry are laid for the spiritual journey (Royal, 1993). Sitting, listening, and questioning my grandparents about the lives of my ancestors and ancestress, has given me a sense of depth and perspective that other media such as books, or films could not do.

Research into the lives of Māori, requires caution, and consultation with the family or tribe. Iwi, hapu, or whānau who become subjects of research must control, the question, the process, and the distribution of the knowledge gained from the research. Consultation with the researched community must occur all through the research process (Awekotukutuku, 1991b). A kuia or kaumātua who provides support and advice on customs associated with this deeply spiritual journey; point out which tribal historians may be useful. They are also a sounding board for directing the research. In this supervisory role kaumātua are also available to discuss and give advice on how to present research findings, and teach things that an outsider<sup>6</sup> cannot. Kaumātua provide the authority necessary for iwi research to be valid (Royal, 1993).

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<sup>6</sup>Insider' meaning, someone who meets at least the minimal prerequisite of whakapapa links to the particular whanau, hapu or tribe. 'Outsider' therefore is defined in this instance as someone who is not of the particular whanau, hapu, or tribe according to whakapapa or marital links.

Finding someone who will help guide or supervise a research project such as a mentor or kaumātua is essential (Royal, 1993; Smith, L., 1996). An important role of kaumātua is to look after and attend to the formal, ritual, and spiritual dimensions, which are associated with the research. Some forms of knowledge are regarded as tapu, therefore access to these forms of knowledge is restricted, and even when access is given, it must be treated with utmost respect and care. Research into tribal history is research which touches on the domains of tapu. Tribal histories and traditions are founded in the spirit world. Even books that contain tribal histories become tapu and restricted, and must therefore be treated in a special way. A kaumātua will advise a researcher about how these taonga must be treated. Just as our ancestors prayed before any activity, in order that good spiritual and thereby bodily health was maintained, is a practice which researchers of hapū, iwi, and whānau must adopt to gain full advantage of the taonga of our tīpuna (Royal, 1993; Smith, L.T., 1996).

Under the framework of western research, the researcher becomes the owner of the knowledge that is collected, and often little recognition is afforded the contributing Māori informants. A great deal has been written about Maori, and a large proportion of it by pākehā researchers. Some have made successful careers out of being experts on Māori, but Māori have not benefited much from the process (Durie, 1977; Stokes, 1993). For kaupapa Māori research, it is the hapū, iwi, or whānau who should always be recognised as the primary owners of their history, and therefore the knowledge should remain with the researched group.

Although there are a growing number of publications that include Māori telling their own versions of history, and tipuna (Amoamo, (1990); Rogers & Simpson ed., 1993; Walker, (1990)), these are still few in number. Each of these versions is a perception of history from the stance of the particular iwi, hapū, or whānau group of the respective researcher. Inherent in Māori research are values of those at the centre of the research. Their loyalties and biases are issues that need to be acknowledged. In Kaupapa Māori research this is accepted as inevitable (Soutar, 1966:54). A whānau, hapū, or iwi perspective can only be told by a member of the group. An ‘outsider’ researcher (that is, someone who has no kinship ties whether through whakapapa or marriage with a particular whānau, hapū, or iwi) can not fully understand the views of those on the ‘inside’ (those who are of the kinship group) (ibid.). As Soutar (1996), points out;

... the non-Maori can[not] fully penetrate the psyche of the tribal member or fully appreciate the intricacies which explain the views each hapū holds.  
(p. 55).

Whakapapa determines access to knowledge. Traditionally, knowledge of tribal history has been handed down through certain families. Kaumātua who are repositories of tribal knowledge are more likely to be co-operative in passing on tribal whakapapa knowledge if the researcher is directly related (Soutar, 1991).

Royal (1993) points out the importance of whakapapa in tribal research:

Tribal history is family history, and it is rooted in whakapapa. Historical traditions explain to the descendants who they are, how they came to be and why they are as they are. Therefore, anything to do with tribal history is a spiritual matter and must be treated with much respect and humility.

(Royal, 1993:42).

Whakapapa can be defined as the most fundamental way Māori think about and learn about the world (Rangihau, 1981). Whakapapa is therefore a way of thinking, learning, and is also a means of holding and debating knowledge. Whakapapa is part of almost every aspect of how Māori perceive the world (Smith, L., 1996). Learning about our ancestors involves the knowledge of our language, customs, habits, and philosophies (Royal, 1993). Whakapapa is the means by which a Māori person may trace their identity through access to land, to marae, thereby establishing their tūrangawaewae. It is through whakapapa that Māori make connections with other iwi, the physical environment, and the wider universe. Much of the way Māori see themselves in relation to all else is encompassed in the concept of whakapapa (Smith, L., 1996).

In traditional Māori society, those with talent were trained and became expert in that particular field whether it was, in retaining history, weaving, or agriculture (Stokes, 1985). It is also of major import that a person of today participating in research of whānau hapū, and iwi, will have the appropriate attributes and skills. In Māori society maturity has always been linked with knowledge (Soutar, 1996). Therefore it is important that a young researcher should gain the support of a kaumātua so that the target audience - the iwi, will accept the tribal history, written by the researcher.

Histories in general including Māori histories have been told with a male bias. Even the cosmological versions have a heavy male bias, to the point where an ancient story of a female ancestor may become a male ancestor in some modern versions (Smith, L., 1996).

Gender issues are important for Māori researchers to consider. There are some practices within Māori society, based on gender, which disadvantage women. Some of these practices may in fact not be traditional, but recent additions which have become more entrenched with new personally insecure male iwi leadership. For instance, Te Awekotuku (1991a) gives an historical account of a woman teaching taiaha, when it has generally been thought that the teaching of taiaha was the domain of men. It has also been thought that the handing down of whakapapa knowledge was the domain of men. However, the cosmology narratives provide evidence that women held knowledge. For instance, Mahuika gave Maui the knowledge of fire. Women in their nurturing roles have been in the position to hand down the knowledge of whakapapa. Many oriori have been written by women, and included in these waiata are whakapapa. Therefore, Māori women need to tell the stories of their tīpuna kuia, as well as their tīpuna koroua, to present a balanced view of history so that future generations of women may not suffer further subjugation through ignorance.

Ultimately, the research should be presented orally and in written form to those who own it, and preferably in te reo Māori. The oral tradition is the way of our ancestors, however, in the modern world Māori are learning more and more through the written medium. The inherent danger is that some recorded information that contains errors may be treated as accurate. As whānau, hapū, or iwi, ultimately own the information, the choice of publishing should be discussed at hui, and decided by the respective group. Therefore, in order that correct information may be passed on, publication of tribal histories and

traditions should remain in control of the tribes. This should be done in conjunction with the establishment of hui wananga system whereby all descendants of the tribe learn to access the knowledge that may never be published. By contrast, the Western belief is that authority lies in the written word. In Māori society, authority belongs to people. Therefore that authority should be actively protected (Royal, 1993).

As Durie maintains, Māori research that is carried out by Māori is more likely to be conducted more appropriately, as a Māori person will have:

... an in-depth understanding of Māori values, attitudes and mores necessary for a successful outcome, as is the probability of an understanding and willingness to abide by a Māori system of ethics and accountability.  
(1992:4).

A methodological approach, that abides by a Māori system of ethics and accountability that I as a Māori woman of Whakatōhea descent will employ in this study. It is an approach that has validity and accountability, and is more likely to be acceptable to a Māori research community, and audience, that is my whānau, and tribe.

Western, positivist methodology and interpretation within western scientific research practices have been rejected by Māori as inappropriate for undertaking enquiry into the lives of Māori people and their communities (Stokes, 1985; Smith, 1991; Durie, 1992). The concerns expressed by Māori in regard to appropriate methodology for conducting research of Māori, parallel the concerns expressed by proponents of qualitative research, and feminist studies.

Qualitative research covers a broad spectrum of research techniques - but central are observation, interviewing, and documentary analysis (Punch, 1994:84).

Types of interviews may involve open-ended questions, oral histories, and life history approaches (Delamont, 1992:7; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996:40). Positivist methodology is regarded as inadequate to explaining the unpredictable nature of human actions and experiences. Qualitative research on the other hand has the potential to empower by taking account of research views of the participants, their perspectives, opinions, prejudices, and beliefs (Delamont, 1992:7; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996:40). Research methodologies that seek to empower the researched are an area of convergence between feminist research and Māori research, informed by experiences of marginalisation and oppression. For Māori women such oppressions constitute multiple marginalisations; as women; as Māori; and as Māori women. Māori women, although being ignored, were free to “get on with their own business without interruption” (Tomlin-Jahnke 1996:41).

Feminist research came to employ data-collecting techniques, which were qualitative (Middleton, 1988:127). The semi-structured or unstructured interview technique is favoured amongst feminist scholars, for the participatory, interactive, and inclusive nature between the researcher and the researched (Reinharz, S. 1993:18). These techniques allow interaction between the researcher and interviewed, and does not rely on long periods of contact, minimises any intrusion. Open-ended questions, which are employed, permit

the interviewee to respond in their own words and the researcher to generate theory by exploring people's views of reality.

An inductive analysis of the data is usually employed, and is seen by many feminist writers as an important part of the interview technique and is regarded as important for the study of women by women as a remedy to years of women being ignored or having their lives told by men (Reinharz, 1992:18-19). In very much the same way, Māori have been ignored or had their stories told by non-Māori. Therefore this technique could remedy this by Māori learning from Māori. Further, the skills usually associated with the 'traditional feminine role' leans to the open-ended questioning technique (Reinharz, 1992:20). Other feminist ideas that have been applied to the interview process are based on the understanding of how women develop a sense of connectedness with others (ibid: 20). Feminist research can be credited with changing the term of the 'subject' to that of 'participant', which also changes the way one thinks about the relationship between researcher and researched (ibid: 22). These examples and views converge with some of the principles by which research in a Māori context may be carried out (Tomlins-Jahnke 1996: 43).

Concepts of mana, mauri, mahitahi, and māramatanga are the principles that are integral to the construction of an appropriate methodology as defined by Durie (1992:7). When the individual and collective mana is enhanced; and when acknowledgement of the responsibility for the mauri of tribal intellectual knowledge is accepted and upheld; when shared monitoring of the process, and co-operation between researcher and researched is maintained through the

principle of mahitahi, and a positive contribution to the needs and aspirations of Māori, are accomplished through māramatanga, then the collective and individual well-being of all involved will be enhanced (ibid.).

Within a Māori context is embodied the principle of mana tangata, in which the dignity of a person is paramount. This concept can be applied to any research carried out on Māori, by any man or woman. The physical and psychological welfare of Māori must be ensured so that "... the outcomes of the research do not cause physical or mental harm by trampling on the mana of the Māori individual or collective and thereby lessening it" (Durie, 1992:7). Therefore the well being of all involved throughout the research process is improved.

Embodied in the principle of mahitahi is the concept of 'connectedness' (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997:43). Mahitahi is a concept, which provides for co-operation in monitoring and establishing the terms and methodology of the research. 'Connectedness' is found in whakawhanaunga and through other hapu, iwi, or pan-tribal networks (ibid.). Durie (1992), asserts that making connections requires work on both sides, and that iwi should be informed of any research activity proposed for their area, "whether the participants are tribal members or not, avenues for iwi and hapū groups to interact with the research group be established" (p.7).

Clearly the research group is not only accountable to the research individuals, but also the wider Māori community, therefore the research group acknowledge iwi leaders and their collective responsibility of the mauri of tribal intellectual

knowledge (Durie, 1992:8) in order that the control is retained by the research community, that is the individuals as well as the providers of the knowledge - the tribe.

Just as a feminist framework includes the power to name and rename and to define terms the same applies to a kaupapa Māori research framework (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997:43). Māramatanga may be enhanced through Māori controlling the meanings and theories, by ensuring that research findings are accessible in a range of oral and written forms to make the knowledge accessible and easy to understand for the non-Māori audience as well as the Māori (Durie, 1992:8).

Tomlins-Jahnke (1997), defines Mana wāhine, as an identity that encompasses a philosophy and value system that is based on a Māori worldview. Central to the Māori worldview is whakapapa, and connections to mountains, rivers, and lands of Aotearoa, a concept different to mainstream feminism. Tomlins-Jahnke, presents a framework based on the cosmological narratives as a way to illustrate the differences in position, status and role of women prior to colonisation. The narratives reflect the norms, ideals, and philosophy of a culture. They provide a framework for the Māori worldview of power relations between men and women and the role of women in customary society that continue to have relevance in contemporary society, and which in turn may assist in defining possibilities for future directions. The principles underlying the narratives are those of a complementary and interdependent relationship between Māori men and women, which are apparent in certain cultural contexts, and domains both inside and outside traditional contexts. Tomlins-Jahnke, states the framework

will allow for Māori women to assume control over the interpretation of their lives both within and outside whānau, hapū and/or iwi contexts and cultural sites such as marae, and hui. The challenge she cautions is in how links to the past relates to defining and redefining the roles of both Māori men and women for future Māori development (ibid. 35). Such a framework of analysis of Māori men and women's roles in customary society needs to be applied within a specific tribal context as each tribe has their own versions and own historical perspectives of events. Also participation of women and the strategies used to participate in tribal politics vary according to tribe and therefore tribal structures and tribal customs.

## **Conclusion**

Research seeks out knowledge, and one of the aims of the present study is to gain knowledge that may benefit the daily lives of Whakatōhea people.

Research into whānau, hapū, and iwi, touch on important questions such as whakapapa; gender; wairua; skills of researchers; te reo; consultation; and ownership of knowledge. These are issues necessary in developing a Māori centred framework and should encompass the principles of mana, mauri, mahitahi, and māramatanga. (These are the principles that the present study embraces). An appropriate framework for analysis of power relations between Māori men and women is based on tribal interpretations of the cosmological narratives that reflect the norms, ideals and philosophy of the tribe prior to colonisation. Such a framework also embraces the principles that underlie the narratives, principles that reflect a complementary and interdependent relationship between Māori women and men and is found in the developing

Mana wāhine theory as proposed by Huia Jahnke. Research into whānau, hapū, and iwi should be to the ends of benefiting the researched as well as the researcher, and that is the goal of the present study.

All of the above factors are necessary requirements for carrying out Māori research and forms the framework on which this study is based.

### **Research Aims**

This study is unique, timely, and significant.

It is unique because it provides an opportunity to investigate how women participate in the decision-making processes of an iwi with a Treaty claim against the government (Wai 87). It is timely given the Tainui, Ngai Tahu, Ngati Awa and Sealords deal, as well as the Treaty of Waitangi claim by prominent women (Rei, in Du Plessis and Alice, 1998). It is significant, as the study provides an example of socio-political experiences, views, perceptions of Māori women, which will have bearing on future Iwi development.

Very little has been recorded about the experiences of Māori women in regard to whānau hapū or iwi socio-politics. This remains a valuable area of study. Just as in the past, Māori women of today contribute in all aspects of Māori development, and will continue to become future leaders. However, since contact with colonialism, politics external to the iwi have been in the main the preserve of Māori males (Cox, 1993:130-131). Crown and iwi negotiators of the recent Fisheries and Raupatu claims have been principally male, and

consultation with Māori women has been minimal (Rei, 1993a; Ratima, 1999). As a result there has been a call by Māori women to have more input into tribal, inter-tribal, and external iwi politics (Szaszy, 1995). The inequalities experienced by Māori women in iwi socio-politics due to colonist influences makes this another important area of concern for Māori women, and a study like this which focuses on these issues, is timely.

There is little literature about Whakatōhea, and the numbers of stories about Whakatōhea women are, extremely nominal. Durie (1996) asserts that tribal research when carried out by outsiders lacks the depth and quality of information that could only be obtained by someone belonging to the tribe. Therefore, research on Whakatōhea women can be given greater justice, through Whakatōhea women researchers (Szaszy, 1993).

By focusing on the experiences of Māori women who acknowledge connection to Whakatōhea who are recently and currently associated with a Whakatōhea marae as well as focusing on the historical context in which these experiences are grounded it will be possible to gain some important insights into their roles as members of a whānau, hapū, and iwi. The emphasis of this study was on the gains, and the strategies Whakatōhea women employed to affect and deal with socio-political decisions within whānau, hapū or iwi, and in some instances cultural contexts outside of Māori domains.

In terms of practical applications, such insights aim to provide valuable information for iwi development and future participation of Whakatōhea women

in iwi socio-politics at all levels. Given the nature and timeliness of the topic, this project will provide a catalyst for further research.

The present tribal research is a spiritual pursuit and aims to be rewarding for the researcher and of benefit to Whakatōhea as a whole. It is an original study, and is distinct from any other tribal research, because its focus is specifically on seven Whakatōhea women and their views and experiences of the socio-political affairs within their iwi of Whakatōhea. I wanted to draw out significant themes or issues identified within the historical and contemporary experiences of the women. My focus is influenced by my personal history and experiences as a Whakatōhea woman. I grew up in a household of parents involved in the social and political affairs of marae, whānau, hapū and the iwi of Whakatōhea who then moved away from the tribal boundaries. My curiosity about the publicised Fiscal Envelope and Raupatu Claim was aroused. This research project is an attempt to return to the home fires, ahikā, and to make sense of the issues facing Whakatōhea from the view and experiences of the women. A mana wāhine approach (Jahnke 1997) that is based on principles of mana tangata, mauri, mahitahi and maramatanga (Durie, 1992), provides the framework for this study.

In order to investigate the experiences of the women in line with mana wāhine principles, I decided on a qualitative life-history method using a series of unstructured interviews. The life history method focuses on both individuals and their socio-historical context and “enables researchers to study people as creative strategists who devise means of resisting and resolving the contradictions they experience” (Middleton, 1988:128).

The present study focused on individual biographies and the social context organised around three different contexts – the homeplace, the workplace, and the marae. Each of the sites was chosen to generate and to organise information about the women. The homeplace establishes the women's identity – their relationship to turangawaewae, whānau, whenua, hapū and iwi, which ground them and significant aspects of their upbringing which have helped shape them. The work sight, provides an insight into the women's personal experiences of working in Aotearoa. The marae reflects the complex reality of the women's experiences of whānau, hapū, and iwi political affairs within Whakatōhea. Information was gained by way of unstructured interviews.

Unstructured interviews according to Reinharz (1992) allow for free interaction between the researcher and the interviewee with opportunities for clarification and discussion. Furthermore, the interview method of generating data was considered important for this study because it provided access to the women's thoughts, ideas, and memories. The unstructured interview using open-ended questions allowed for greater flexibility in the interview process and for the production of non-standardised information.

### **Research Question**

In order to build on the political gains that Māori women have made in pan-tribal organisations such as the Māori Women's Welfare League, this project aimed to address the following question:

What are the significant themes or issues that can be identified within the historical and the contemporary experiences of Whakatōhea women in iwi socio-politics and the implications these have for future iwi political development.

### **Objectives**

The objectives of this project were:

1. To interpret Whakatōhea women's experiences through an examination of the customary narratives and traditional stories, and;
2. To consider the implications their experiences might have for future development of Whakatōhea.

### **Procedures for recruiting participants and obtaining informed consent.**

In selecting the participants a combination of purposive and snowball sampling was applied. Purposive sampling allows the researcher to hand pick participants in terms of their typicality and relevance (Cohen and Manion, 1989:103).

Participants were drawn from whānau, hapū, or iwi members who were actively involved in the socio-political affairs of marae, whānau, hapū, or iwi of Whakatōhea. An invitation to become part of the study was extended to all suitable and interested potential participants. A minimum of seven participants was sought, and all suitable candidates were welcomed (Cohen & Manion, 1997).

With the help of a kuia, a list was drawn up. I initially sought out and obtained the support of my whānau and a kuia for this project to proceed. The kuia was actively involved in marae social and political activities. She regularly attended

hapū meetings, and was ahikā at the marae for her whānau. The kuia was also involved in the Māori Women's Welfare League. The kuia is also my mother. She provided guidance about how to proceed throughout the process of the research. She provided practical and spiritual guidance. For instance, I initially planned to attend all the hapū meetings and to approach the iwi authority formally to get approval to carry out this research. She, thankfully, gently suggested that it would take me all year to begin to get started, if I was to proceed in that manner. She instead suggested I approach the women individually, thereby, implying if they decide to give their stories, who would dare stop them anyway. My Massey supervisor agreed with her. This wisdom saved me a lot of unnecessary effort and time. My mother has been able to keep in contact with the informants throughout the process as she lives within Whakatōhea. She has guided me through the research, advising on the spiritual aspects of dealing with whakapapa knowledge and tapu associated with research.

#### **Procedures in which, research participants were involved.**

My mother and I wrote out a list of people who met the criteria. The list was long. Some of the women I knew personally, and others my mother knew personally. An informal approach was made to potential participants to discuss the project and to seek their consent to participate. The initial approaches were made in some instances by phone and on other occasions face-to-face. I took the opportunity to approach participants as the opportunity arose. For instance I attended a hui held at the Opape marae, and took the opportunity to approach women while there – three participants resulted from this method of approach.

Potential participants were given an overview of the research aims and goals and advised that participants for the project would be recruited in the near future.

They were contacted by telephone to further explain the project and an invitation was extended to meet with Mum and me to answer any questions they had about the project. Information about the research, the terms and conditions, ethical considerations such as the participant's rights to decline or withdraw from the research activity at any time, and issues of confidentiality, were discussed.

Unfortunately, some candidates did not return their approval in time, and due to time constraints on my part, I was not able to include them in the present study.

Others, who initially showed interest, withdrew, by either telling me directly, or by simply not making themselves available.

Following the face-to-face meetings, information reiterating their rights as participants and consent forms were given or sent to each participant to obtain their written agreement to take part (*ibid.*). Consent was given in writing and also recorded at the start of some interview taping (Fyfe & Manson, 1997).

After obtaining the informed consent of the participants, a time was arranged for a formal interview. The choice of location was given to each interviewee. Most interviews were intended to last between two and three hours so as to generate an optimum amount of data without being too intrusive on the lives of participants. Interviews were unstructured (Cohen et. al, 1997:273). Pre-interview formalities and post-interview formalities ensured that proper protocols occurred. The sessions were audio-tape recorded. Respondents were

informed to expect a copy of the transcript, this was to allow them to restate something they may have wished to clarify, or ask for omission of data they felt uncomfortable about which may be excluded from the analysis. They were also informed that feedback from them on the researcher's analysis of the data was to be sought.

### **Procedures for handling information and materials produced in the course of the research.**

The participants received information through written, telephone, and face-to-face communication. All of the audio-tapes I transcribed. Permission was sought of the participants to use quotes. Modifications or any editing of the transcripts was a collaborative undertaking between the interviewee and the researcher. This ensured that the researcher's interpretations were in line with what the interviewee intended (*ibid.*). Each was sent a copy of her transcribed copy, along with a copy of the tape. They were also asked to correct or change any incorrect information or to take out anything they did not wish to have quoted. I also agreed to hand all information back to the women at the conclusion of the study along with a copy of the thesis.

### **Confidentiality**

From the outset, the women were made aware of their right to decline or withdraw from the research activity at any time, and their rights to privacy and confidentiality. In terms of identity, the choice of confidentiality or disclosure lay entirely with the women. All wished to be identified using their own names. Transparency and being upfront was something that the women valued. Where

necessary I collaborated with the women. Names of some close whānau members were removed and replaced by “name removed” where the information provided may impinge on the privacy of another whānau, hapū, or iwi member. This concern related to ensuring that the mana of a group was enhanced and acknowledged the mauri of tribal intellectual knowledge (Durie, 1992).

### **Equipment**

An equipment kit was assembled prior to doing the interviews. Tape cassettes were the type (C-60) recommended for oral history interviews (Royal, 1993:48). Each cassette was named, dated, and filed after each interview.

### **Interviews**

The interviews were carried out in either my or their whānau home, or a meeting room of the Whakatōhea Trust Board. Interviews preceded or followed sharing of food. On most occasions, whānau were not far. I was introduced to the women’s immediate whānau, husbands, children, or mokopuna before, during, and after the interviews. My husband and children were also introduced to some of the women and their whānau. My mother was present and participated in six of the interviews. Her presence I believe helped the women feel more at ease so that information flowed freely (three ways, between all participants including me). Children and mokopuna were present at the homes, but very few interruptions to the flow of the interviews occurred. Occasionally they listened in or went on quietly with their own activities. Their kuia or mother’s stories were also their stories.

Most interviews lasted two to three hours. Some were interviewed twice. The interview process followed principles of mahitahi or co-operation and collaboration (Durie, 1992). The interviews were a means of generating theory collectively (Middleton, 1988:132). As well as the interviews the women were involved in reading and responding to the transcripts and the analysis.

Grounding their experiences within a Māori worldview and allowing the women to check and assist my analysis of their life histories minimised any dangers of misinterpretation.

### **Data Analysis and Writing Up**

In analysing the data I loosely followed the colour coding system of analysis (Middleton, 1989:134) adapted by Tomlins-Jahnke (1997) to extract major themes and categories from the transcripts. This was done in two stages. Firstly, a hardcopy book of all the transcripts and written each transcript was read and common themes as they emerged from the discourse. Then all the themes were arranged into seven colours. Secondly I used colour pen to outline the data according to theme. I then created a file (computerised) with each theme and worked through each woman's computerised transcript, moving the information to the particular file. Several times there were sections of the texts coded with more than one colour. These were easily pasted into the appropriate files. There is an electronic file for every category. Some files were much larger than others, e.g. Whenua. This was further broken down into themes and categories, repeating the above two procedures. The major themes formed the basis of the Chapters for analysis.

## **Te Reo Maori**

In order to preserve the integrity of the information provided by the women participants in Te reo Māori, direct English translations would not be given.

The discussion and analysis surrounding the information given by the women in Te reo Maori, provides the non-Māori speaker with an understanding of the meaning as it relates to the topic of discussion at the time. Translations are given for frequently used Māori terms throughout the thesis.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has been concerned with outlining a Māori centred research methodology based on Māori philosophical understandings of the research process. This methodology recognises principles whakapikitanga – enablement; whakatuia – integration; and Mana Māori. This is research by Māori, with Māori and for Māori people. Also included are the principles of mana, mauri, mahitahi and māramatanga that provide guidelines for conducting the research into the lives of seven Whakatōhea women. The theoretical framework upon which this study is based is outlined in chapter four.

## Chapter 4

### Theory and Māori women

#### **Mana Wāhine: He Kaupapa Whakaaro e tipu ana.**

Theory...at the very least... helps [Māori] make sense of reality. It enables us to make assumptions and predictions about the world which we live. (Smith L, 1999:38)

Research is linked to theory and is generated from theoretical understandings (ibid.). Many of the theories that inform indigenous research have come in the main from Western imperialist scholars (ibid.). The development of theories by indigenous academics that attempt to explain indigenous people's existence in contemporary society has only just begun. Linda Smith (1999:28-29) argues that academic theories about indigenous worlds have been constructed through the eyes of Western academics that have effectively silenced the indigenous voice. Jahnke (1997) adds to the argument that not only Māori as the tangata whenua of New Zealand but particularly Māori women have been largely silenced. In order for the voices of Māori women to be heard clearly the theories by which their realities are interpreted need to become decolonised

<sup>1</sup> (Smith 1999:39). Smith (ibid.) however does not advocate total rejection of all Western theory but rather that Māori scholars should know and understand theory and research, from a Māori perspective, for the purpose of Māori development.

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<sup>1</sup>Decolonisation has been described by Smith (1999) as a process, which engages with imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels. For researchers, one of those levels is concerned with having a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values that inform research practice.

According to Smith (1999:38) theory helps Māori people make sense of their reality. Theory contains methods for selecting and arranging, for prioritising and legitimating, what Māori see and do. Furthermore, theory enables Māori to deal with contradictions and uncertainties and provides space to plan, to strategise, and to take greater control over their lives. Theory also helps in interpreting what is being told and predicting the future consequences. A good theory allows for new ideas and ways of looking at things to be incorporated constantly without the need to continuously search for new theories (ibid). There is a growing body of knowledge developed by Māori women leaders and scholars (for example Waitere-Ang 1999; Jahnke 1997; Selby 1995; Jenkins 1992; Mikaere, 1995) that attempt to explain the lives of Māori women in contemporary society. Through the accumulation of research about Māori women's life experiences, a theory of mana wāhine is developing. It is hoped that the present study will also add to that body of knowledge.

### **Te Ao Māori - A Māori worldview**

Insights into how Māori view the world are contained within the Māori cosmological narratives. They also provide clues about the power relations between Māori men and Māori women. The narratives have been orally transmitted from one generation to the next and continue to apply to the every day experiences of Māori today (Metge, 1976:267). Ranginui Walker (1978) for example, argued that the origins of contemporary practices and beliefs are found in the traditional narratives. Jahnke (1997) asserts that:

[T]he narratives customarily did not perceive power relations between men and women in terms of gendered hierarchies that privileged men over women. She argues that it is therefore appropriate that any study of power relations between men and women should begin with the cosmological narratives as they provide insights and strong messages about the position, status and role women held in prior to colonisation. (p. 58).

Embedded in the narratives are cultural values, beliefs, attitudes, and practices that may still be applied today (Walker, 1990:19-23). They reinforce the position, status, and role of women as powerful, autonomous, independent, and as bearers of knowledge (Jahnke 1996:58). These themes are transmitted through generations by both men and women through the mediums of tribal histories, whakapapa, waiata, whakatauki, and korere tāwhito (ibid.). The themes that are identified in tribal histories may still be applicable to Māori women working and living in contemporary society; “The way they experience their lives, how they see themselves, how they understand themselves in relation to different groups of women and men, and how they seek solutions to problems arising from their diverse realities within the dualistic worldviews of te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā” (ibid.). This perspective provides a basis upon which to examine the lives and experiences of Māori women today.

### **Gender Roles and Cosmogony**

A discussion of the roles of women and men according to Māori customary practices must begin with the creation stories. Māori cosmogony not only provides the key to an understanding of how traditional Māori viewed the world and their place within the world; but also informs Māori views about

themselves. It therefore continues to shape Māori practices and beliefs.

Clues about gender relations are also found within the cosmological narratives.

Central to Māori cosmogony is *whakapapa*, the genealogical connections through which humanity and the spiritual forces are joined and from which the world was created. The allegorical expressions within the cosmological genealogies clearly assume that both male and female elements are essential to the continuation of whakapapa. Whakapapa is the currency upon which women and men established their individual relationship to the land, kinship ties, and status within Māori society (Sinclair, 1975:89; Walker, 1990:70).

Greatly significant within the traditional narratives is the absence of patriarchal notions about male domination and female subordination. In western Greek tradition, for example, Tertillian argues that in the sperm the whole fruit was present (Cox, 1987:4). In contrast, throughout the Māori genesis stories, the female reproductive organs, and the birthing process are a central feature. Inherent within the narratives is the notion of complementarity's that provide the blueprint for gender relations within Māori tribal social structures. The foundations of traditional Māori social structures are based on the collective well being and complementary gender roles. An in-depth examination of the cosmological genealogies and narratives is required to provide some answers to questions about the nature of gender relations. What do the narratives reveal about the relationship between the genders? This study will attempt to answer these question of

whether these same principles are relevant to the lives of contemporary Māori women and men, and more specifically Whakatōhea, in a today's world?

The majority of accessible material of Māori history, has either been recorded by white male anthropologists and ethnographers (e.g. Elsdon Best and Percy Smith)<sup>2</sup> or has been based upon their work. Nevertheless, it is asserted that a re-examination of available sources, through the eyes of a Māori and a Whakatōhea woman will present a new perspective, one which is not located within a Western patriarchal framework.

### **Te Kore, Te Pō, Te Ao Mārama**

Māori divided the phenomenological world into three sequential states of existence over aeons of evolution moving from Te Kore (the void), to Te Pō (the dark), and finally Te Ao Mārama (the world of light). Although Te Kore signified space, it contained in its vastness the seeds of the universe and was therefore a state of potential (Simmons, 1985:17). Te Pō was the celestial realm and the domain of gods. This was the source of all mana and tapu. Te Ao Mārama is the world of light and reality, the dwelling place of humans (Walker 1990:11).

Māori cosmogony begins with Te Kore, which is frequently translated as “the void” (Buck, 1958:434) and has been described as a period without sound, light or movement (Kahukiwa & Grace 1984:16). More than a state of

‘nothingness’ the first state of existence, Te Kore, is described as “the realm between non-being and being, that is, the realm of potential being” (Simmons, 1985:17). Te Kore contains the first impressions of the complementary nature of the relationship between male and female elements (Jahnke 1996:62). Allegories of growth and procreation are found in the waiata whakapapa recorded by Te Kohuroa of Rongoroa and published in 1855 by Reverend Richard Taylor,

Na te kune, te pupuke  
 Na te pupuke te hihiri  
 Na te hihiri te mahara  
 Na te mahara te hinengaro  
 Na te hinengaro te manako  
 (Taylor, 1855:14)

Te Kore is described as the development of ideas:

*“Ko Te Kore koia tena te timatanga mai o te whakaaro nui. Ehara i te mea, e tipu ana ngā muingota i roto i taua ao ...Whai muri i Te Kore, and ki te ao Māori e hara i te ‘void’, ehara i te ‘korekore’, he timatanga hou, ne, he timatanga hou mo te whakaaro nei. See? Koia ena ke te tikanga o Te Kore. Kai reira ngā muingota tāhūrihuri e whati ana, e tuhono ana, e mahi ana ā rātou mahi. E roa, e roa, e mahi ana i aua mahi. E kore taea te kite-a-kanohi nei”<sup>3</sup>*

Marsden (1981:34) describes Te Kore as containing all the elements of creation:

<sup>2</sup>Te Awēkotuku, N *He Tikanga Whakaaro: Research Ethics in the Maori Community (1991)* 9, refers to the dominance of pākeha writers in the recording of Māori knowledge.

<sup>3</sup>Hinehou Campbell, personal informant and one of the participants of the present study.

Te Korekore is the realm between non-being and being: that is, the realm of potential being. This is the realm of primal, elemental energy or latent being. It is here that the seed-stuff of the universe and all created things gestate. It is the creation from which all things proceed. Thus the Maori is thinking of continuous creation employed in two allegorical figures: that of plant growth and that of gestation in the womb. (Marsden, 1981:34).

Campbell (1997:32) further defines the significance of each phase of creations development in Māori, building on Best's (1976:69) interpretation of the genealogical tables given by Nepia Pōhuhu of Te Wairarapa to White.

Te Kore (te ao o te whanaketanga)	(signifies nothingness, chaos)
Te Pō (te ao o ngā atua)	(signifies night, darkness of unknown)
Te Rapunga (te ao o ngā whakakitenga nui)	(signifies seeking)
Te Whaia (ko ngā torohanga)	(signifies followed or sought)
Te Kukune (te whakatō i te kākano, te rea)	(signifies growth)
Te Pupuke (te whakarahi, te puku hapū)	(signifies increase, swelling & c.)
Te Hīhiri (hikaka, pukā, hihiko)	(signifies desire, energy)
Te Mahara (te whakaaro nui)	(signifies thought)
Te Hinengaro (te mahara)	(signifies mind)
Te Manako (te wawata, maimai, aroha, maioha)	(signifies longing, desire)
Te Wānanga (te kōrerorero, te whakawhiwhiti whakaaro)	(signifies occult knowledge)
Te Ahua (te ata, te arā, te hanga)	(signifies form)
Te Atamai (te mōhio, te māramatanga)	(signifies knowing, readiness)
Te Whiwhia (te whakawhiwhia, te here nāku ake)	(signifies possession, acquisition)
Te Rawea (he tino pai, ngata, manawa, mākona)	(signifies satisfaction at possession)
Te Hauora (te tiaki, te atawhai, te poipoi, te aroha, te manaaki)	(signifies welfare)
Ātea (te wātea)	(signifies space)

A second phase follows:

Te Pū (te pūtake)	(origin, cause, root)
Te Weu (ngā tōritoritotanga whirokiroki noa nei)	(rootlets)
Te More (te take matua, te pūtake nui)	(taproot, cause)
Te Aka (ngā torohanga akaaka)	(small roots, vines)
Te Tipuranga (te rea)	(growth)
Taketake (te take, te tino take)	(base; also firm, lasting)
Te Kune-iti (āta whakatipu)	(lesser growth)
Te Kune-rahi (te tere whakatipu)	(greater growth)

Te Ahunga (te ata, te hanga, te ariā)	(forming)
Te Aponga (te kohikohi, te kato, te aohanga atu)	(collecting)
Te Ngarue (te nekeneke, te rui)	(movement)
Te Ngāoko (te nukunuku, te ahi tere, tangi)	(movement)
Te Piere (te hū, te koromamao, korohū)	(fissure)
Te Ngātata (te whakatūwhera, te pūare, matata, tihore)	(opened or split)
Te Ngāwhā (puea, pūare, pahū)	(burst open)
Te Kiita (ūmanga, kikorangi, uaua, māro)	(firm or fast)
Tamaku-rangi (te rangi ngahuru mā tahi heavens)	(the second of the twelve heavens)
Rangi-nui (te rangi ngahuru mā rua)	(the first of the twelve heavens). (Campbell, 1997:32).

Kahukiwa and Grace (1984:135) also liken the period to time spent in a womb with their reference to Increase, Consciousness and Te Pō being born out of Te Kore. So Te Pō was born from the “infinite realms” of Te Kore (Marsden 1981:135). Te Pō was a period that lasted for an unimaginable length of time, as stressed by the reference to the numerical sequence of at least ten Pō (Buck, 1982:434; Walker, 1990:12). The darkness of Te Pō was similarly unimaginable:

I am aged in aeons, and I am Night of many nights, Night of many darkness's - Night of great darkness, long darkness, utter darkness, birth and death darkness; of darkness unseen, darkness touchable and untouchable, and of every kind of darkness that can be.  
(Kahukiwa & Grace, 1984:16).

Te Pō has also been likened to a womb within which both Papatūānuku, a female being, was the earth and Ranginui, a male, was the sky. According to Pere (1979), these primeval parents of humanity were created by a series of forces, both male and female. A Whakatōhea version of this narrative (Hinehou Campbell) refers to each stage in creation as possessing elements that are either distinctly male, female, or both, starting with Te Kore:<sup>4</sup>

*“Tāua wā, he wāhine tena ki te ao Māori he tararua pea, wāhine-tāne... Ka puta ko Te Pō, he wāhine ano tēna, na te mea i whānau mai ngā Atua, ka puta ko Papa-matua-te-kore, me Io-matua-te-kore. Mai a Papa-matua-te-kore moe a Te*

<sup>4</sup> Throughout this thesis, primary sourced quotes will be italicised. Quotes from secondary written sources will not be.

*Aoaonui. Na raua, ka puta ko Papatuānuku mā, ko wai ake, ko wai ake. Na, kāre he uri o Io-matangaro, engari a Papamatua-te-kore. Hei aha, ko he wāhine Te Pō, ana ko ngā wehenga, ka puta ko Te Māramatanga-iti. I roto i Te Māramatanga iti, ko ngā timatanga mai o te Mārama, o ngā whetū, o te aha, te aha ... Te Māramatang-iti he wāhine ano tenā. Ara te ao Māori ko Rōna te mea ki wētahi he tāne, ki wētahi he wāhine. Whakapūmau ana au, he wāhine. Whai muri i tēna, ko Te Awatea. Ko ia anahe te ao tāne. Ko Te Awatea puta ki Tamanui-te-rā. Ena, ko te wā o te kaha mōhio tēna. Ka pū ao. Whai muri o tēna, ka whānau mai, ko e Ao Tūroa, me wana tuakana, teina, ko Te Muriwai-hou. Ka kī a ko Raro wāhine anō tēna.<sup>5</sup>*

Te Kore possessed elements of both sexes. Each stage is assigned one of the elements – male, female, or a combination, and the different stages are as follows:

*“Ko Te Kore, he tararua, ko Te Pō, he wāhine, ko Te Māramatanga-iti, he wāhine, ko Te Awatea, he tāne, ko Te Ao Tūroa, he taharua ano, ko Te Muriwai-hou, he wāhine.”<sup>6</sup>*

Accordingly, male and female elements from the very beginning of creation through to the present are elements essential to life. Best (1996:743) in *Tuhoe the children of the mist*, mentions a version by one of his Māori informant’s which recognises an original pair, Te Rangi-matinitini representing the original male element, and Te Ao-matinitini the original female element. From the sexual union of these two original beings came Te Pu and Te More, male and female offspring; who in turn produced male and female offspring, Te Weu and Te Aka, and so on, each pair reproducing another pair. Another version recognises the bi-sexual nature of each stage, each capable of reproducing itself (Best, 1996:742).

<sup>5</sup> Personal informant, and study participant, Hinehou Campbell.

Whatever, bi-sexual or distinctly male or female, clearly the male and female elements are recognised in Māori cosmogony as essential elements. Best is more specific about the origin of power relations between the two sexes, one which is equal in nature; “...*Te Pu and Te More, they were male and female. Te More is the lower, Te Pu is above. But these names are really one, the upper part is male, the lower part female. These two became united, and were of equal rank and importances. Such was the origin of sex, of male and female.*” (Best, 1996:744-5).

The cosmological narratives, orally transmitted through the generations contain messages of the Māori world-view of power relations between women and men. They reveal the equal importance of male and female elements to existence. Therefore the cosmological narratives provide the blueprint for power relations between women and men - a relationship that is equal and complementary.

### **Te Whānau Atua**

Some versions of the creation story (Buck1982: 438; Smith 1997:117) describe the sexual nature of the relationship between Papa and Rangi in terms of power relations. According to Buck (ibid.) on observing Papatuānuku lying naked on her back facing upwards, Rangi desired her and descended to mate with her. This description places Papatuānuku in a passive role, a patriarchal view, which neutralises the sexual power of the

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<sup>6</sup> ibid.

primeval ancestress. Rose Pere, however, describes the relationship between Papatūānuku and Rangi as one, which was equal and complementary:

The union of the primeval parents as one deity was one of both a spiritual and physical nature. The primeval parents embraced and clung together as one deity for aeons of time producing many children. Papa and Rangi found great fulfilment in their union as one, for them it was a natural beautiful relationship. (Pere, 1982:7)

Rangi and Papa through their procreative powers brought into being seventy male only offspring, which included sons Tānemahuta, Tangaroa, Tawhirimatea, Tumatauenga, Haumia-tiketike, Rongomatane (Walker, 1990:12; Best, 1976:75-85). Through aeons of time, the children of Papa and Rangi lived in darkness, clasped between the bodies of their parents, ‘the most roomy parts between the breasts and under the armpits of their mother’ (Buck 1982:438). The embrace of the primeval pair prevented light as well as knowledge from entering the lives of their children (Walker, 1990:12).

The children came to resent their cramped and dark existence and longed for independence and light. They met together to seek a solution to their insufferable situation. Six of the male children of Rangi and Papa, Tānemahuta, Tangaroa, Tawhirimatea, Tumatauenga, Haumia-tiketike and Rongomatane were prominent in the discussions. Tumatauenga proposed that the parents be killed. The pros and the cons of this suggestion were discussed at length. After a while Tāne placed before them another proposal. He suggested that it would be better if they are rendered apart, Rangi pushed away into the distance, and the children remain below with their mother.

After much discussion, it was concluded by the majority of the siblings, Tūmatauenga included, that separating their parents would be the answer to their desire to no longer live in darkness and ignorance. Tāwhirimātea, who feared that he would lose power over his kingdom of storms and winds should his father be forced into the sky, kept silent about his disapproval while abstaining from taking part in the separation. Each of the five remaining sons in turn attempted to separate their parents. Rongomatāne, Tangaroa, and Haumietiketike in turn were unsuccessful. Tūmatauenga the god of war leapt up and hacked at the sinews that bound the Earth to the Sky. This act caused blood to flow, giving rise to ochre, or red clay. Despite all this fierce effort and great physical exertion, Tūmatauenga was still unable to separate his parents.

It was Tāne Māhuta who eventually managed to force them apart by standing on his head and using the strength of his legs to push his father upwards. In Tāne's first attempt he used his arms to push them apart, but was not successful. After much thought and reconsideration, Tāne decided to place his shoulders against his mother the Earth and his feet against his father, the Sky. He strained upwards with the strength of his legs. After prolonged and patient effort, Rangi and Papa eventually began to yield. They protested and pleaded with their children, and asked why they wished to destroy the love of their parents. Tāne thrust with all his strength and the sinews that held Papa and Rangi stretched and ripped (Alpers 1985:17-18). As Papa and Rangi continued to grasp one another's arms, it was necessary for their limbs to be severed with the axes Te Awhio-rangi and Te Whiro-nui. Tāne then propped

his father up on four posts, thereby rendering the separation of the primal parents permanent. The falling rain and rising mist symbolise the perpetual grief of the primary parents at their enforced separation (Walker, 1990:12; Alpers, 1985:15-27; Buck 1958:445; Smith 1997:121).

The incidents surrounding the separation of Rangi and Papa explain the origins of human emotions. Rangi and Papa and their offspring experienced feelings of love, and longing for each other. Papatuānuku experienced feelings of protection towards her children. Rangi too demonstrated feelings of love and longing toward Papatuānuku, but experienced feelings of revenge, fear, anger, towards their children.

After the separation between Papa and Rangi, war broke out amongst the children. Tāwhirimātea, the God of wind and storms was fearful of losing control of his kingdom and also jealous of the prominence that Tāne held in separating their parents (Alpers, 1985:15-27). Tāwhirimātea who had opposed the separation but held his breath rose up and vented his anger, striking out with great gusts of wind and storms at his brothers. He caused great devastation and destruction, uprooting children of Tāne, and throwing children of Tangaroa to shore to perish. Haumietiketike fled to shelter with his mother. All but one of the remaining children, Tūmatauenga, fled before Tāwhirimātea. Tūmatauenga, god of war, also represented unborn man (Buck 1982:456), regarded his brothers' conduct as cowardly and he also turned against them, using their offspring for food and implements. He made snares out of plants of Tāne, which he used to catch and eat the birds of Tāne,

the fish of Tangaroa, the kumara of Rongomātāne and the fern root of Haumietiketike.

Even then, the children's difficulties were not over. So intense was their parents' grief at having been separated that they wept continuously. Rain, hail and snow poured down from Rangi, while Papa's tears rose in constant mist and froze on her body as frost. The children discussed the best course of action and decided to turn Papatuānuku over on her face so that she and Ranginui could no longer see one another's pain. Papa looked instead upon Rarohenga, also often referred to as Te Pō<sup>7</sup>, the place where the spirits of the dead go. Papatuānuku, despite the anguish of separation, protected her children against the wrath of Ranginui, who wished to destroy them, insisting:

Leave them to me. Let them return to rest with me. I brought them forth into the world of life; let them come back and rest with me as spiritual children for us. Though they rebelled against us, yet they are still my children.  
(Best, 1976:53)<sup>8</sup>

While the children were now able to move freely, and had escaped the extreme darkness of their former existence, it is said that their world was dimly lit. The sun and moon were therefore affixed to the sky to provide light during the day and night. Due to the fact that the moon did not provide adequate light throughout the length of each monthly cycle, Tāne gathered and fixed the stars on Ranginui's breast. According to Buck (1982), the world had "passed from the darkness of Te Pō into the light of Te Ao

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<sup>7</sup>Te Pō, here, refers to the realm also known as Rarohenga rather than the state po.

<sup>8</sup>Best, E Maori Religion and Mythology (1976).

Marama.” (p.441). The progression from Te Kore, through Te Pō and on to Te Ao Mārama is an ongoing cycle of conception, development within the womb, and birth.

To proceed with the narrative, Tumatauenga (Tū) sought *utu* revenge, from his brothers for leaving him to face Tāwhirimatea alone. First, he attacked the children of Tāne and asserted his mana by debasing them and converting them to common use. From trees and vines he fashioned spears and snares to kill and trap Tāne’s birds. He also made nets and canoes to catch the children of Tangaroa. By his actions of using the children of his brothers as food and common objects, Tumatauenga negated their tapu, thereby making them noa. In this way the basic dichotomy in Maori life between the sacred and profane came into being. Tu’s assertion of mana over his brothers was the rationale for the superior position of human beings in the natural order (Walker 1990:13-14). Tu the god of war is described by Alpers (1985:22-23) as man in spirit and not body, as man was not yet made, as there was no woman. Tāne with the help of his brothers was to fix this.

### **Tihei Mauri Ora: The Creation of Humankind**

The story of the creation of humanity provides clues about how to proceed in decision-making processes of whānau, hapū, and iwi and gender power relations.

According to Walker and Best, Rangi and Papa are said to have produced only male offspring, although there were supernatural females present in the

world at that time (Walker, 1990:14; Best 1976:75). It became apparent to the brothers that a union between one of them and one of the celestial females could not result in human life, as the *uha* (human element) was missing. Tāne and his brothers, who were of *ira atua* (divine principle), searched the natural world for *ira tangata*, (the human principle). Tāne led a restless search trying his procreative powers on various elements in nature, bringing forth trees, birds, and insects. The brothers concluded from these results, that *ira tangata* could not be derived from *ira atua*. A separate act of creation was needed for human beings. Moreover, Tāne's attempts to produce human life with a number of other females present in the natural world were unsuccessful. His actions with Hinewaioriki produced the kāhika and the mātai trees, his attempts with Mumuhanga produced the totara tree, his efforts with Hinetūparimaunga produced the personified form of water, and so on (Buck 1977:450).

### **Hineahuone**

The brothers sought advice from their mother. She told them to go to her public region, named Kurawaka. It was there, at Papatuānuku's most fertile region, that Tāne found the necessary female element, the *uha*, to complement his maleness and create humanity (Walker, 1990:14). Along with his brothers, Tāne shaped Hineahuone from the red clay. Each brother took part in the creative process, contributing knowledge and resources, deliberating over each anatomical formation at Kurawaka. The brothers considered and discussed in length the way to assemble the various parts of the female sex organ. Tāne was delegated the task of breathing life into the

inanimate form to create the *ira tangata*. From this work of cooperation between the brothers, the first human, a woman named Hineahuone, was created (Buck, 1977:450, Walker, 1990:14). With the first breath, Hineahuone sneezed exclaiming '*Tihe Mauriora*', 'I sneeze – it is life!' thereupon producing the first human speech (Stirling, 1980:13). It is this saying which is used by speakers on the marae to begin a *whaikōrero* speech, which carries the connotations of 'Now it is my turn. Here I stand. I am about to speak. Hear me.' (King, 1978:1). From this incident it is evident that, a woman was the first human created, and it was a woman who spoke the first words ever spoken by a human.

### **Hinetītama**

Although the most sexually experienced of all the brothers, Tāne seemed ignorant of how to reproduce with Hineahuone. He entered the various orifices in her body, producing tears, wax, mucous, saliva, sweat, and excreta. It was not until he entered her vagina that Tāne met with success;

Tāne felt a tremendous force from within Hine, a powerful force, such as he had never experienced before. All that Tāne had sought and hoped for he found in his relationship with Hine; together they brought forth humanity

(Pere, 1982:9)

Tāne cohabited with Hineahuone and brought forth Hinetītama, the Dawn Maid. He then cohabited with Hinetītama, to produce other children. In due course, Hinetītama asked Tāne about her father. His evasive answer telling her to ask the posts of his house drove her to the inevitable conclusion that her own husband was her father. This discovery appalled Hinetītama, who

fled from Tāne in the direction of the underworld of Rarohenga. As she entered the portal to the underworld, she turned to Tāne, who had followed her, and bade him farewell, saying, ‘Tāne, return to our family. I have severed connection with the world of light now and desire to dwell in the world of night.’ She commanded him to return to care for their children in their earthly life, telling him that she would prepare a place for them at Rarohenga, and there care for them once more as a mother, in death.

Thereupon she descended into Rarohenga, where she became Hinenuitepō, the ancestress to whom all her human descendants go upon death (Best, 1952:89; Walker, 1990:14-15). Hinenuitepō, protects her descendents spirit soul from complete extinction in the afterlife:

.... the wairua or spirit survives death, and occasionally returns to this world. It was Hine who prevented the death or destruction of the human soul, and who still protects it.  
(Best 1976:129)

On the surface, the story of Hinetītama and Tāne may serve to suggest a natural abhorrence towards the act of incest in Māori society. However, there is not an equivalent word for incest in Maori and there are many *whakatauki* or proverbs that subscribe to the merits of close relatives marrying (Mahuika 1981:77) that indicates, at least for some tribes, no taboo at all existing in pre-European times. For example the *whakatauki* “*Me moe to tungane*”, or ‘Marry your brother (or cousin)’, encourages marriage between cousins for reasons such as to keep quarrels and land within the *whānau* family group. Also, an examination of many *whakapapa* genealogies show, that it was not uncommon for first cousins; uncle and niece; or other close relatives to co-

habit and produce children (ibid.). However, I have not discovered any *whakapapa* lines that admit to offspring from a father-daughter or same parents brother-sister relationship after Tāne and Hinetītama, which suggests that indeed pre-European Māori society did not regard the union between immediate relatives as acceptable.

Walker (1982) absolves the choice of Tāne to take Hinetītama as necessary stating that; “[i]n a creation myth that begins with a single pair, incest in the next generation is inevitable for the establishment of the human line.”

However, Tu is said to be man in spirit (1985:22), or the God of man (Walker 1990:13). It is my view that he should not have been kept out of the procreation loop. Incest between Tāne and Hinetītama was not necessary to the continuation of humankind if Tāne had stood aside and given his first human female offspring Hinetītama to Tu the god of man. It is my view that incest was not the primary reason for Hinetītama rejecting her husband when she learned he was also her father.

A study of Māori social values provides incite into the root of shame felt by Hinetītama. Greed is a vice greatly deplored in Māori society, evidenced in the many *whakatauki* which express disgust of acts of self-indulgence (Brougham, Reed & Kāretu 1992:43), and extol acts of generosity (Brougham et. al, 1992:41). Tāne had already fathered many offspring including Hinetītama, and had Hineahuone the first woman as his wife. He was in a powerful position in the father role, and misused that power in denying Hinetītama the choice of another husband. Therefore it is asserted

here that Hinētītama did not turn from Tāne entirely because she was ashamed of the sexual relationship, but out of despair and disgust at his misuse of his power by taking more than he was entitled to. Tāne through his greed had denied Hinētītama the opportunity to procreate with another. Emotions of abhorrence to acts of greed are reflected in Māori practices and belief systems which discourage acts of greed but encourage *manaakitanga* (sharing) *aatawhaitanga* (caring) most evidenced at large *hui* (gatherings) and *hākari* (feasts) where pride is at stake, and generosity is measured by the greatness of a guest's *koha* (gifts), and the quality of the food and care given by *tangata whenua* (hosts) to their guests.

As incest was not considered a real issue in pre-European and traditional Māori society it is asserted that the emotion of shame experienced by Hinētītama was more directly associated with abhorrence to the act of greed and misuse of power on Tāne's part, rather than simply incest. This creation narrative, illustrates the importance of equal and complementary relations between male and female elements. The creation of humanity came about through the combined efforts of male and female, thus highlighting the complementary nature of the two sexes. Without the female element, the male offspring of Rangi and Papa were powerless to create humankind. They were aware of their limited knowledge and power and sought to overcome this by carrying out a search. The process of their search and decision about the outcomes and conclusion they reached to create a human form provide a blueprint for how women and men may become involved in the socio-political affairs of whānau, hapū and iwi.

Evidence of the complementary nature of gender relationships is found throughout the creation narrative. The separation story reveals the female power of Papatuānuku ‘The Earth Mother’ over humankind (Jahnke 1996:66). Papatuānuku possessed the essential ingredient for the creation of humankind, the female element *uha*, (Buck, 1982:450-1). Also Papatuānuku had the potential power to provide an environment for nourishment and sustenance in the event that humanity should procreate. “Located within the sanctum of her body were the realms of each of her sons, the deities of the major resources of the universe” (Jenkins, 1992:39). Tāne in his search for the *uha* female element experimented with various inanimate objects and even ideas which were personified as females but were not human (Buck 1982:450), in so doing together with Papatuānuku, Tāne created an environment fit for humankind to live. Papatuānuku possessed the female element ‘*uha*’ and Tāne the life principle *ira tangata*, both essential elements for the creation of humanity, thus illustrating the complementary and interdependent nature of male and female.

### **Tapu and noa**

According to Māori worldview, the state of ‘tapu’ refers to restriction and control, whereas the state of ‘noa’ refers to practices and beliefs that are unrestricted and open to public usage. One state complements the other. Also, each state has a spiritual as well as a physical dimension (Rangihau, 1992:12). Under certain circumstances women are considered either ‘noa’ or

‘tapu’. The narrative about the search for the human element illustrate the place of ‘noa’ and ‘tapu’ for Māori women.

The task of searching for the *uha* and of creating the human form by, contributing knowledge and resources, also illustrates the importance of getting things right and of having the appropriate ingredients (Jahnke, 1996:66). The story acknowledges a woman’s reproductive organs, as a most tapu area of the body. The power of a woman’s reproductive organs are symbolised in the *pare* (carved figure on the upper door frame) of a *tipuna whare* (meeting house). On entering into a tipuna whare, a ritualistic re-enactment and process of transformation from one state *noa*, into another *tapu* occurs that confirms the importance of women. The *pare*, is a carved female figure above a external door. It represents the origin of the life of the tribe and acts as a protection against harmful intentions by any who might enter. It honours an ancestress (Mitchell, 1972:86; Jahnke, 1996:67). Pere emphasises how women as well as men were considered tapu when she says:

He tapu, he tapu, he tapu rawa te wāhine.

(Pere, 1982:23)

Women were considered most highly tapu during menstruation and pregnancy. Menstrual blood was considered ‘the flow of ancestral blood’ and critical to continuation of life (Pere, 1982:22). Therefore as Pere contends, the notion of women as ‘unclean’ or ‘contaminated’ during menstruation is inconsistent with a Māori world-view (ibid). Women’s role as *whare tangata* (houses of humanity) was regarded as important and observances of tapu ensured that pregnant women did not jeopardise their

unborn child in any way. Thus, within a Māori worldview, menstruation signifies both life lost and the potential for life and women's role as the potential receptacle of existence and non-existence.

### **Māui and his kuia**

The descendants of Hineahuone increased until the time of Māui. His mother Taranga, dwelt in the earthly world by night and in Paerau, one of the domains of the underworld, by day. His father, Makea-tūtara, dwelt permanently at Paerau. Taranga in her old age gave birth to a premature child and thinking the baby to be stillborn, cut off her topknot, then wrapped child in it and set him adrift on the sea. Taranga did not take the usual ceremonial precautions associated with an aborted child to ensure that the spirit was laid to rest rather than remaining as a possible source of future trouble for the living. However her choice of wrapping for her child provided powerful protection for him. The head and hair are considered a most *tapu* sacred part of the body. From this early incident, Māui came to be known as Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, 'Māui of the topknot of Taranga' and Māui-pōtiki 'Māui the last-born' (Walker, 1990:15). Wrapped in the *tapu* protection provided by his mother, Māui was cast ashore on a clump of seaweed that saved him from drowning.

### **Māui and his koroua**

Māui was rescued from the sea by one of his *koroua tipuna* male ancestor, Tama-nui-ki-te-Rangi who revived and then raised him (ibid.) in the celestial realm. It is significant that the child Māui was raised by a male elder. In

Māori society koroua as well as kuia play a significant role in the care and upbringing of *mokopuna* grandchildren.

### **Tuakana Teina – The sibling relationship**

Status and succession in customary Māori society were based on order of birth<sup>9</sup>, and Māui as *pōtiki* last-born came low in the family hierarchy (ibid.). As are many last-born, Māui was also very precocious and indulged, particularly by his kuia to whom he sought assistance and advice from. They recognised him as a gifted child and indulged him. Maui possessed the basic personality traits idealised in Māori society. He was quick, intelligent, bold, resourceful, cunning and fearless (Walker, 1990:15-19), a precocious child “... who push[ed] against the wind, challeng[ed] the incoming tide and ask[ed] questions that probe[d] behind questions never asked before” (Brailsford 1994:37-38). He was also a clever trickster who used guile and cunning to deceive particularly his kuia, and it is from this practice that he earned the name Māui-nukurau-tangata (Walker, 1990:15-16). Māui serves as a model for how *teina* younger siblings and in particular the last-born with determination and character may succeed in life (ibid.).

### **Māui and his search for knowledge**

Women as repositories of knowledge, feature in the Māui narrative. Māui sought to be rejoined with his family but on appearing in their midst. Māui was challenged by his brothers and mother, then identified himself as *Māui tikitiki a Taranga*, whereupon his mother Taranga immediately welcomed

him home realising the child whom she had aborted had indeed survived. She invited Māui to stand on the ridgepole of his ancestress Hinenuitepō's house (Grey 1953:17), a sign of his membership in that family. Taranga also gave him a favoured place in her affections by allowing him to sleep in her bed. His elder brothers resented Māui because of this.

The lessons in this narrative have relevance in contemporary Māori life. Abandoned by his mother at birth, Māui returned to claim his heritage by providing the appropriate proof of whakapapa, and on doing so was rewarded with full rights of membership. In addition, his status was raised above that of his *tuakana* (Walker, 1990:16). This narrative provides an example of how those who move from the *haukainga* home-place obtain rights and privileges through *whakapapa* ancestry. They must have knowledge of their whakapapa which needs to be validated by a person of power and status. The narrative also demonstrates the independence and power that women possess as holders of whakapapa knowledge. Within Māori society women possess the power and independent authority to hold and pass on knowledge of and to validate whakapapa connections.

The role of women as repositories of knowledge of whakapapa complements the knowledge and authority that men possess. The next phase in Māui's life story highlights this. Taranga disappeared at night. Māui sought to find out where she went, and who his father was. He followed her to the underworld where his father lived. Taranga introduced him to his father. Māui's father

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<sup>9</sup>Gender, and age are also criteria, but I concentrate on the teina/tuakana relationship here.

Makeatutara performed the tohi ritual of purification that cleared the tapu away from Māui that surrounded his birth. Unfortunately, Makeatutara made an error reciting karakia, which left Māui open to possible misfortune and death. However the ritual ceremony also served as a public legitimating by the father of his son.

Walker (1990) observes that the theme of a child such as Māui searching out his father is repeated throughout traditional tribal narratives. He rationalises that it was customary for temporary liaisons between visiting chiefs and local women to occur which meant that ex-nuptial births were common (ibid).

Women were left to raise children without the biological father. However, kuia and koroua were involved in raising and educating their grandchildren.

The above narrative provides evidence of the interchangeable and yet complementary nature of women and men's gender roles. Men as well as women take primary responsibility for raising children. Men as well as women have the power to nullify tapu to a state of noa. The narrative serves to provide evidence of the importance of the male and female parenting roles in the care and protection of children. It also demonstrates the importance of following correct procedures and the dire consequences should one fail to do so. Māui would not have learnt who his father was if not for Taranga divulging that knowledge. Therefore the Māui narrative reinforces the notion that women are powerful as repositories of genealogical knowledge. The Māui narratives illustrate the complementary and the interdependence of men and women within Māori society.

### **Kuia as repositories of knowledge**

There is often an ambivalent relationship of tension and indulgence between young and old in Māori society. It is evident in the encounters between Māui and his ancestress, from whom, he sought knowledge. His *kuia* ancestress, possessed knowledge that Māui wished to acquire for humankind. Māui needed to tread carefully and with guile to gain the information he wanted, as his *kuia* had primeval powers that could destroy him should he irritate them (Walker 1990:17).

Māui sought to acquire knowledge for humankind. As his *kuia* possessed the knowledge he required, Māui set out to acquire the knowledge through deception. Māui wished to possess the enchanted jawbone of his *kuia* Muriranga-whenua. She was old and blind and dependent upon her relatives to take her food each day. When he visited her home, he tried her patience by hiding her food from her. Yet despite the teasing, which could have ended with Murirangawhenua devouring him, Māui was able to placate her. As soon as she recognised her mokopuna, she favoured him and capitulated allowing him to keep her enchanted jawbone (Walker, 1990:17).

Murirangawhenua knew that the magical qualities of her jawbone would benefit Māui and her descendants (Brailsford 1994:38).

This narrative provides instruction for *rangatahi* about the virtues of patience and perseverance in seeking favours from elders. It also provides an example of the power that kuia have as holders of knowledge and the conditions under which they are prepared to pass it on.

In a similar episode to the encounter with Murirangawhenua, Māui obtained the knowledge of fire from another of his kuia named Māhuika. Over a period of time, Māui tricked her into giving up one fingernail and toenail of fire at each visit until the very last one. He destroyed each flame. On the tenth and last visit, Māui found he had pushed the patience of his kuia too far. Māhuika threw the last to the ground and called upon Whaitiri, the goddess of lightning to send down burning coals. Māui nearly perished in the fire that resulted and cried to Tāwhirimātea to save him, who responded with rainstorms (Best 1982:348-351; Walker, 1990:17). Māhuika took pity on her human descendants and threw her final few sparks into the kaikōmako, mahoe and taraire trees (Best, 1952:47; Walker, 1990:17). It was a salutary lesson that tampering with primeval forces could destroy the world. Māui provoked Māhuika's anger, but survived to reveal the secret of fire to human beings. Māui is the source of knowledge for the method of generating heat and fire by friction between two pieces of timber from the mahoe, taraire or kaikōmako trees. This narrative reinforces the notion that kuia are repositories of knowledge. However, Māhuika in giving up her knowledge to Māui also gave away power. The narrative provides examples of the direct connection between knowledge and power and provides a rationale for the traditional

practice of the knowledge holders keeping back some knowledge for their own protection and survival.<sup>10</sup>

In Māori society, kuia often set the limits for behaviour of mokopuna. However, Māui the precocious mokopuna pushed the boundaries one too many times when he took on Hinenuitēpō the sister of Mahuika (Best, 1982:379). Māui's final encounter with the goddess of death, Hinenuitēpō, as predicted by the ill omen of his tohi, ended with Māui's death (Walker, 1990:19). The last and boldest challenge endeavoured by Māui was his attempt to gain immortality for mankind by reversing the birth process (ibid.). When Māui was only halfway in the birth passage, his bird companions laughed out-loud. This woke Hinenuitēpō, who crushed Māui to death between her thighs thus ending his quest for immortality (Best, 1982:378-9).

The story of Hinenuitēpō and Māui reinforces the theme of the potent power of the female sexual organs and their potentiality for the creation of new life or the destruction and denial of life. In Māori society the duality of this power is well recognised in the two sayings which refer to women's sexual organs; *te whare aitua* the house of death, and *te whare tangata* the house of humanity. Humanity exists because of the sexual power of women. This narrative also serves to illustrate that mokopuna, must take care to choose their battles wisely. Wanting something from kuia that would only cause her and her descendants harm pre-empted his loss. Hinenuitēpō serves to protect

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<sup>10</sup>See Ngoi Pewhairangi pp8-10 and John Rangihau pp10-13 in King M, (ed), 1981 *Te Ao Hurihuri The World Moves On* for

her descendants on entering death and not to harm them. The encounter between her and Māui provides a lesson of how kuia give mokopuna what they need and not necessarily what they want.

### **Tungane Tuahine – Sibling relationships**

The story of Rupe illustrates the close bond between male and female relatives. Rupe, a brother of Māui went in search of their sister Hinauri. Māui had turned her husband Irawaru into a dog after a fishing trip in which Irawaru had caught fish and Māui none. This incident illustrates how dangerous and capricious the brother-in-law relationship is. Hinauri was so bereft by the loss of her husband that she tried to commit suicide by throwing herself into the sea, but she was cast up on to strange shores. Rupe extended his search right up to the tenth heaven, the realm of Rehua. Rupe's search for Hinauri, like Māui's search for his parents, indicated the primacy of the bond of affection for a female sibling.

### **Conclusion**

The analysis of cosmological narratives, provide insights into the nature of power relations and theoretical understandings about the position, status and role of women in customary society, which continue to have relevance today. The next chapter focuses on the customary narratives about kuia tipuna of Whakatōhea. The cosmological narratives provide a reference for an analysis of contemporary Whakatōhea socio-political affairs today.

## Chapter 5

### Ngā Wāhine Kaihautū o Te Whakatōhea:

#### Navigating the tides of time.

#### Introduction

The following compilation of customary narratives of Whakatōhea tipuna kuia demonstrate how cultural values, beliefs, attitudes, and practices pertaining to women's status and influence within whānau, hapū, and iwi socio-political affairs is applied today. The tipuna kuia of Whakatōhea provide examples for contemporary Whakatōhea women and men, of the important role that women can play in the socio-political affairs of Whakatōhea.

#### Muriwai

Muriwai is the eponymous ancestress of Whakatōhea, has had enduring influence over many generations of her descendants as illustrated in the way that she is remembered through certain practices, cultural beliefs, and attitudes that continue today. It is from Muriwai that all members of Māori Whakatōhea are descended from (Walker, 1990:62). The influence of Muriwai is acknowledged to the present day in many ways. It is evident in the way many geographical sites and social groupings are named and in use today. A number of tribes (Te Whānau a Apanui, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu) attribute *kawa* associated with women, and *tikanga* associated

with men and women's practices, to Muriwai (Stirling, 1980:84). Muriwai was not constrained by a gender role but met a need as it arose, calling upon her talents and strengths. Muriwai possessed priestly powers that she used to guide her people. Muriwai was a woman of strong character, commanding respect from men and women alike during her lifetime up to today. Muriwai is an example of how women influence iwi social and political affairs.

Muriwai is remembered through the practice of naming. Social groupings, geographical locations, and tribal constructions are named after her. Muriwai is associated with how the tribe of Whakatōhea came to be named. The name of the tribe of Whakatōhea is attributed to a saying that highlights the strong and stubborn disposition Muriwai is said to have possessed.<sup>17</sup>

While on a fishing expedition with his brothers, Tāne-whirinaki, the second son of Muriwai, was drowned when their canoe capsized at sea (Mead, 1994:33). On returning to Whakatāne they were mistaken for a war party approaching and an alarm was raised "Muriwai e! He taua!" Although the call was repeated several times Muriwai remained in her cave. This angered the person calling, who in exasperation exclaimed, "Katahi te wāhine tohetohe ko tēnei", "This woman's obstinacy knows no bounds" (Amoamo, 1992:1). From this saying then comes the name of the tribe Whakatōhea meaning obstinance or stubbornness<sup>18</sup> (ibid.).<sup>19</sup> The cave is known today as

<sup>17</sup>There are other versions about how Whakatōhea gained its name, see Lyall (1979) p. 182.

<sup>18</sup> Amoamo, T.W. (1992), Whakatōhea and Christianity, 3 lectures given to first year history students at Victoria University 27 April 1992.

‘Muriwai’s cave’, and is located in the centre of Whakatāne township. The wharetipuna at Opape marae is named after Muriwai, and the Wharekai called ‘Tapairu’. Tapairu is the title given to the first-born female from prominent families. Through the practice of naming Muriwai continues to influence her descendants.

Muriwai’s words have endured throughout the generations. Practices, cultural beliefs, and attitudes are attributed to words she is said to have uttered. Muriwai is credited with the act of saving the Mataatua *waka*, canoe from drifting out to sea (Stirling 1980:84, Lyall, 1979:9). This incident is remembered through the naming of the township Whakatāne (Stirling 1980:84). Whakatōhea<sup>20</sup> maintain that it was not the child Wairaka but Muriwai, at the time a grown woman, who uttered the famous words “Kia whakatane au i ahau” “Let me make a man of myself” (Amoamo, 1992:1; Stirling, 1980:84-5; Lyall, 1979:7).

Muriwai, along with her brothers Toroa, Puhimoanaariki and Tāneatua, arrived in Aotearoa on the Mātaatua waka that landed at a point on the East Coast called Tihirau-mai-tawhiti (a hundred summits from the far-off land) (Stirling, 1980:84). The Mātaatua then moved west along the coast and “approached Whakatane” where “they could see a beautiful mountain and a harbour with a good landing-place” (Stirling, 1980:85). Muriwai was left

<sup>19</sup> Another Ngāti-Awa version is given in Lyall, 1979 p. 182 which says the name should be Wakatōhea, describing the argument between the siblings Toroa, Rahiri and Muriwai about whether the Mataatua should remain at Whakatāne or go North.

<sup>20</sup> Te Whānau a Apanui, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou also credit Muriwai with this act.

with other people on the Mātaatua while her brothers Toroa and Puhi went off exploring inland (ibid.). The *waka* began to drift with the rise of the tide out to sea towards rocks. Muriwai saw the need for those men left in the canoe to paddle the canoe out of danger and back into shore. A woman did not have had the right to navigate a canoe in those times (ibid.).<sup>21</sup> Muriwai sought the right to do so by standing in the canoe and chanting special prayers asking the gods to give her the right and to open the way for a woman to speak and give instructions to the men. When she finished her sacred chant, she called out - “Ei! Tena, kia whakatāne ake au i ahau? - Now I shall make myself a man!” She then ordered the crew to paddle the canoe away from the rocks and by doing so saving the canoe abandoned by her brothers (ibid.). Muriwai’s provides an example of how Whakatōhea woman can participate and influence iwi social and politics.

Women of high-birth from iwi such as Te Whānau a Apanui, Ngāti Porou and Kahungunu, claim their right to speak on their marae on the strength of the actions and words of their ancestress, Muriwai (ibid.). However, today, the *kawa* on Whakatōhea marae does not include that women *whaikōrero* on the open space. Was this always the way? The fact that women of rank from iwi such as Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau-a-Apanui have spoken and speak on the marae-a-tea (the open ground in front of the meeting house) based on their connection to Muriwai. The connection that is made through their

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<sup>21</sup>Stirling E. in Salmond (1980:87) asserts that women would not have ordered men at any time in the days of old to do anything. I suspect that this is an over-generalisation. Where *waka* are concerned I do support his view in regards to navigating canoe.

Whakatōhea<sup>22</sup> lineage indicates the Whakatōhea kawa of today is not necessarily traditional.<sup>23</sup> Pre-European Whakatōhea women and men engaged with people from other districts on the marae.

The large meeting houses of today are a post-colonial introduction to Māori communities (Walker, 2000). Kawa associated with speaking rights on the marae, adapted over time to where, although there are similarities amongst particularly iwi groups, each marae have their own distinct protocols.

It is asserted here, that kawa of Whakatōhea marae adapted to suit the ‘rules of engagement’ of the colonisers that required that men only speak on behalf of their whānau, hapū, or iwi. The post-colonial meeting houses of today, replace the traditional common space. Whakatōhea women and men participate in decision-making processes of whānau, hapū, or iwi in the meeting houses (Walker, 1979:22-23), boardrooms or wharekai. The marae open is usually reserved for more formal occasions, such as welcoming guests.

The extent of Muriwai’s power and mana is demonstrated in the way that certain rituals and practices are remembered and practiced today. She placed a rāhui (ritual prohibition)<sup>24</sup> on the coastal boundaries of Mātaatua when her twin sons Tānewhirinaki and Koau drowned. The rāhui extended from just

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<sup>22</sup> See Stirling, 1980 p.84.

<sup>23</sup> Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau-a-Apanui whakapapa to Muriwai through Uhengaparaoa, see *ibid*.

before the Coromandel to Cape Runaway (‘Mai i ngā Kuri-a-Whārei ki Tihirau’). The fact that such a rāhui was established and remembered to the present day is a statement about the strength of the mana and power of Muriwai (Mead, 1994:31-33).

Muriwai is said to have been a tohunga or high priestess (Mead 1994:31-32). She provides an example of how women of high birth, assume important roles for whānau, hapū, or iwi, as illustrated in the following sections. As a tapairu (eldest daughter in a prominent family), Muriwai possessed special gifts and was expected, because of her status, to fulfil a special spiritual role for her people. She inherited the role of providing spiritual and physical protection for them. Muriwai also possessed priestly and healing powers, inherited from her father Irakewa (Mead 1994:31-32). As the Toroa, the chief’s sister, Muriwai had an important ritual role in the affairs of the iwi. She used her priestly powers throughout her lifetime to protect her iwi. Her protection continues to be called upon by her descendants up to very recently (ibid.), as illustrated in the narrative of the manuka tree. This demonstrates how enduring her influence is.

Muriwai performed the act of reciting incantations to establish a tūāhu<sup>25</sup> that became known as ‘te mānuka tū tahi’. Saving the talisman of the Mataatua canoe was the sacred task that fell on Muriwai (ibid.) Such an act was the

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<sup>24</sup> Rāhui = tapu, or prohibition against use of the coastal area for fishing or other activities, for a period of time.

<sup>25</sup> tūāhu = a sacred place, where divinations and other mystic rites are performed.

‘ritual heart’ and of greater importance than the physical canoe (ibid.).<sup>26</sup>

Muriwai noticed a small mānuka tree that she pulled out by its roots, stripped its leaves and took it to the sea where she performed a ritual dipping the mānuka into water. She then took the mānuka to a hill near the Wairere waterfall and planted it. Muriwai recited the appropriate incantations to establish a *tūāhu* (altar) that became known as *Te Mānuka Tū Tahī* (The Lone Standing Mānuka Tree) (ibid.).

Muriwai’s influence continues today through her connection to the sacred tree. The physical tree played an important role in the rituals of Mataatua iwi up until very recently, when it was destroyed. However its spiritual significance continues Mataatua. The tree is said to have survived up to the early 1800s when it was cut down either by Ngā Puhi or pākehā during the land wars (Mead, 1994:32). The mānuka tree is attributed with remarkable healing powers, which came from Irakewa through Muriwai. War parties always visited *Te Mānuka Tū Tahī* before embarking out. The warriors sought the blessing and support of the deified Irakawa who became one of the principal War-Gods of Ngāti Awa. Warriors returned to the tree for a ceremony of ritual cleansing after warfare, to make them socially acceptable in the community. *Te Mānuka Tū Tahī* was also used as the altar where individuals of either sex were dedicated to either weaving, net making, fishing, gardening, carving, painting, tattooing, canoeing or other task or

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<sup>26</sup>Ngāti Awa believe Wairaka saved the ‘physical’ waka Mataatua. Meade makes this value comparison perhaps as a gesture of acknowledging the mana of Muriwai.

career (ibid.). Although the physical tree is no longer, the spiritual significance of the tree continues to be important to iwi of Mataatua today.

Muriwai's story merges with Tamatea, who arrived from Hawaiki on his canoe named Tūwhenua (Lyall, 1979:50-51). Tamatea on his travels up the Waioeka river,<sup>27</sup> named landmarks, some after his daughters (ibid.). A stone shaped like a comb he called "The Comb of Tamatea", and a stone rapid where whitebait gathered, he named after one of his daughters, Ngātaierua. As a commemoration of his daughter Te Tuhi, he called a stone where red ochre was found "Te Karoro o Tamatea" - "The seagull of Tamatea". He travelled to Whakatāne where he met Muriwai and they had a son called Rangikurukuru. Their descendents were to settle in the Opōtiki region. The hapū of Ngāti-Ira is named after Irapuae the grandson of Tamatea and Muriwai (ibid.). It is here that establishing mana-whenua for Muriwai's offspring in the Opōtiki region began.

### **Other Important Tipuna Kuia**

#### **Hineikauia**

Hineikauia the daughter of Muriwai married a great warrior and leader Tūtāmure who is held in great esteem by Whakatōhea up to the present

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<sup>27</sup> Waioeka = a river that runs through the township of Opotiki.

(Walker 1980:62). The Wharekai of Ngāti Rua at Omarumutu is named after Hineikauia, and the Wharenui is named Tūtāmure.

### **Hanenepounamu**

Hanenepounamu was the mother of Tūtāmure and Tamataipunoa. Both of her sons are remembered as great leaders. Tamataipunoa is one of the founding ancestors of the tribe of Te Aitanga a Mahaki. Tūtāmure is the tipuna most revered in the Whakatōhea hapū of Ngāti Rua. The wharenui is named after him.

Tūtāmure was named after a fishing incident that involved his elder relative, Kahungunu. Haruataimoana and his wife Hanenepounamu lived in Opōtiki (Lyll, 1979:36-37). Hanenepounamu was at the time pregnant, and Kahungunu asked that if the child was a boy that he be named Tūtāmure after the incident he suffered (ibid.). Haruataimoana who was a great fighting man offered to raise a *taua*, war party, looking to satisfy the wounded pride of Kahungunu. They set off for Tauranga but veered off toward Rotorua where they captured a high born man called Ahukawa and returned with him to Opōtiki.

Hanenepounamu was often left for long periods under the protection of Ahukawa while Haruataimoana went off on fighting excursions. After returning from one expedition Hanenepounamu informed Haruataimoana that

she was pregnant to her guardian Ahukawa. Hanenepounamu then asked her husband to sleep outside their dwelling 'like the driftwood' lying against the wall. When the baby was born he was called Tamataipunoa - "the Driftwood Son". He grew up and was educated and trained by Haruataimoana, alongside his half-brothers Tūtāmure and Tūwairua, to become proficient in the skills of warfare (ibid.).

Hanenepounamu is remembered for her association with her two prominent sons. This narrative also provides examples of the important part that naming children has in commemorating significant events such as those surrounding the naming of Tūtāmure and Tamataipunoa.

### **Tāneroa**

Tāneroa was the beautiful daughter of Hanenepounamu, and the sister of Tūtāmure. Tāneroa married Rongomainotai and they lived in the Matawai area. Rongomainotai was a lazy man, which led to a marital tiff over the inadequacy of his food supplies. Tāneroa with Rongomainotai visited Tūtāmure. Tāneroa visited with the express reason of showing how prolific the food supplies were where she came from in comparison to those of her husband's people. Rongomainotai returned home feeling bitter and humiliated by the generous hospitality shown to him.<sup>28</sup> Rongomainotai had planted a small garden and while he was away in Te Karaka, Tāneroa planted a large kumara plot. Rongomainotai returned, and soon after, left in shame

for Maraetaha. Tāneroa followed. At Takararoa Tāneroa was murdered, on orders by Rongomainotai.

Traditional values about woman's choice of husband placed high emphasis choosing a man for his abilities to provide adequately for a family. Such values are expressed in the whakatauki "E moe i te tangata i te ringa raupā" "Marry a man with callous hands" or a man who works hard. However, within traditional Māori society, to be seen to be doing too well, is not encouraged, as expressed in the following whakatauki; "He toka tūmoana he akinga nā ngā tai", "A rock standing alone is lashed by the tides". This narrative indicates the high worth placed on the philosophy of hard work in traditional Māori society. Nonetheless the narrative also warns of the possible dangers that may ensue, should the results of hard work cause shame on those not so productive. The narrative also provides a caution against putting work above the emotional needs of those one cares for.

### **Tūtāmure**

Tūtāmure was very fond of his sister. After his sister had left with her husband Tūtāmure was worried about her welfare. When he learned that she had been killed he raised a large taua (war party) to satisfy his revenge. This narrative provides another example to the Rupe story, of the closeness of the brother sister relationship. Just as Rupe worried for the well being of his sister, so did Tūtāmure.

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<sup>28</sup> The Omarumutu Hall opening booklet in Lyall, 1979:35.

Tūtāmure's campaign continued on to an attack on a pa that was held by his uncle Kahungunu. Kahungunu offered his daughter Tauheikuri to Tūtāmure as a token of peace. Tūtāmure and his force descended to the beach below and meantime Tauheikuri was prepared for presentation. Tauheikuri, carrying a stone mere named 'Titi Ngā Punga' as a present for her husband was directed to where the two chiefs Tūtāmure and Tamataipunoa were seated. However Tauheikuri did not know which of the two men she had been given to and knelt before the young handsome Tamataipunoa. In alarm he pushed her toward Tūtāmure, but she refused and clung to him. Tūtāmure stormed off along the shore until he came to a pool of water to which he peered into and said to himself "Te kino koe e Tūtāmure", "What an ugly one you are Tūtāmure". He returned to the couple and told his brother that Tauheikuri was to be his but that they were never to return to his home (ibid.).

This narrative provides an example of the traditions associated with utu or reciprocity. The loss of Tāneroa was balanced with the gift of Tauheikuri. It highlights the important political role that *puhi* (women of rank) have in saving their tribe from possible annihilation by an enemy. Peace is sealed between the previous enemies through the marriage of the puhi to the opposing war party (Walker, 1980:72-73). Taneikuri fulfilled her role as puhi but did so on her terms, when she chose which of the taua rangatira, chiefs, she was to be married to. Her story thereby, also provides an example

of how puhi may assert some limited control over their choice of husband in the event of a tatau pounamu marriage.

### **Manawakiaitu**

The daughter of Waiari and Tauwharanui lived before Muriwai.

Tauwharanui was the headman of a group of tangata whenua who lived a nomadic life style round the Motu<sup>29</sup> area (Lyll, 1979: 1-3). Manawakiaitu married Tarawa from whom the name of the township of Opōtiki takes its name (ibid.). The story of Manawakiaitu tells of a woman who was put in the unenviable position to choose between her husband and children.

Manawakiaitu and Tarawa had three children Tamakoimutumutu, Tamahaua and Hine Te Pairangi. Tarawa claimed to have priestly powers and to have swum across the ocean to this land. Tauwharanui found Tarawa out to be a mere mortal when Tarawa was unable to save himself during a flood.

Tarawa was subsequently banned from the kainga. Tauwharanui told Manawakiaitu that if she was to follow her husband she was not to take her children. She left with her husband and the children remained with their grandparents.

This narrative demonstrates that within traditional whānau, kaumātua had wide-reaching authority, right down to decisions about the care of mokopuna.

This narrative also provides an example of the tentative and vulnerable

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<sup>29</sup> Motu is to the east of Opotiki within the iwi of Te Whanau a Apanui.

position of *hunaonga* (inlaws) as regards to their rights to make decisions about the whānau they married in to.

### **Rangiparoro**

Rangiparoro of the Ohiwa<sup>30</sup> area married Rongopopoia the son of Uetupuke and Rongo Whakaata. While Rangiparoro was pregnant with their son Kahuki, a relative of hers Tuamutu killed Rongopopoia and others of her whānau. Tuamutu was interested to know the sex of the child Rangiparoro was carrying. He was mindful of the potential danger a male child might pose by later seeking revenge for the death of his own father. When Tuamutu came to inquire after her health and that of her newborn baby Rangiparoro aware of his motivation and the danger to her own life and the baby, concealed the sex of the child. She knew that Tuamutu would find out when the ritual for lifting the tapu from herself and her child was performed so she fled to Kaharoa where she settled and soon married Haeora. Kahuki grew up thinking that Haeora was his father until one day after being teased by his playmates his mother revealed who his father was and the circumstances by which he died. From then Kahuki began training for the day when he would exact retribution and utu upon Tuamutu for the death of Rongopopoia. After many battles, Kahuki with the help of his maternal grandfather Panekaha and others of his whānau eventually did satisfy his revenge, killing Tuamutu (ibid: 71-72).

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<sup>30</sup> Ohiwa is a harbour area within the boundaries of Whakatohea.

Rangiparoro saved her son as a baby from a whānau enemy, and bought him up to avenge their deaths. This narrative provides an example of the influence that women in the mother role have in determining the socio-political affairs of whānau, hapū and iwi.

### **Uhengaparaoa**

Uhengaparaoa was the mokopuna of the great Whakatōhea chief Uekahikatea who died at the hands of a war party from the western Bay of Plenty<sup>31</sup> (Mahuika, 1981:77; Lyall, 1979:107). Several generations later his death was avenged by Whakatōhea. They were helped by Tamahinengaro and his two sons Rakaipikirarunga and Mokaiaporou of Ngāti Porou. Whakatōhea were impressed with the fighting skills of the young warriors (ibid.). In recognition of this, Uhengaparaoa, wearing the ear pendant Te Paekura, and carrying the adzes Waikanae and Katangata, was presented as a bride to Tamahinengaro. As he was getting on in years, he presented her to his elder son Rakaipikirarunga (Lyall 1979:107). Uhengaparaoa clad in richly decorated cloaks, beautifully worked in taniko became the envy of Te Whānau-a- Apanui and Ngāti Porou women of rank. Intertribal competitiveness in the arts of weaving and basketry, carving and canoe-building, was influenced by Te Uhengaparaoa and led to high standards of work (ibid.).

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<sup>31</sup> It is not absolutely clear which iwi these groups were connected to.

Te Uhengaparaoa had a daughter Rutanga to Rakaipikirarunga (Lyall 1979:107-8; Taiapa 1980:3). On the death of Rakaipikirarunga, Uhengaparaoa married his younger brother, Mokaiaporou (Mahuika, 1981:77; Taiapa; 1980:3). To Mokaiaporou she had another daughter Rongomaitauarau. Both daughters in turn became the wives of Tomoanakotore of Hicks Bay. The elder Rutanga gave birth to Hinemahuru who married Apanui-Waipapa. From this union all Te Whanau-a-Apanui descend. Rongomai, the younger sister had two sons; Iwirakau and Ngatihau (Taiapa, 1980:3).

The story of Uhengaparaoa provides an example of the important role and influence that Whakatōhea puhi had on the lives of their descendants. Her story speaks of how Whakatōhea women of high birth have increased the mana and influenced higher standards of achievement in the tribes they marry into. Uhengaparaoa brought into Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau-a-Apanui the chiefly genealogical connection to the ancestress Muriwai (Mahuika, 1981:77). It is through Uhengaparaoa of Whakatōhea who married Rakaipikirarunga, the elder son of a prominent Ngāti Porou chief Tamahinengaro that Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau-a-Apanui initially claim chiefly descent to the tribes of Mātaatua (Taiapa, 1980:3).

### **Te Atakura and Tūwhakairiora**

Te Atakura, direct descendent of Te Uhengaparaoa, was to influence the course of history through her role as a mother. Tūwhakairiora was born to Te

Atakura. She descended from Porourangi and Ngatihau, who was the grandson of Te Uhengaporaoa. Te Atakura still mourning for her father who had died at the hands of members of his tribe Ngāti Rua uttered these words when she felt the child moving inside her, “move violently within me, a son to avenge the death of my father”, thus determining Tūwhakairiora’s destiny. Under the tutelage of Whakatōhea tohunga, Tūwhakairiora acquired warrior and chiefly skills. He left Whakatōhea and soon married Ruataupare the daughter of Te Aotaki chief of the tribe at Wharekahika called Te Whānau-a-Tomoana-kotore. Together with his brother Te Hukarere and support from the tribes they married into, they virtually destroyed the tribe of Ngāti Rua that killed his maternal grandfather (Taiapa, 1980:9-11; Lyall, 1979:33).

This story provides an example of how women influence the political affairs of the tribe through their children. The story of Tūwhakairiora speaks of the mother’s influence on a son’s destiny and purpose in life and how a child may be bred to fulfil a mission. Tūwhakairiora’s life destiny even before he was born was set by his mother to political purpose.

### **Hineiaua and Huinga**

The practice of naming is seen in the stories of Hineiahua and Huinga. The misfortunes that befall upon them are commemorated in the naming of geographical locations or social groupings. Their stories provide examples of the practice of naming places or peoples to commemorate the incidences surrounding their deaths.

Ngati Patu, a hapu of Whakatohea, has been named after an incident involving Hineiahua who was a Ngati-Ngahere<sup>32</sup> woman of rank (Lyll 1979:87-88). She was killed Ngā Puhi at the mouth of the Waiotahi River. Titoko, a Whakatohea rangatira, defeated Ngā Puhi at the battle of Te Papa.<sup>33</sup> The Ngā Puhi warriors knew Hineiahua was related to Titoko, and for that reason, Hineiahua was killed. In commemoration her whānau took the name Ngāti-Patumoana, which has been shortened to Ngāti-Patu today (ibid: 88). In Māori society the actions of one member of the group affects others of the group. This narrative provides evidence of the interdependent relationship that Whakatōhea men and women share.

### **Huinga**

Huinga was the daughter of Maruiwi one of the chiefs of the original inhabitants of Waimana also named Maruiwi (Lyll, 1979:177). A group of mainly women went from Waimana<sup>34</sup> to Ohiwa to collect shellfish. Because of her high birth Huinga had not previously been permitted to take part in such activities. However on this particular occasion she felt obliged to contribute. She discarded her *maro* (apron) made of a type of rush called *kuta* at a certain spot but soon found that the other women had already started to return home. On her way home she was killed by Ngati-Raka, of Te

<sup>32</sup> Ngati Ngahere = a hapu of Whakatohea.

<sup>33</sup> Titoko was the brother of Patutaukiri the grandfather of Hineiahua.

<sup>34</sup> Part of Whakatohea district.

Hapuoneone. The name Kutarere derives from the act of Huinga discarding her maro kuta.

Huinga and Hineiahua are women remembered for their relationship to men of rank, and for the violent nature of their deaths.

### **Conclusion**

The Whakatōhea customary narratives provide examples of women of mana, leaders, remarkable women, who did not allow social, physical, or gender boundaries to hinder their choices and actions when the needs of their whānau, hapū, or iwi were of paramount concern. The enduring power and influence of these tipuna find their expression in the way that practices and protocols are attributed to their example, and social groups, meeting houses and geographical locations are named after them. The tipuna kuia provide a blueprint for how women of today can participate in the socio-political affairs of whānau hapū and iwi. They also provide clues about gender and cultural relations within spaces outside traditional contexts. The following three chapters explore the relevance of the cosmological and customary narratives in the lives of Whakatōhea women and men today, through the experiences and views of seven Whakatōhea women.

## Chapter 6

### Whakapapa and Identity

#### Māori Identity

Māori identity is linked to customary traditions and values of whānau, hapū, or iwi, through specific whakapapa genealogy (Smith, L., 1999:211).

Identity as Māori is associated with specific geographical locations (Walker, 1989), and “[t]hrough whakapapa Māori trace themselves and their access to certain geographical areas such as to land, rivers, moana, and to tūrangawaewae” (Smith, L., 1996:211). As Māori may claim descent through their maternal and paternal lines (ibid.), individuals may identify with many tribes. For many, it is to one particular iwi that identity is focused (Karetu, 1979:27). The use of Māori language with dialects and idioms specific to certain iwi, or collective symbols such as naming a group (whānau, hapū and iwi) after a common or foundation member are used to define a group and its members. Since contact with pākehā, ethnicity became a component of Māori identity, and incorporates “racial traits such as skin pigmentation” (Walker 1989). Māori identity may fall between identifying with being Māori and being pākehā, a reflection of the diverse realities of post-European Māori (Durie 1995a: 461-470). Specific Māori whakapapa provides the collateral for access to the ancestral home-place and knowledge about customary traditions and values (Tomlins-Jahnke 2002:503).

## Whakatōhea Identity

People who whakapapa to the eponymous ancestress Muriwai, through her daughter Hineikauia, and Tūtāmure (Walker, 1990:62) and affiliate to one or more of the hapū of Whakatōhea (Ngāti Tamahaua, Ngāti Ruatakenga, Ngāti Ngāhere, Ngāti Patu, Upokorehe, Ngāti Ira, Ngāti Muriwai, Pakowhai) identify as Whakatōhea. Whakatōhea trace their ancestry to many waka including the Mātaatua (that Muriwai arrived from Hawaiiki on) and the Nukutere. The boundaries of Whakatōhea share borders with several other tribes. Beyond the hills of Opape and to the east is Ngai Tai and Te Whanau-a-Apanui. Beyond Upokorehe to the western and inland southern boundaries are Ngati Awa and Tuhoe (ibid.). Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki lies along the inland eastern border. Within the *rohe* district of Whakatōhea lies the township of Opōtiki.

Whakapapa and connections to the hau kainga (ancestral ‘home place’) are elements that are important to identity as Māori and specifically Whakatōhea. In the longitudinal study of Māori Profiles, Te Hoe Nuku Roa, seven characteristics that are important markers of a secure identity, were identified (Durie, M, Black, Christensen, Durie, A, Fitzgerald, Taiapa, Tinirau, & Apatu, 1996:6). These are – self-identification, whakapapa (ancestry), marae participation, involvement with whānau (extended family), access to whenua tipu (ancestral land), contacts with Māori people and ability in Māori language (Durie et al., 1996:6). Secure identity as Māori, was measured by the number of these characteristics a person held as significant in their lives.

For the purposes of this study, markers for identity as Whakatōhea, are the same as above, but specific to Whakatōhea. Therefore self-identification as Whakatōhea, whakapapa links to Whakatōhea, participation in Whakatōhea marae activities, involvement with extended Whakatōhea whānau, access to Whakatōhea ancestral land, contacts with Whakatōhea people and ability to speak Māori using the Whakatōhea dialect are the markers for secure identity as Whakatōhea.

In the present study of the early and recent history of seven Whakatōhea women, all of these characteristics emerged as significant.

The following chapter explores the relevance of whakapapa to secure sense of identity as Whakatōhea by examining the early and very recent experiences of seven Whakatōhea women. Each woman acknowledges her connection through whakapapa and/or through marriage to one or more hapū of Whakatōhea. The women trace their whakapapa to a hapū or marae indirectly through relaying personal experiences, or directly through reciting pepeha. Their early familial experiences up to recent raupatu claim hui (1990s), provide the context in time. Physical links to land, knowledge of genealogy, maintaining connections with extended family, marae activities, and Maori language, were themes that emerged out of the women's lived experiences. Their stories illustrate the centrality of whakapapa to identity as Whakatōhea.

## Tārati

Tārati is the eldest of the women; *“I whānau ahau the eleventh, fourth 1921.*

*Whānau ki Opōtiki.”* Both parents had children from two previous

marriages, but Tārati is the youngest and only surviving member. Tārati

acknowledges descent from three hapū through two sets of grandparents;

*“Taku Pāpā, Paku Edwards*

<sup>35</sup> *nō Ngāti Rua, taku Māmā, Mei Tamihana, no Ngāti Ngāhere... My kuia,*

*ko Rangiwihātautau Pohā, nō Ngāti Ngāhere ...I am a Ngāti Muriwai by*

*whakapapa”.* Ngāti Muriwai was recognised as an entity of its own right in

the time of her father. Tārati also acknowledges her pākehā ancestry; *“My*

*grandfathers were pākehās. First pākehās that settled in Opotiki. My*

*grandfathers from both sides.”* Although Tārati has genealogical links to

other iwi she does not feel strong affiliation to them; *“Kotahi noa taku hapū*

*ko Whakatōhea, although ka kaha au te whakapapa ki ngā hapū Ngāti*

*Kahungunu, Tainui, aha noa. Not very close, so many generation. So I’m*

*just Whakatōhea...”* (Tārati).

The hapū that Tārati most strongly affiliates with today is Ngāti Ngāhere.

Tārati remembers her early years. *“I remember very well about growing up,*

*where I grew up. Five years I spent my life on a farm at Omarumutu when*

*my father was alive. When he died my mother came back to her own people,*

*that’s at Terere, and that’s where my learning started.”* The ‘learning’ had

to do with developing an understanding of values and practices of

significance to her whānau that were grounded in Māoritanga. Tārati learned

<sup>35</sup> Paku Edwards and other Whakatōhea elders, applied to the 1920 Sims Commission to have the Whakatōhea Raupatu claim heard.

a sense of belonging and identity based on positive whānau relationships and formed a sense of ownership of and bonding to the surrounding environment.

Connection and identification with the geographical area surrounding the marae was initially formed out of dependency on the land and river for whānau sustenance and maintenance needs. *“I lived on the marae, with the whānau, in a kauta<sup>36</sup>. We all were looked after by all the whānau.”* Despite the relative poverty in which she grew up in, Tārati has happy memories of living at Terere pa where her mother and other whānau members shared in her care and upbringing:

*“And we didn’t even have a hall in those days, it was just a wharenuī. But in front of the wharenuī was our playground. Now all of the children got together there and of course the verandah of the wharenuī is where the sun is lovely and warm, and that’s where we all congregated and played with all the kuia’s and koroua’s sitting on and edging us along... my marae life was a wonderful experience. I found that when you look back today, far easier. Although we were poor, we lived off the land, we had our own cow, our own sheep ... even though we lived in a hut, mud floor and no candle, no power”.*

The river was important for her whānau for irrigation, household needs, and recreation; *“We had to plant our own kumaras and to help out to get wood, go to the river and collect our wood, and go and collect water to put in barrels - we had no water. We had to bring our barrels; we didn’t even have tanks in those days... [O]ur bathroom was the river, and we ended up becoming good swimmers...”* A sense of ownership of the river developed. *“And a certain part of that river, no pākehā were allowed, ‘Hey that’s our area, get back to your own.’ Why? Cause we never owned a tog. We all*

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<sup>36</sup> kauta = small usually one roomed shelter, where families lived.

*had to swim naked. It was nothing to us. We used to paint our bodies in clay.*” Tārati and the other children developed a sense of ownership of the geographical area surrounding Terere pa. Working the land, and using the river for bathing, playing, irrigation, and household requirements, undoubtedly helped Tārati to develop a positive sense of ownership and a sense of identity with the river and the land that endures today.

Tārati also describes the work relationship that her whānau shared with pākehā; “... *but each whānau worked for a pākehā. We were surrounded by pākehā farmers. Oh they were rich. And each whānau had their own pākehā. It starts from dad, son, grandson, working for the same person. And we’d actually claimed them as ours. And those pākehās claimed that family as theirs. And that’s because we had no other income, but to work for the pākehās on their farms. But tino pai.*” Although Tārati describes a relationship that was mutually beneficial, there is an indication that power relations between pākehā and Whakatōhea were not equal. Each Ngāti Ngāhere whānau became the work pool for a Pākehā landlord – on land previously owned by Ngāti Ngāhere. Wairama Taia (Connor et.al, 1994) also refers to the worker/employer relationship that her whānau had with local pākehā landowners. Whakatōhea lost much of her fertile land to colonial soldiers and pākehā settlers due to the Confiscation’s of the 1870s (Gillings, 1994). As a result successive generations of Whakatōhea became workers for the beneficiaries of the confiscation of these lands, Tārati’s whānau included.

Tārati married and had three children. Despite being married to a pākehā, Tārati took special care to pass down to the children knowledge of their whakapapa and te reo Māori. Tārati taught them about their Whakatōhea heritage and encouraged regular returns to the whānau home:

*“And they always knew their iwi, Whakatōhea because I spoke about it in the home, they never forgot it. Gave them their whakapapa, knew all their relatives...and they knew them. And they haven't forgotten. They're still doing it. Come home. And even though we lived away, we always came home. Every Christmas. So it's um, they haven't forgotten their tikanga, ahakoa maybe not too good ki te reo. But te mohio te whakarongo. Cause, kōrero Māori au i roto i te whare. He pākehā taku tāne. Kōrero Māori tonu au ki a ia, kia mōhio oku tamariki... Kare he Kōhanga Reo i tera taima o oku tamariki. ...But whakaako tonu au te kōrero Māori i roto i to mātau whare. Little phrases, 'Katia te kuaha', 'homai ngā kai', small phrases like that which stuck in their heads. And I can kōrero Māori to them now, and they could understand me. But kāre te hoki mai i te Māori.”*

Tārati's experiences demonstrate the important role that parents have in passing on traditional knowledge such as whakapapa to their children through providing opportunities to meet whānau returning to traditional lands.

Tārati administers grants for five Whakatōhea land trusts. In this role she is sometimes called upon to help applicants find their whakapapa links to Whakatōhea; *“... we got all these other lands trusts, and now five belong to Whakatōhea people ... People asking for their shares, and people wanting grants. Young people not knowing their tipuna and we have to do a bit of search to find their tipuna and their succession orders”*. She also takes the opportunity to keep the links between her mokopuna and Whakatōhea alive; *“I said to him to apply for help from our Trust.”*

Tārati explains the important role that kohanga reo attached to marae have in helping descendants make connections to the Whakatōhea:

*“The difference there to other Kōhanga reo is they are from different hapū and they’re from different areas, iwi, married into Whakatōhea men, and they have different idea. Whereas when on a marae Kōhanga, you’ve got your hapū to back you up, to help you. And they got to protocol, or follow the protocol of that hapū. Over here they got nothing ... Because a lot of them can’t speak Māori, don’t know the tikanga, and they haven’t got the support. Whereas at Terere or all the other places, the children are there, and if there is any hui on they are watching. If there’s a tangihanga they’re watching and they help to call people on. They’re standing there, the tamariki are standing there at the wharenui – slightly different at the marae ... And the difference with the kohanga on the marae, the mothers stay there and they learn as they carry on with their children.”*

Recollections of Tārati’s early experiences show a “secure identity” as Whakatōhea. Through work and play on the land surrounding the Terere Marae and the nearby Otara River, Tārati consolidated her identity as Whakatōhea. She learned first hand about the binary relationship that Māori share with pākehā. Her experiences point to an inequality in power relations where pākehā are more advantaged. As a mother, Tārati has passed on her knowledge of whakapapa and whānau links to her children, thereby ensuring their identity as Whakatōhea. She also passed on Whakatōhea reo to her children and mokopuna as a kuia in Kohanga reo. Tārati acts as a source of whakapapa knowledge for following generations in her role as administrator of educational grants for Whakatōhea land trusts. Identity as Whakatōhea is strong and is based on whakapapa and returning and living within the hau kainga (home place).

## Peggy

Peggy is connected to Whakatōhea through her mother and her father, Henry Edwardson and affiliates to Ngāti Ngāhere; *“I can connect to Ngai Tama, Ngāti Rua, Ngāti Patu, Ngāti Ira and Ngāti Ngāhere, which is the one which I affiliate to.”* Peggy is links to Te Whānau-a-Apanui through her paternal grandmother Teaopiki Pirihi, and her maternal grandmother, Polly Delamere. She also affiliates to Ngāti Kahungunu through her paternal grandfather Hāpuku who married Pāora (Polly). Peggy was born in Opōtiki on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, 1950.

Peggy often visited and stayed with one of her kuia at Whitianga Bay when she was young, but it is the koroua and kuia of Ngāti Ngāhere at Terere who hold a special place in her memories: *“for some reason or another Ngāti Ngāhere has always been special for me, always. An old koroua that I’ll never forget... He was one of my koroua’s. And a kuia that I always had a lot of time for was Nanny Jane, Nanny Jane Tauwhara.”* Peggy remembers feeling loved and cared for by her many kuia and koroua at Terere pa. *“When I was young, although I didn’t go to the marae very often, we always had a lot of people you knew that they cared about you even though they used to say to you ‘Go outside’ or ‘Get away from there’, you always knew they cared about you.”* The caring was expressed in the way the kuia and koroua actively participated in setting boundaries and the way they placed expectations on the behaviour of mokopuna.

Traditionally it was common for mokopuna to be raised by koroua and kuia. Grandparents took on the role of educating children and passing on values, which they too were taught in their growing years: *“When I was young Terere was like a little village. There was a lot of home down there and there was a lot of love down there even though they were witchy witchy sometimes, you learned. Peggy placed higher value on what she learned at the marae than at school; “I used to go to school every day of the week, five days a week and the stuff that I learnt went in one ear and out the other ear. But things that I learned at the marae, somehow or other they stuck more for me than [school].... I honestly believe that it had to do with aroha. And yeah they really cared about...”*

Respect for elders is a value that holds great importance in Māoridom. Youngsters obeyed them without question. Underlying the respect by mokopuna for elders was an understanding that elders knew best and had the young ones best interests at heart. Respect for elders was expected and reinforced by parents and others within the whānau. *“They taught you about respect and you knew even though they didn’t say ‘You’re not allowed to do this because of such and such’, if they said you’re not allowed to do it, you knew that you weren’t allowed to do it.”* (Peggy). Such expectations were placed on Peggy by her father; *“And that was something that I learned when I was really young from my Dad, and it was about, if your koroua or kuia told you to do something, you do as you’re told’, even if you don’t agree with it sometimes.”* Peggy’s early experiences with kuia provide an example of positive inter-generational relations. The special relationships that Peggy

formed with kuia and koroua of Ngāti Ngāhere has contributed to her choosing to identify and affiliate with that particular hapū today above any other. Peggy's experience demonstrates the important place that kaumātua and kuia have in influencing how mokopuna chose to identify with particular whānau, hapū, or iwi.

Peggy acknowledges her pākehā ancestry and expresses positive feelings about sharing Māori and Pākehā ancestry:

*“As youngsters we were never considered to be Māori or Pākehā, we were just, we were the Edwardsons, we weren't Māori, and we weren't Pākehā, and it's probably because we were brought up in a European atmosphere, not on the marae ...Funnily enough even though I wasn't brought up in a marae, like we were taken there now and again, but I always had an affinity to my Māori side more than my Pākehā side and I don't know why. And it's always been like that for me. Probably more...than the rest of my brothers and sisters, and I've always been proud of that...I always felt enriched because I could always pick up my pākehā side and I always had my Māori side. And I always brought my children up believing you can take the best of both worlds and make it great for you.”*

Peggy and her husband returned to Opōtiki to manage Peggy's family farm after pressure from her elders and whānau: *“I've always known I was gonna come home 'cause when I used to come home to tangi and things, my kuia would say to me, 'When you coming home Peg?' and I'd say, 'Not yet, not yet'. And when my first moko was born it was, 'Never!' because my moko lived down there.”* However, Peggy's brother did not want to continue farming and so he pressured her: *“He said to me, 'You said you were coming home, why don't you come home now!'* Peggy's experiences demonstrate the importance of commitment to whānau obligations and land in drawing Whakatōhea members back to the district. Peggy was drawn to return to

Opōtiki by family and whānau land that needed to be worked for the extended whānau.

Peggy discovered at a ‘family reunion’ that the friends she made while living amongst Kahungunu were her relatives. Her experience demonstrates the important role that the modern day ‘family reunion’ has in informing members about their whakapapa connections.

Peggy’s early life experiences helped to develop in her a ‘secure identity’ with being Whakatōhea. Early positive experiences with kuia and koroua of Ngāti Ngāhere helped secure in her a strong sense of identity with that particular hapū. Although Peggy identifies with Whakatōhea she also acknowledges her connections to other iwi and enjoys the whanaungatanga that comes with belonging to more than one iwi. She is also comfortable with identifying as pakeha and advocates the philosophy of ‘making the best of two worlds’. A commitment to fulfilling family obligations to care for tipuna land has drawn Peggy back to the home place. Peggy’s experiences provide an example of how whakapapa may be central to sense of identity.

### **Pane**

Pane does not identify strongly as Whakatōhea through whakapapa as her knowledge about her genealogical ties to Whakatōhea is limited. Instead she identifies with Whakatōhea more strongly through marriage. She is not clear about her whakapapa links to Whakatōhea; “...*I always knew we’re connected somehow to the Ngāti Rua and Whakatōhea. No we were lost*

*especially on Mum's side ...Mum, I don't think she knew much, but if she did, it didn't get passed down to us.*" Pane is in the process of searching out her whakapapa connections to Whakatōhea. She has collected whakapapa lists over a period, and is studying them and takes opportunities as they arise to inquire of those who may have personal knowledge of whakapapa. Not possessing an understanding of her whakapapa connections has affected Pane's ability to identify strongly with Whakatōhea. Despite this, she has spent the last forty or so years actively participating in hapū and iwi social and political life within Whakatōhea. Her involvement has been as an in-married member of Upokorehe. She regards Kutarere as '*home*', and Roimata as '*our marae*', indicating a sense of belonging and identity with Upokorehe.

Pane identifies strongly with the iwi of Ngai Tai through whakapapa and residence within Ngai Tai. She was "*...born at Torere... in the homestead....*" on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 1934, the 7<sup>th</sup> child out of twelve. She keeps regular contact with her mother and immediate family that live there.

Pane's bonds to the iwi of Ngai Tai may be attributed in part to positive interactions she had with elder relatives as a mokopuna. Her maternal koroua Hāmi Kingi played a role in nurturing and caring for her as a mokopuna: "*Mum's father... he used to stay by himself but we used to always love going there and enjoying golden syrup on our bread you know. That's what he always used to give to us.*" This is an example of the nurturing role that men sometimes play in caring for their mokopuna.

Pane attended Torere Native School, a school founded by her tipuna Wiremu Kingi, in 1878. Pane's mother and father attended Torere School. The school provides Pane with a concrete reminder and a connection to past generations. She remembers not being allowed to speak Māori at school; *"[W]e were all told not to speak Māori. Well we just knew that we weren't you know, weren't allowed to."*

Pane remembers as a child not being allowed to go to the marae when tangi were on. She explains: *"the children weren't really allowed there because the ope there were so many. People came in multitudes really and you know the children were just in the way...The only time we come down was well Sunday School."* Pane highlights the practicality behind restricting children from certain domains on the marae – children may simply get in the way of busy adults.

Pane also identifies with and maintains regular contact with a number of other iwi. Although she is at Upokorehe she occasionally participates in marae and iwi activities at Tōrere and other iwi: *"There's Ngai Tai, Ngāti Kahungunu, we have connections to Whakatōhea, Ngā Puhi, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, and Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki."* Pane's father encouraged her to maintain regular contact with his Ngāti-Kahungunu and Ngā Puhi whānau therefore Pane's identity with these iwi remains strong today: *"Dad ... he kept us in touch with his Ngā Puhi and his Ngāti Kahungunu. In fact he always like to take us around if there's any do's up there, and he said there's*

*no such thing as family reunions - a family reunion is where you go to the tangi's to everything the families hold and that's how you meet your families to get to know them."*

Pane's first child became whāngai to her parents, as she was at the time unmarried. *"But someone wanted to adopt my child, but I was prepared to stay home and look after him...In those days there was no such thing as a solo benefit... Mum and Dad supported me."*

Grandparents caring for mokopuna, is a role that is evident throughout Māori history and one which Pane's parents continued. Highlighted here is the important role of whānau in taking part of the load for those who need support for a time. Tama-nui-ki-te-rangi cared for his grandchild Māui, when Māui's mother Taranga abandoned him. Pane's experience demonstrates how Māori tradition of mokopuna being bought up by grandparents continues to have relevance today.

Pane's husband is from Upokorehe, Whakatōhea. Her parents were not happy with her choice and Pane believed it was to do with his belonging to the religion of Ringatū *"Mum was very anti Ringatu"*. However, Pane eloped with him; *"That night, we weren't long home, and Mum and Ngai Tai arrived to get me... she brought a few people along to try and beg me to go home. But I didn't... But when I didn't I was disowned... even Dad see he wrote a letter that I wasn't to come home and claim [ancestral name] – that's [common name removed]"*. Pane chose to live with her new husband

and his whānau: *“they were really warm and you felt welcome there”*.

About a year later, Pane’s mother sent word for Pane and her husband to return home.

According to Pane, the initial opposition by her parents was to do with religion and a particular tipuna from Ngaitai. Post-colonial Whakatōhea identity has been influenced by religion. Religious affiliations may be associated with and thereby become part of the identity of an iwi. The religions that had the earliest and greatest influence on Whakatōhea have been the Anglican Church (1834), Catholic (1840), Hauhau, (1865)<sup>37</sup> and Ringatū (1868).<sup>38</sup> However, the Ringatū Religion has become an integral part of the post-colonial history of Whakatōhea, and forms part of Whakatōhea identity. For example, the marae at Opape is a Ringatu marae. The kawa and tikanga associated with this marae are based on Ringatu beliefs. At Tōrere, an Anglican church sits on the marae. It is an indication of the dominance of Anglicanism within the iwi of Ngai Tai. Ngai Tai became strong followers of the Anglican Church. During the 1870s and 1880s, under their chief Wiremu Kingi Tutahuarangi,<sup>39</sup> Ngai Tai campaigned against Te Kooti, the religious founder of the Ringatū religion. As a direct descendant of Wiremu Kingi, Pane’s mother continued the same antipathy towards the Ringatū religion up until recently. The experiences of Pane provide evidence of the place that religion has influencing the contemporary identity of an iwi.

<sup>37</sup> The Hauhau religion, although, contributing significantly to the Confiscations of Whakatōhea lands in the 1870s, had a very short existence in Whakatōhea.

<sup>38</sup> See Amoamo 1992, Whakatōhea and Christianity, an unpublished paper that was the basis of 3 lectures presented at Victoria University 27 April 1992.

<sup>39</sup> Pane, through her mother is a direct descendant of Wiremu Kingi Tutahuarangi. See Hayes, D, (1997), Wiremu Kingi Tutahuarangi Te Kawau: Rangatira o Ngai Tai, an unpublished research project.

The practice of whāngai continued for Pane. Seven of her nine children carry Tipuna names that including; “... *Te Aururangi ,... ko Māora, ko Hāmi,....ko Kapu, ko Maraenui, that’s the second one, ko Maraenui again,*”. Their eldest child died and a younger sibling carried his name as well. Another of their daughters is named after Pane. Pane’s first child also bears the name of a tipuna – Wi Pere. Indicated here is the strong connection between naming of children to cement whakapapa links.

One of their daughters was whāngai to Pane’s parents. She was taken as whāngai to lighten Pane’s load and as a companion for her mother in her latter years; “*[name removed] was fourteen months when Mum came to a gala here, and she came to take her. I was carrying [name removed] at the time. I was relieved as I had too many children to cope with and [husband] was hardly ever around. Mum especially wanted a girl so that she would look after her in her old age.*” Pane in turn was to become matua whāngai for the eldest child of one of her sons; “*we bought that one up as our own ...that’s the one to his Australian-Tasmanian girlfriend. Well he came back with her but she wanted to go home, so we kept their son. Since he was born we bought him up.*”

Pane identifies as Whakatōhea through marriage and living the majority of her life within Whakatōhea. However, without knowledge of specific whakapapa links to Whakatōhea and the dispossession of ancestral lands linking Pane to Whakatōhea she is yet, unable to identify securely with

Whakatōhea. Her experiences demonstrate the important role that older whānau relatives have in passing down knowledge of whakapapa, and how not sharing such knowledge may serve to alienate following generations from connection with certain iwi through whakapapa. Her experience also highlights the importance of land ownership to identity. Naming of children after whānau and tipuna was an important way of maintaining whakapapa links and identity. The practice of whāngai is also an important factor in establishing and maintaining whakapapa links to whānau and tipuna land – an important aspect to identity. Pane’s experiences also provide an example of how religious affiliation may be associated with iwi identity. Pane’s experiences demonstrate how whakapapa and land are important to Whakatōhea identity.

### **Julie**

Ngāti Muriwai and Ngāti Rua are the hapū that Julie Te Urikore Lux acknowledges descent from through her maternal grandfather Pātariki Porikapa:

*“Ko Nukutere raua ko Mātaatua ngā waka o te taha o taku whaea.... Ko Mākeo te maunga, ko te Waiiti te awa, ko Omarumutu te marae, ko Ngāti Rua te hapū, ko Tūtāmure te tipuna. Ko au te Mokopuna o Te Urikore rāua ko Pātariki Porikapa... taku whenua tūturu no Ruarākei. Anei tēra wāhi ki te waewae o Mākeo, kei roto i te rohe o Omarumutu.”*

Julie was born the 18<sup>th</sup> of April 1950, and was named Te Urikore after her maternal grandmother *“the meaning behind her name Te Urikore meaning she can’t have any uri or no children. However she proved them all wrong and had one”*. That child was Julie’s mother Joyce. Julie provides an

example of how the traditional practice of naming children after important people is a practice that continues today.

Julie's mother became whāngai to uncles after the death of her mother; “.. *the Waiapu whānau asked Pātariki Porikapa if they could take their mokopuna back... My mother was brought up by these men, my grandmother died when my mother was quite young.*” Julie provides an example of how whāngai children were bought up by male whānau elders.

Julie is the eldest of thirteen children. Being mātāmua, provided Julie with opportunities not readily available to her younger siblings:

*“We still had a lot of our kuia and koroua around at that time – always encouraged us to be **connected to our marae, to our reo, to our whakapapa**. However, the ones – that was the three of us, me the eldest, the three older ones in the family – the rest were not given that opportunity...and sometimes today I look at a lot of my younger siblings, and they have no idea about things Māori because that's how my parents saw it. That they felt that it had to be the pākehā of things to make them in life... I do see **some loss of identity** in some ... However, they do encourage their children, and that to me is a good thing. Because it won't be lost and who knows it may be their children or their mokopuna who make them understand 'hey this is you as a Māori'.”*

Julie highlights here the important role that kaumātua play in shaping mokopuna identity. Also, evident is the loss of identity that occurs should kaumātua not be part of the lives of their mokopuna. As the eldest in her whānau, Julie was privileged to benefit from her elderly grandparents being around and sharing their knowledge of things Māori with her, thereby instilling a sense of identity as Māori. As described by Julie, her younger siblings were not so privileged. Julie assumes that this is why they did not

place a high value on Māori knowledge. With the passing of kuia and kaumātua Julie's younger siblings could not benefit from the same knowledge and experiences that nurture a sense of being Māori as Julie did. Her experiences demonstrate the important role that kuia and koroua play in instilling a sense of identity through the knowledge and experiences they pass down to mokopuna.

Julie remembers special moments that she shared with her koroua. She remembers being a *“petted mokopuna that went around with Nanny on the horse, that didn't have to work.”* Julie remembers how during her early years, their home made it conducive to encouraging the practice of storytelling to occur; *“Nanny [Jock] would make us sit around the fire and tell us these stories about the old days, about his hunting. ...At the time we used to think ‘Ah hōhā hōhā. And I still remember those stories. We were privileged to hear all that history (Julie).”* The passing down of knowledge and values through storytelling by koroua and kuia around the fireplace was a practice of past generations and one that Julie was privileged enough to experience. Such experiences contribute to her sense of identity with the hapū of Ngāti Rua and the iwi of Whakatōhea.

Julie recalls learning some of the traditions about food collection and preparation through her grandfather's storytelling; *“remembering some of the old traditions that the old people carried out. ... In those days we used to cook on an open fire.”* Through her grandfather, Julie learned about values and customs to do with hunting kereru through her grandfather; *“I can recall*

*Nanny Jock, every time he used to leave early hours in the morning. He would always start with a karakia, then he'd go out, do up his horse and he'd go hunting. Always had his karakia before he went hunting in the bush. And he was well known for, he was the one that fed the family, he was the hunter. He always came back with meat and kai.*" She learned through her grandfather's storytelling, about traditional whānau methods, beliefs, and values associated with food gathering. Evidenced here is the acknowledgement of spiritual values associated with hunting. The traditional practices associated with hunting or gathering food ensured that the Atua were given proper acknowledgement through karakia (Walker 1990:11-14). Julie's experiences indicate that such practices continued until recently.

Julie learned about values of conservation through her grandfather. Taking care of the immediate culinary needs while insuring that the food source would be there in the future was a balancing act that traditionally worked successfully. Julie learned about conservation through storytelling and practicing it under the guidance of her grandfather:

*" Today you are not allowed to hunt pigeon. What they call these days conservation. But my Nanny had a different perspective. He said you had to kill some of those pigeons in order for the miro berry to be regenerated. The old people had their conservation in those days. They only took enough for a feed. 'Course you can guarantee there'd be twice as much kererū back there and there'd be just as much miro berry. And that was his way of looking at conservation. He didn't use guns... he used to trap the kererū. But he always talked to them, and for some reason or another, when you're a little kid looking up in that tree, you're thinking, 'Ah, they're talking to one another'. And he would bag about four and come home. ...".*

Julie's grandfather taught her about traditional practices and values associated with food gathering. He taught her about methods which ensured that a food source would not be depleted to the point of extinction. She learned about restraint and taking only what was needed. She learned that conservation was part of being Māori.

The koroua also taught Julie about customs of hunting and gender roles; “ *it was always a custom of hunters that you always gave the first one to the woman. ...There was no kuia around, but he always gave the first pigeon to his eldest daughter. And I said to him, ‘Why do you do that Nan?’ and he said ‘The next time you go out, you will be lucky in when you are gathering the kai.’*” At an early age, Julie learnt about the special place that women held in customary society. Women as te whare tangata were given the choicest and most nutritional pieces of any servings of food. Taking care of women ensured fertility, and health of the bearers of children, and ultimately the survival of the whānau. Julie's experiences provide an example of the complementary nature of men and women's relationship in traditional Whakatōhea society.

With the change in lifestyle the practice of storytelling became endangered; “*However, by 1960 the power had come into the valley*”. The art of passing on knowledge through story telling may be put in danger of being lost due to technological advances. Electric heaters and light replaced firelight and warmth, and the television replaced storytelling. Julie's experiences demonstrate how technological advancements may endanger certain cultural

practices such as oral storytelling around a fireplace. Julie's experiences indicate that traditional practices to do with the passing down of knowledge from one generation to another through the art of storytelling may be in danger of being lost to future generations.

Julie identifies with specific locations, thereby establishing a secure sense of identity with Whakatōhea. *"Part of my life, my first five years, I was brought up at Rāhui. And in those days the Waiapu whānau were well known in Rāhui. And where the old homestead was here."* She is connected to Rāhui, Opape, Tokomana, through living, playing, and working there: *"would get on our horses and travel to Opape and gather pipi and bring it home to my aunties and they use to dry it on the flax and it was like popcorn ... The Rāhui valley ... was full of people. We used to swim naked and nobody thought nothing of it.... Going swimming was the highlight of the week. All down the river to swim. Off came the clothes and in you went."* Working and playing around Rāhui and Opape, served to instil a sense of identity for Julie with the area surrounding her whānau homestead. Julie's experiences demonstrate how traditional ways of identifying with a particular whānau, hapū, and iwi through connections to certain geographical locations such as rivers, mountains and beaches continues today.

Julie learned about customary practices and values through her grandfather's storytelling, which helped her form, a sense of identity and belonging to a particular whānau, hapū, and iwi. She also learned about gender roles through observing and being taught by her grandfather about the special

place of women in matters to do with food collection and consumption. Julie's grandfather also taught her that an important component of Māori identity was as conservationists. Traditional practices such as storytelling which are vehicles used to pass on cultural values (Smith L., 1999:145) may be in danger of dying out. "Storytelling and the story teller" according to Smith (L., 1999:145), "both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story". If alternative spaces are not consciously made or alternative mediums such as the written form are not used to tell the stories of whānau then connection to the past may be severed as is evidenced by Julie's younger siblings. They were not as privileged in experiencing a grandparent willing to pass down knowledge about traditional practices. Julie attributes her younger siblings lack of commitment to things Māori, to the loss of elders influence during their upbringing.

Julie from an early age learned about Māori cultural values surrounding the practices of naming, whāngai, storytelling, working and living on ancestral lands, and te reo Māori. These experiences contributed to Julie's 'secure sense of identity' as Whakatōhea that contributed to her returning to Whakatōhea in the recent past.

### **Hinehou**

Hinehou too is affiliated through the hapū of Ngāti Rua to Whakatōhea. Hinehou provided extensive whakapapa, which she understands joins all Whakatōhea:

*“Noho ai te maha o āku pākeke o tēnei taha, ēnei puta ngā ingoa i a au... koia rātou te Kāhui Ariki o tēnei rohe e kia nei ko te Whakatōhea i tēnei wā. ... Heke iho mai kōnei tētahi taha ōku, me te maha hoki o Ngāti Rua, o Te Whakatōhea hoki, heke iho mai i ēnei kaumātua.... Engari, ka taea te kī, ehara tēnei i te whakapapa whānui, he whakapapa whānau ke, he tuakana he teina ka heke ki ngā Kāhui. Whai iho i a rātou ko rātou te Kāhui Ariki... E rua ngā Kāwai nui i roto i te ao Māori. Ko te taha ki ngā mātāmua, te taha ki ngā pekepoho... Mena, kāore e taea e te tuakana ka riro atu ma te teina. Kāre taea te teina, aata noho, waiho mā te tuakana”.*<sup>40</sup>

Hinehou highlights the importance of whakapapa in determining the relationships and social responsibilities and rights of individuals. According to Hinehou all members who share the above whakapapa come from a distinguished lineage whether the branch is from the first-born or not. The reciting of lineages, with the express purpose of forming bonds and links between peoples, is a major reason behind learning and knowing ones whakapapa. Hinehou’s recitation of her whakapapa serves to form a connection between her lineage and that of others in Whakatōhea. Such a practice continues to be important today as in the past. The knowledge handed down to Hinehou about her whakapapa connections to Whakatōhea indicates a ‘secure’ identity with being Whakatōhea.

Hinehou does not limit herself to exclusively identifying with Whakatōhea. She acknowledges her connections to all the tribes on the east coast peninsular -Te Tai Rāwhiti - from Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Ngāti Porou, Ngai Tai through to Whakatōhea:

*“ Na ōku mātua no kōnei o Te Whakatōhea, ka huri, ka huri te rohe o Horouta, a Tākitimu, ko ngā maunga, huri, ki Taurangamoana, ka hoki mai ano ki kōnei to rātou mea. Ko ngā Kōhere; ko Ngāti Owai, ki Ngāti Porou, a, he maha rātou*

<sup>40</sup> The entire recitation is extensive and is reserved for Whakatōhea descendants.

*ka huri huri, tae mai ki kōnei Ngai Tai, tae mai ki kōnei. Ngā Mihaka, ngā Tūpara, ngā Kohu mā, ra pea, me ētahi atu e hia ake. Ara te whānau Porikapa mā, o Karauria mā, whanaunga katoa mātou.”*

Hinehou was born in 1936 in a traditional birth in the rohe of Te Aitanga a Mahaki; *“I whānau mai au i te tekau ma rua o ngā rā o Maehe te tau kotahi mano iwa rau toru tekau ma ono ki Tāpuihikitia ki te kōhanga o te whānau. Ko au te whakamutunga o rātou katoa.”* Hinehou was born in a kohanga, a special whare set aside for birthing. Her father assisted her mother through the birth. Kuia provided protection over the birth through karakia; *“I whānau whakawhānauhia tōku Māmā ki roto i tēna kōhanga. Ko taku Pāpa te kaiopeope ia a au. Ko ōku kuia ngā kaitiaki, ngā kaihoru, ngā kaimanaaki ki a au, kaikarakia, me ēra i noho atu ki te marae ki te hari ngā karakia. Rātou ka tae i haria ngā karakia mōku i te wā i whānau mai au.”* Hinehou’s experience of men and women assisting in the birthing processes in traditional Māori society thereby provides evidence of the complimentary nature of women’s and men’s roles. Also evident is the importance placed on the traditional practices associated with karakia, which continues today.

Hinehou’s birth was difficult. She was born with the placenta around her neck. After surviving the difficult birth she was named from then on ‘he tamaiti taikaha’, a ‘strong child’: *“Ai ki ngā kōrero i puta i muri tēna, “He tamaiti taikaha koe.” Ko ēna te kōrero o taku kuia matua, na te mea whānau mai au me taku pito e here ana ki taku kakī. Ko ēna te kōrero e puta mai i a ia: “He tamaiti taikaha tēnei, ko ēna pea tana ora. Na, whakahokia ahau ki te area, ka mutu ngā raru katoa ka pā ana ki te whakawhānau whakahokia ahau ki te marae...”* Being named from circumstances and incidents

surrounding birth is a traditional practice. An example of this same practice may be found in the traditional narratives of Whakatōhea. Hanenepounamu named her son Tamataipunoa, after the incidents surrounding his birth<sup>41</sup>.

Hinehou's experiences demonstrate how such a practice continues today.

Hinehou grew up in a whānau that practiced the religion of Ringatu. Her koroua were well versed in the rituals and karakia of the Ringatu church and were priests of houses of higher learning. They prayed over her as she was a sickly child: *“Tipu ake au i roto i te hāhi Ringatu. Tamaiti kaha matemate au. Tiakina au e ōku koroua, a, he tohunga katoa rātou i roto i te hāhi. He tohunga anō rātou mai i ngā kura wānanga. Kāre mōhio i taua wā, mōhio he iwi tino mātau rātou ki ngā tikanga o te hāhi Ringatu.”*

Hinehou's koroua and kuia were experts in traditional knowledge and had entered the traditional houses of higher learning:

*“Koroua mātau ki ngā tikanga o te ao kōhatu. Pēra ano āku kuia a Parewhai Māka, i haere ki te kura wānanga o ngā mea, ko te wānanga te ingoa i Pākarai ki Uaua. Ana ko taku koroua, i noho atu ki te wharewānanga i roto ia ko Mātaki te ingoa. A me etahi atu wānanga i uru ai etahi o ōku kuia. Ko tētahi o rātou i noho ki Mahine, ... I tū ki Waerengahika. I reira etahi e ako ana ko etahi noho ki Motu, a, ko etahi ano ki [Opotiki].”*

Hinehou provides evidence that women and men participated in schools of higher learning as pupils and as teachers up until recently. Tohunga were required to enter whare wānanga, where they underwent extensive training that was rigorous, exacting and several years long (Durie, 2001:160). Entry requirements took into account tribal accountability, the protection of tribal

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<sup>41</sup> See chapter 5 for this narrative.

knowledge and overall tribal ambitions, and tohunga were afforded respect and status. From an early age tohunga were immersed in tribal rituals and tradition and largely became the carriers of tribal culture (ibid.). As indicated by the knowledge handed down to Hinehou about the circumstances of her birth, such practices continued till recent years and are still being practiced. According to Durie (2001:157-165), traditional healing practices continue to have relevance in the lives of Māori today. Hinehou learned of the equal status that women held with men as holders of traditional knowledge.

In 1966 Hinehou and her husband moved to Rāhui at Omarumutu to work a farm. Over that time they became whāngai parents to birth children from each of Hinehou's sisters:

*“I tonoa tōku māmā ki taku tuakana kia homaihia tētahi pēpe ki a au. And my sister ... didn't really want to have to give any of her children away.... However, my mother insisted that she give me a child, then came to see me and said to me, your sister will give you a child, don't ever look for one outside your family, and the reason for that is lands, the properties, that the lands I will leave you will go to your own and not outsiders'... the wish of my mother that I will not allow anyone else outside the family to take the properties that she was going to leave to me, and that my kuia and koroua will leave to me must go back to the family - bloodlines, whakapapa lines.”*

Hinehou's tuakana gave birth to a girl, and named the baby Hinehou, but did not give it up. The baby died after two months. Hinehou received the next child, a boy; *“I moved straight in, washed the baby early hours of the morning, gave it the next feed and wrapped my baby up and took it back home to Omarumutu”*. Hinehou's younger sister gave her a daughter. The

birth father and his whānau were not happy about the baby girl being adopted out; *“And they never really forgave my sister for giving her away. But it wasn’t a question of giving her away, it was a matter of not being able to cope.”* Sharing the load is a common reason for children becoming whāngai (Metge 1995:225). Hinehou later on lightened the load for her son by taking two of his children as whāngai; *“My two moko, eldest moko I reared those two, because of problems that the parents faced. But in Māori tikanga the kuia and koroua should rear the eldest mokopuna anyway...”*. These mokopuna have grown up and left home. She was given another to rear, a gift from her daughter to keep her company in her old age. She relays how an attachment was formed between her and the mokopuna before she took him as whāngai:

*“And I used to be in Waikato, and he’d, every time I’d ring up he’s crying, he’s crying his heart out ... I’d sing to him “Te tāonga o taku ngākau...”, and he’s crying, ‘... ko taku mokopuna e...’. And he’d stop. And I’d say to him, ‘Waiata mokopuna’, and he’d end the song off with me.... Ko te reo Māori anahe tana reo i taua wā. And it was beautiful Māori.... A, ka hoki mai ki Whakatāne, haere ki Te Kohanga Reo i Whakatāne rā. While I was there Sharon said, ‘Oh Mum, you have to have one of the kids for a mate for you.’ ‘Oh yes’, ‘Which one?’. Oh give me Ngāpō.’ ‘Ka noho koe ki tō kuia?’ ...Oh he and I got on like a house on fire.”*

Hinehou is home-schooling her young whāngai, and practices a developmental method of educating him; *“But I believe, not only your schooling, but ngā tikanga Māori, kia kite, kia rongu. He can read te paipera tapu ki a au. He can read ‘Tuhoe Children of the Mist’, ngā waiata, takoto ki reira, waiata ngā waiata, waiata koroua, things like that, he has no problem.”* Hinehou continues a tradition that determined the special relationship shared between mokopuna and kuia. She passes down

traditional knowledge through providing opportunities for her moko to read and hear the traditional tales.

Kuia indulging mokopuna has been part of Māori tradition since the time of Māui and Mahuika. Elders taking mokopuna from birth to teach them traditional knowledge in order that the knowledge is held for continuing generations is a practice that Hinehou continues today: *“I have my special ones that I sort of not just pamper but I spoil to death. But there’s usually a reason why I do that for them. Same as the old people they used to, it was the teaching of the culture that they fed those particular mokopuna so that it would not be lost in the whānau. I have the same habit that they had.”*

Hinehou’s experiences provide evidence that practices associated with handing down of knowledge from kuia to mokopuna, continue today.

Hinehou provides an example of the important connection between the practice of whāngai, whakapapa and land ownership rights. Sharon’s birth father and his whānau may have fretted because of the real possibility that a branch to their whakapapa could become lost to them through the practice of whāngai. Also highlighted is the role that women may assume in ensuring that tipuna land remains within the whānau. Hinehou’s mother played a pivotal role in ensuring traditional practices to do with childless whānau and whāngai children are practices that continue today. Hinehou’s mother provides her with a role model of a woman as strong, political, and as a keeper of tradition.

Hinehou remembers kuia and koroua being active in the upbringing of mokopuna. When she was growing up few words were used to control behaviour of mokopuna. Most significant was the intonation and choice of words used, which relayed the message that mokopuna immediately understood and responded to:

*“I te wā tipu kāre au i rongō i aku kuia, koroua e kaha tohutohu ana i a mātou. Engari ka hē i a mātou tētahi mea, paku noa nei te kōrero. Engari ko te kaha o te reo, ko te tangi o te reo, ko te hiki i te rangi o ngā kupu, mohio mātou, aue, tino kino ā mātou mahi. And, you know aahua pēnei na ka piki koe ki te taumata ahakoa kore te mōhio ka rongō koe te reo e pākea ana pēnei. Heke mai know. Pera noa.”*

Hinehou also learned about where her rightful place was at the marae when she was a mokopuna. She learnt through Kuia allowing her to experience the consequences of being in the wrong place. As a child, Hinehou enjoyed singing and being at her kuia’s side on the paepae. Her kuia handed Hinehou a challenge of leading a song. Hinehou faltered. Feeling embarrassed, she ran from the paepae and never returned to carry out such duties at the front until she in turn reached the status of kuia herself. She explains; *“Ka huri au, ka oma. Kaore au ano te noho ki te pae āmuri ake.”*

Kuia and Koroua educate young children in different ways about where they fit within whānau or hapu. Experiencing ‘whakamā’ humiliation is one way that mokopuna may learn about their rightful place.

Hinehou strongly identifies with many iwi, including Whakatōhea. Although identity as Māori may be based on identifying with particular whānau, hapū or iwi, Hinehou’s experiences demonstrates that affiliation to many iwi is

also a reality. Knowledge of whakapapa and links to iwi other than that which one is with at the time is something that was useful in the past and continues to be a practice valued today. Hinehou's knowledge of her whakapapa links to her various iwi shows that such a practice of acknowledging those links is still applicable today. Older whānau members played a significant role in nurturing her identity as Māori. As a mokopuna, Hinehou learned about her rightful place at the marae. She learnt through Kuia allowing her to experience the consequences of being in the wrong place. She also learned from role models like her kuia, about the role of women in traditional whānau being equal in status to men. The Māori practices to do with naming of children and whāngai were experiences that contributed to Hinehou's understanding and identity as Māori. Her return home to Whakatōhea over recent years and her work with Ngāti Rua and Whakatōhea indicates a secure sense of identity as Whakatōhea as well as Māori.

### **Sharon**

Sharon is the whāngai daughter of Hinehou and affiliates to Ngāti Rua at Omarumutu. Sharon is the birth daughter of Hinehou's younger sister. "*Ko āku mātua ko Hinehou rāua ko Barry Campbell. He whāngai ahau. Ko taku Māmā tuturu, te teina o taku Māmā. Tokotoru waku tuakana. Engari ko taku tūngane, e tipu ake i a maua i Ruātoki, ko Allen Campbell tana ingoa... Tokorima waku tamariki.*"<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> This was the number of children at the time of the interview.

Sharon was a baby when her family lived at Omarumutu and at eighteen months they moved to live at Ruātoki. Her childhood experiences amongst Tuhoe and with other significant elders helped to shape her identity as Māori. Kuia and Koroua played a central role. At Ruātoki Sharon adopted her friend's koroua and kuia. She would spend weekends with them, where she learned about collecting, growing, harvesting and preparing traditional and cultivated foods - māra kai. She recalls what it was like; *“Most of her lawn was kai garden and it was all year around keeping the kai gardens going for the whānau. Their house was always packed with mokopuna....there was always plenty of kai....I was very fortunate to have spent time with these kaumātua”* (Sharon).

Sharon's experiences demonstrate how substitute extended whānau may replace the whakapapa based extended whānau for Māori families living outside their tribal boundaries. Sharon found substitute grandparents in the tribal area of Tuhoe where she grew up. Durie (2001:193) refers to similar experiences occurring for Māori who move from tribal locations into urban neighbourhoods. Traditional whānau relationships and roles may be transferred to neighbours where “[t]he parents next door bec[o]me uncle and aunty; the elderly man two houses away [is] identified as the kaumātua...” (Ibid.). Sharon's experience then is one shared by many Māori who move away from their traditional iwi boundaries. Sharon's experience shows that identity with being Māori may be developed even when living outside of tribal boundaries.

Sharon developed a sense of belonging through participating as a child in the spiritual activities practiced by the local iwi. Attending Ringatū religious services may have contributed to Sharon identifying with being Māori.

Sharon can remember seeing kuia that wore moko kauae at Tekau-ma-rua<sup>43</sup> at Ruātoki, but doesn't recall any personal contact with any; *"I remember seeing [kuia with moko kauae]....but not actually sitting with, listening and talking."* What she remembers is the warm atmosphere; *"... although not understanding what was going on, I could certainly feel the warmth and the wairua ...I used to remember just the droning of the voices as they sang the pānui and the hīmene and the waiata. That will stay with me forever. There's just something about those waiata... and it's a feeling of belonging when I hear those waiata."* The moko on the women's faces, services carried out in te reo Māori, and the ambiance surrounding the gatherings helped develop within Sharon a sense of belonging.

While young, Sharon was not entirely secure in her sense of identity as a Māori. She could not speak or understand te reo Māori, and was considered a Pākehā by the Māori community she grew up in. Not speaking Māori in a Māori speaking community also contributed to her feelings of alienation from the Māori world. *"Tāwera School, although it was a Māori Native school, the dominant language was English. All my mates are fluent speakers of Te reo Māori and the main language at home was normally Māori although none of them actually spoke to me in Māori. Embarrassing not to have learnt to speak te reo. But if its not directed at you, you will miss*

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<sup>43</sup>Tekau-ma-rua = A Ringatu Church three day religious celebration covering the twelfth day of each month; Binney & Chaplin, 1986.

*out.*” Māori was the language that the Tuhoe elders used: “*I couldn’t understand them if they spoke to me in te reo Māori. You knew they were growling because of their expression and how they raised their voice*”.

Through the actions and voice intonation of the kuia and koroua, Sharon was able to decipher meaning and intent. What is significant here is that although Sharon was exposed to te reo Māori when growing up, she was unable to understand or speak it. Not receiving support from significant adults in her life may have contributed to Sharon not learning to speak Māori. Although Sharon’s mother is a fluent Māori speaker, her father imposed his views about te reo Māori on the family. His view was that te reo Māori would not benefit them; “*The attitude of my dad didn’t help*”. Sharon links speaking te reo Māori with Māori identity. Not having the ability to speak Māori, contributed to Sharon’s confusion about her identity as Māori. Her experience highlights how exposure alone to te reo Māori on a regular basis may not necessarily translate into a person becoming fluent in understanding and use of the language. A child best learns language in context and with constant reinforcement through use and encouragement from significant adults. Actively engaging with a language helps ones ability in a language. Cultural meanings and beliefs are imbedded in a language (Walker, 2001:223) as highlighted by the whakatauki:

*Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori*  
 (The language is the key that unlocks the treasures of a  
 culture). *(Kupenga et.al. 1990:8)*

Although Sharon did have easy access to Māori language, an essential element to Māori developing a secure Māori identity, she was not able to benefit fully from that exposure at the time.

As a school child, Sharon found herself confused about her ethnicity because of her physical appearance. Physical characteristics contributed to how Sharon was identified relative to those around her:

*“I must admit at Ruātoki I was always referred to as a pākehā because I was quite fair compared to everyone else at school. That kind of affected me a lot you know because you feel you didn’t belong”. When I attended High School in Hamilton... you’re referred to as a Māori. So you didn’t know where you belonged ethnically. In my Māori world I was a pākehā, in the pākehā world I was a Māori. You’re in limbo.”*

Sharon’s experience, at that time in her life, highlights how comparative differences in skin colour contribute to Māori being identified by Māori as being pākehā and thereby affecting their identity with being Māori.

Although Durie (2001) does not include the physical appearance factor in his levels of Māori identity, it is clear that Sharon could not feel secure in the Māori world and therefore could not have a secure identity with being Māori because of being perceived by Māori around her as having pākehā physical characteristics. Sharon’s experiences introduce a social acceptance facet to secure identity with being Māori.

Sharon found benefits in identifying with being pākehā as well as Māori.

Sharon’s pākehā father had many contacts within the pākehā world: *“He was involved in the Lion’s Club, so you knew the local business people”*.

Such contacts came in handy later when she was able to use those networks to gain work: *“I was fortunate being exposed to both worlds, and able to go between the two worlds...”*. She noticed that the significant advantages that came from being identified as pākehā and not Māori when comparing her

circumstances to those of her Māori peers. Her Māori friends could not find work as easily as she did; *“I used to get aroha for my friends who didn’t have the same networks in the business world.”* Sharon’s experiences highlight the advantages of identifying with being pākehā in a world where pākehā hold control of resources. She also provides an example of how pākehā control the wealth and the distribution of that wealth and that racism is the criteria for distribution. Her experiences provide evidence of the power and wealth differential between Māori and pākehā and how such differences advantage pākehā.

However, through contact with her extended whānau, Sharon was able to form some connection to identifying with being Māori. Sharon’s mother ensured that Sharon and her brother, both whāngai children, knew who their natural family were. *“My mum maintained our link with our Māori world where we would go to the marae, not all the time, but that link was maintained with our Māori world”*. She doesn’t remember spending much time with her immediate kuia and koroua; *“My kuia, Mum’s mother had passed on before I was born.”* However Sharon recalls visiting her maternal grandfather, her koroua who lived in a kauta at Tāpuihikitia marae at Tūranga. Sharon remembers these as happy times; *“Yeah he was a real character our grandfather. He had nicknames for all of his mokopuna, he used to always like having us on.”* Nicknaming of mokopuna by kuia and koroua may be a show of endearment as Sharon’s experience indicates. Sharon’s experience highlights the important role that extended whānau and

in particular older relatives play in developing and maintaining a sense of identity with being Māori.

Tertiary study was the beginning of Sharon acquiring knowledge about tikanga and te reo Māori. Sharon was encouraged by her mother to enter tertiary study as a means to better her life choices. Sharon trained to be a teacher. She returned to Tāwera and Ruātoki schools as part of her training:

*“I was absolutely terrified of going to Ruātoki because of the competency in te reo, and I knew I wasn’t very confident in te reo Māori. But it was the best thing I could have done – walking into your fears. And that really did give me a good start in speaking Māori. I envisaged the kids laughing at me. But once I’d actually got over the anxiety levels that I created I actually understood quite a bit. At Ruātoko I was in the bi-lingual class. I started to slowly listen and gain confidence in te reo Māori.”*

Sharon provides an example of how feelings of whakamā potentially hinder non-Māori speakers taking part in activities that are likely to improve their chances of learning te reo Māori.

After completing her teacher training, Sharon decided to complete a degree:

*“I wanted to gain fluency in te reo, because I didn’t want to go into school as a Māori teacher with very little reo, and I felt I didn’t know enough about my Māori world as well.”* Through her study, Sharon became awakened to the suffering of Māori following the colonisation of Aotearoa by pākehā: *“When I... started studying about the history, and how just the injustices, the legislation impacted on Māori, the Whakatōhea raupatu issue was coming to the fore at the time. That’s when I decided to find out more, Mum and I attended hui-a-iwi.”* Sharon works as a Māori teacher at Whātātutu, and

regularly returns to Opōtiki where her mother lives, and is involved with hapū and iwi socio-politics.

Sharon wears a moko kauae, a symbol of identity that contains whakapapa.

Her mother asked her if she would like to wear the moko for their whānau.

Sharon agreed but decided to wait until she completed a milestone in her life

– graduating with her degree. When Sharon completed her degree she began

the process towards getting her moko kauae. She contacted the tohunga

suggested by her mother:

*“ ... the first question he asked me, ‘Have you got consent from your iwi?’ ... Well I said I have too many iwi to actually get consent from them all. But I did attend one hapū hui, Ngāti Rua back at Omarumutu, and I asked there at my hapū what they thought of about me going to have my moko kauae done.... I had got quite a bit of negative feedback actually, and a couple of them said, ‘You’re too young’, and ‘Are you the kāwai rangatira to get your moko done?’, and those kind of comments. So my mum got up and decided to talk in support of my moko kauae. And when she finished they said to me, ‘Its up to you Sharon. Thank you for coming back to ask the hapū’. And that’s what I told Derek, and then he just said to me, ‘Okay, come back in a couple a weeks time.’”*

Sharon was required to prove that her iwi accepted that she had adequate

whakapapa rights to carry a moko kauae. Moko kauae symbolise amongst

other things status and leadership that is acknowledged by hapū or iwi.

Sharon’s mother endorsed her daughter’s right to wear the moko, which

eventually received support by members of Ngāti Rua. Sharon went on to

have a moko kauae done:

*“And the actual story about my moko. The sign I have on my lips is the ‘whakatara’, which is the common design from Mātaatua round to the Gisborne district, and those are the iwi I belong to. The whakatara is the scales of the fish I think it is. I have also the ururoa kind of design on there and that represents kind of the morals of that whakatauki ‘Me mate iwi,*

*kei mate wheke'. Whatever goals you set in life you must strive to achieve them."*

The symbols on her moko kauae represent for Sharon a secure identity as Māori. Sharon displays a strong and secure identity as Whakatōhea and Māori.

Sharon's early childhood experiences helped to shape her identity as Māori. She grew up amongst Tuhoe where she formed bonds which mirrored traditional whakapapa based whānau relationships highlighting the adaptability of the traditional whānau unit today. Also, naming or in her case nicknaming of mokopuna by kuia and koroua is a customary practice which Sharon was exposed to. Sharon was not able to fully appreciate the Māori world because of not having the right Whakapapa within the community she grew up in, her physical characteristics, and her lack of te reo Māori. When young she was caught between the two worlds of Māori and pākehā, and was never able to strongly identify with either ethnic group. However, she was able to reap the advantages of being connected to the pākehā world through the networks and connections made possible by her pākehā father. Although Sharon did have easy access to Māori language, an essential element to developing a secure Māori identity, she was not able to benefit fully from that exposure at the time. Despite Sharon's limited understanding of te reo Māori while young, other cultural experiences ensured that she identified with being Māori. Sharon, as an adult sought out her Māori identity through studying at university. She became awakened to the injustices suffered by Māori and in particular Whakatōhea and returned to Whakatōhea as a result. Sharon wears her whakapapa and her identity as a Māori on her chin with her

moko kauae. Sharon's experiences and views demonstrate that she has a secure sense of identity with being Māori and Whakatōhea.

### **Lena**

Lena traces her Whakatōhea lineage through her paternal grandmother Rāhera of the Rewita Hohaia whānau to Ngāi Tama at Opape.

Lena Merina was born on the 16<sup>th</sup> of January 1942, in a kāuta by the fireside at Te Hānoa in Tōrerere. *"It was a two-roomed place our kāuta ...it was utilised as a kitchen a bedroom, sitting room, then we had one bedroom where all the tamariki slept."* She is named after a Scottish ancestress called Merlina; *"nicknamed Honey"*. Lena named each of her siblings providing nicknames for some. Two of her siblings are named after ancestors. Her younger sister Muriwai, lives at Tōrerere. Lena describes her sister's personality; *"really strong and is there looking after our whenua and looking after our whānau from home ...really very vocal and very knowledgeable about who she is, tana taha Māori and tana taha wāhine – wāhine toa."* The eldest brother has been given the name of Hoturoa, the name given to the captain of the Tainui waka. Lena has named her daughter Ramona after a sister; *"she passed on, she died in a drink drive accident. Thirty-two years ago.... She had no issues. I remember that because my daughter is named after her. She died when I was pregnant with my eldest child."* Lena's experiences provide evidence of how traditional practices associated with naming of children after important people or significant events, continues to have relevance today.

Lena grew up mostly in Tōrere, and for a little while Ruatoria. She was drawn back to Ngai Tama because of her counselling work within Whakatōhea. Lena is torn between committing time to social and political service to Whakatōhea and other iwi she is connected to; *“Am I Ngai Tai? Am I Ngāti Awa? Am I Tuhoe? Am I Whakatōhea? I’m all those, but can only give so much... I have a foot in the door at Ngāti Awa too, Ngāti Pukeko.”* Lena feels she can best contribute to Whakatōhea through her counselling work where she has expertise as opposed to politics where she feels she does not have a great deal of knowledge. Lena is also connected through her mother to Ngāti Porou.

Lena remembers only twice visiting Opape marae when a child; *“Only twice that Nanny brought me to the marae... I think of those times when the old kāuta was there, the old wharekai... The homes where Nanny Poirangi - I can’t remember all my nanny’s sisters... they all had little whare all around there the back where they cleared the bank now, where you go down the drop...”* She remembers feeling special to her grandmother; *“Yes she was always proud of her Torere mokopuna - I don’t know why, but I guess we were different. That’s the only time I ever stuck to her. She used to say, ‘Merina haere ki te tiki!’, or ‘Go and get something at the whare’, and I would say, ‘Kao!’ (Lena).* Otene Reihana (in Metge 1995:167), noted that “calling on children to perform tasks is itself a way of indicating approval and pride in their competence”. It may be possible that through asking Lena to run little errands Lena’s grandmother was expressing her pride and

affection for her mokopuna. Sending Lena up to the wharenuī may also have been a subtle way of showing Lena off to others at the whare. Mokopuna may fail to recognise the hidden messages of approval by kuia (ibid.).

Lena's confusion as a mokopuna of correct marae tikanga prevented her from carrying out her grandmother's request; "*I wouldn't come up to the meeting house, cause like to me it was a tapu place...*" This refusal may have been because Lena remembered being restricted from entering certain places and taking part in certain practices; "*... we were never allowed in the meeting house over here at Opape ... I remember the kōrero about 'that's not the place for the mokopuna'; you know all that stuff way back in the past aye. And today I challenge that. Why is it that the mokopuna can't come when there's a death. Part of the grieving, they need to do their grieving and all that sort of stuff*". Limiting children's participation in certain ceremonies is that as tangata whenua, parents, kuia, and koroua are likely much too busy working taking care of obligations to manuhiri. Perhaps adults kept children away for practical reasons. Children may have merely got in the way.

Lena's experiences with her immediate kuia she remembers as painful. She explains:

*"In our whānau her own mokopuna, our Nan divided us. She divided us in this way - those of us who had Whakatōhea and Ngai Tai names were recognised as having some mana, whereas those of us, including myself, who had Ngāti Porou names were definitely Ngāti Porou. So she wasn't my favourite Nanny. Those of us who had ginger or blonde hair usually had Ngāti Porou names... That remains with me like the put-downs.... remains with children like myself for the rest of my and their lives. Like the korero stings, and hurts.*

*Nanny and I didn't get along.... I didn't like her. I hated my grandmother, I hated her!"*

Lena's experiences here confirm the power of assigning tipuna names to children. Naming is an important aspect of maintaining identity.

Grandparents, or whānau elders are often asked to choose the names of mokopuna. Naming a child after certain events or tipuna carries with the name responsibilities. Children were named or dedicated through the name they were given, certain roles to fulfil in their lives. Examples may be found throughout Whakatōhea history of how naming children after certain events or to fulfil specific duties was practiced.<sup>44</sup> Another consideration, elders may recognise in mokopuna certain characteristics passed down from a tipuna through the mokopuna and therefore nurture that mokopuna. Lena's grandmother may have been teaching her mokopuna about the significance of their names. Grandparents indulging in grandchildren, and having pets is part of Māori history. Children that carry the names of tipuna of the same lineage of the grandparent may also be given special treatment because of the responsibilities that would come with carrying that name. However, mokopuna who do not carry names that are important to grandparents may feel pushed aside and neglected as evidenced by Lena's experiences.

In spite of Lena's unhappy memories associated with her grandmother, she has learnt through tōhunga that her grandmother is looking over her descendants: *"When I go to tōhunga and that...they always kōrero about her. They don't know her. Next thing, and they describe my grandmother, and she's sitting behind me, or just above me. Yeah they describe her to a*

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<sup>44</sup> For example, Hanenepounamu named two of her children, Tūtāmure and Tamataipunua after significant events. See chapter 5.

*tee. So it's like she's there. And other members of my whānau, its always her supporting us. The kuia is here. So even though she was very verbal and put-down, well that's how it seemed then, she was of value.*". Māori traditional beliefs, which speak, of the parallel existence of the living and the dead are beliefs which apply and continue to have relevance in today as evidenced by Lena's experience.

Lena has three mokopuna from two of her children. Her son Gordon has a daughter. Lena's daughter, Ramona had two children, but the youngest was adopted out. Lena did not support her decision to adopt the child out:

*"That part of me as a mother and as a nanny, was really a hurtful time because she didn't want me or anyone else in the whānau to bring him up, so she adopted him out of the whānau... there are times when it hurts... I don't see him enough ... engari I keep my own whakapapa and all those things for when he's old enough. He has his own special little books and photo's that I keep for him. I can send them to him now, but it's almost like sending an Easter egg on Easter time without the kōrero to go with it. So, I would rather that there be a special time when that happens when he's old enough to know that we will go and have a kōrero. And if I happen to be dead, it's on tape and I've already written the kōrero for him... I want to have all my moko's to me because I think I can bring them up better."*

Lena's experience highlights the important role that women may assume to pass on whānau whakapapa knowledge to mokopuna.

Lena's experience demonstrates the important place that kuia may have in shaping how mokopuna develop a sense of identity with particular whānau, hapū or iwi. Whānau elders traditionally had the role of educating mokopuna about whakapapa. This may take many forms. Lena's grandmother may have chosen to teach her mokopuna about their iwi affiliations through subtle

means. Lena's experiences highlight how the practices associated with naming children after tipuna or people of significant importance to the whānau, is a traditional practice, which has relevance in the lives of Whakatōhea women today. Lena demonstrates a secure identity with being Maori, and acknowledges connections to many iwi including Whakatōhea.

### **Discussion and Analysis**

The women acknowledged links to hau kainga through references to several cultural sites of tūrangawaewae (home lands); marae (tribal community complex); iwi kainga (tribal village); urupā (ancestral burial sites); awa (ancestral rivers within tribal boundaries); maunga (ancestral mountains) (Tomlins-Jahnke 2002:505, Smith L., 1996:211); or tauranga ika (tribal fishing grounds).

Connection to and identification with significant cultural sites for the women emerged from experiences with whānau, playing, working, and living on *whenua tipuna* or marae. Early experiences helped Tārati form a secure sense of identity as Māori, and more specifically Whakatōhea through her ties to the hapū of Ngāti Ngāhere. Her children were introduced to and formed relationships with whanaunga and the homeplace.

Peggy grew up in Opotiki. Visiting elder relatives at Terere marae helped her form an attachment to the marae through the positive interactions she had with them. These contributed to her choosing to identify as Whakatōhea.

Julie grew up at Omarumutu within the boundaries of Ngāti Rua in the family homestead on ancestral land. Other whānau contributed to her identifying with the location. With her extended whānau, Julie took part in activities that helped her to form an attachment to the ‘home place’.

Working and playing on the land and the nearby beach and river helped her to form a secure sense of identity with ‘home’.

Pane grew up on ancestral land in the family homestead at Torere within the iwi of Ngai Tai. Her whānau participated in community activities at the local marae, church, and school. Such activities helped Pane form a secure Ngai Tai identity. Although Pane claimed links to Whakatōhea through Ngāti Rua, these were not active. She was able to reactivate her obligations to Whakatōhea through her husband, as a supportive spouse.

Lena also grew up within the rohe of Ngai Tai. However, regular visits to her grandmother who lived at Opape marae helped her to form a relationship to the hapū of Ngai Tama. Lena’s identity as Whakatōhea is secure due to her knowledge of whakapapa links and access to whenua tipuna and whānau.

Hinehou grew up in Turanga<sup>45</sup>, but returned to Omarumutu as an adult. She participates in marae activities today. Returning to the ‘home place’ is important in maintaining strong connections.

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<sup>45</sup> Turanga = Gisborne.

For Sharon identity as Whakatōhea developed out of struggles to identify as Māori. Sharon adopted substitute whānau in the community she grew up in. She became absorbed in the culture of marae, while attending school, and working. As an adult Sharon returned to Omarumutu and Ngāti Rua, rekindling her links to Whakatōhea and participating in marae activities.

The women's experiences demonstrate how connections to hau kainga develop out of engaging with the physical environment – whenua, marae, and other geographical locations. The next chapter further explores the relationship between whakapapa, whenua, and mana-wāhine.

#### **Kaumātua: Kui mā Koro mā**

The important role that whānau elders play in shaping mokopuna and whānau member's identity is demonstrated throughout all the women's narratives. Kuia and koroua were repositories of Whakatōhea whānau knowledge. This knowledge was important to identity as Whakatōhea whānau. The study participants experiences, point to the loss of identity that comes when mokopuna are not the recipients of whakapapa or cultural knowledge.

Tārati shared her knowledge of, whakapapa and land connections information and te reo through her work in Kohanga Reo. Julie benefited from her grandfather's knowledge of cultural issues, and his willingness to pass on that knowledge through story telling. This helped instil a sense of identity with the area. She noticed the lack of identity as Māori in her

younger siblings who were not as privileged as she was to benefit from that contact and relationship with whānau elders.

Hinehou was handed down whakapapa knowledge from her elders and is passing down such knowledge to her children and grandchildren. Sharon and her children are recipients of this knowledge. The women's experiences demonstrate the importance of acquiring knowledge of cultural values and practices through elder whānau, hapū, or iwi members.

### **Whanaungatanga: Connections to many iwi**

Although the majority of the women in the present study were secure in their identity as Whakatōhea, affiliation to many iwi was also a reality for them (Smith, L., 1996:211; Karetu, 1979:27). Choice of identity with particular iwi and the level of commitment to these iwi was an issue for them. Six of the women participants identified with many iwi (Julie, Pane, Peggy, Hinehou, and Sharon). Tārati however, chose to identify with only Whakatōhea despite her knowledge of whakapapa links to other iwi. Self-identity is an important component of 'secure identity' according to Durie's (1995; 1996) identity measure, and is a choice that each of the women made for themselves.

Knowledge of whakapapa links to iwi other than Whakatōhea developed in different ways. Most of the women were handed down the knowledge from elder whānau members. Others discovered their connections to other iwi through attending school or work, or whānau ceremonial activities such as

tangi or family reunions. Too many choices created a sense of burden for Lena who did not wish to choose one iwi over the other; *“I’m all those but can only give so much...”*. However there came advantages with knowing whakapapa and developing whānau networks. When Lena was young her whānau moved to be with her mother’s whānau when her parents went through a marriage breakup. Whanaungatanga provided the collateral for access to tribal resources for some of the women. Sharon was given her moko kauae by a tohunga of one of her tribe. Pane found employment through her whanaunga. Knowledge of whakapapa and knowing links to related iwi was useful in the past and continues to be a practice valued today.

### **Tapa atu i te ingoa**

The connection between naming, whakapapa, and identity was important to five of the seven women. Some names traditionally carried histories of significant people, places, and events (Metge 1995:142). Some names carried mana and recipients were believed to inherit some of the qualities of the original ancestor through the name (Metge 1995:142). Smith (L, 1999) observes that:

Children quite literally wear their history in their names. By ‘naming the world’ people name their realities. For communities there are realities, which can only be found in the indigenous language; the concepts, which are self-evident in the indigenous language, can never be captured by another language. (p. 167).

The women’s stories provide evidence that confirm the power behind names and naming in shaping individuals, whānau, hapū or iwi identity.

The naming of children after tipuna or other significant whānau members or events was important for five of the seven women. It also helps link these children with particular whānau, hapū, and iwi. Lena, Julie, Sharon, Pane, and Hinehou, either had children or other whānau members who were named after them or were named after other close whānau members or tipuna.

Linked to the tipuna name, were responsibilities and/or privileges and the identity of the particular person, whānau, hapū, or iwi. Metge (1995) in her study of a Northland whānau found that, “such names have mana as a result of previous associations recipients are believed to inherit some of the qualities of the original possessor along with the name. Many are taonga, that belong to the whānau and often also hapū and iwi” (Metge, 1995:142). Particular descent lines are attached to particular names (ibid.).

Naming children after tipuna helps to form a link between past and present generations of whānau thereby strengthening identity through whakapapa with a particular whānau (Metge 1995:143). Pane, Lena, and Hinehou provide examples of how names may carry with them privileges and responsibilities for those named after the ancestor or whānau member.

One of the privileges that came with naming was to do with the gifting of land. Often land is gifted to children who are named after particular whānau or tipuna attached to particular land (Metge, 1995:143). Demonstrated here is the important association that the women make between naming, land, whakapapa, and identity. According to Metge (1995):

Particular descent lines are attached to particular names (ibid.). Naming a child has important psychological, social,

and even political implications. A child named after an ancestor develops a special emotional connection with that ancestor, an interest in him or her as a role model and a special attachment to his or her descent line. (p. 143).

The ancestor's mana may also be conferred on to the child by relatives and others who may treat the child as special (*ibid.*). Two of Lena's siblings are each named after an eponymous ancestor. The eldest brother is named after the Tainui waka captain, Hoturoa. Her younger sister is named after the eponymous ancestress of Whakatōhea, Muriwai. Lena assigns to her sister the same personality characteristics that have often been used to describe the tipuna kuia that her sister is named after (Stirling 1980:84; Amoamo 1996:1, Lyall, 1997:7). Lena describes her as, 'strong', 'looking after whenua', 'knowledgeable about taha Māori and taha wāhine', and 'wāhine toa'. Lena provides an example of how recipients of ancestor names may be assigned for Māori carry with them not only the hopes of others for the particular person carrying the name to fulfil certain expectations, but the wairua (or the spirit) of the ancestor may also live on in the name through the descendant who carries it.

Lena described how certain of her siblings were given special treatment by her grandmother because of their names and the association of the name with particular iwi. However, she also described how others who did not carry particular tipuna names felt left out. Those with tipuna names may learn through elders about their whakapapa through the way they are treated. Pane, Lena, and Hinehou provide examples of how names and naming are

important factors to formation of identity. Their experiences also demonstrate how naming children after tipuna is a tradition that continues to have relevance in the lives of Whakatōhea women and men today. Naming and names help to create relationships that add to the identity of certain whakapapa lineages.

Children are named to commemorate whānau events, or whānau members. Julie's grandmother was named Te Urikore from circumstances of importance to the whānau. It was predicted that the lineage would be in danger of dying out, as a result the name 'Te Urikore'<sup>46</sup> was given to her. Having a private and public name (Metge 1995:143) was another aspect to the theme of names and naming that two of the women (Lena and Pane) highlighted. The women or members of their whānau had a Māori name that was used in whānau or Māori settings and another name that was more commonly known and used outside of these settings. This practice of having a pākeha name for public use as well as a Māori name for whānau or Māori settings is a post-colonial experience that other colonised indigenous nations share with Māori:

As a result of Christian baptism practices, which introduced Christian names and family names, and schooling practices, where teachers shortened names or introduced either generic names or nicknames, many indigenous communities hid their indigenous names either by using them only in indigenous ceremonies or by positioning them as second names.

(Smith 1999:157).

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<sup>46</sup> Te Urikore = without issue, or childless.

Nicknaming was also an experience shared by Lena and Sharon. Lena gave the nicknames of all her siblings, which sometimes described certain physical or temperament characteristics attached to the tipuna and child. For instance, 'Honey', 'Wobbly', and 'Ducky' are names assigned to three of her four sisters. Her grandmother also had nicknames for all her mokopuna. Metge (1997:142) found that tipuna name were often replaced by a nickname to lighten the burden of responsibility that may come with carrying a tipuna name. Lena's grandmother used the nicknames as a means of dividing the children into tribal groups according to their given name and physical attributes. Also, tribal affiliations were attributed to certain physical characteristics. The fairer children were deemed to belong to Ngāti Porou. The children named after Whakatōhea or Ngai Tai tipuna were given special treatment by the Whakatōhea kuia. Other children were given nicknames that were viewed as derogatory by Lena. Sharon's grandfather on the other hand had nicknames for his mokopuna that expressed affection and endearment toward his mokopuna. Lena and Sharon's experience demonstrates how naming and in this case nicknaming may play an important role in developing and maintaining a sense of identity with particular iwi and whānau.

These experiences provide evidence of the relevance of traditional practices pertaining to naming children, in the lives of Whakatōhea women and men today. Also evident is the connection between identity, whakapapa, and naming. Such experiences provide evidence of how traditional practices

associated with naming of children after important people or significant events, continues to have relevance today.

### **Whāngai**

The traditional practice of whāngai tamariki was an important aspect of five of the seven women's lives (Pane, Hinehou, Sharon, Julie and Lena). Three (Pane, Hinehou and Sharon) have personal experience of being whāngai or matua whāngai. Their experiences demonstrate how the traditional practice of whāngai is still widely used today amidst the pressure towards pākehā adoption practices.

Whāngai is the term used for children who are raised by other than birth parents (Metge 1995:99). The practice of whāngai is similar to the pākehā notion of adoption. The main differences being, that customarily, the practice of whāngai is not formalised through a legal contract, nor is the identity of birth parents concealed. Whakapapa connections remain a fundamental Maori value that continues to apply with the institution of whāngai. To whāngai means, to feed, nourish, and to bring up (ibid.). There is an understanding that not only the physical needs of the whāngai but also their need to be nurtured mentally and spiritually would be met by mātua whāngai (adoptive parents) (ibid.). A whāngai relationship occurs for a number of reasons. Keeping whakapapa links or maintenance of ahi-kā rights are the main reasons (Tomlins-Jahnke 2002:509), but the underlying value is aroha (love). Aroha, for childless couples, or for birth parents, who may not have the physical, emotional, or economic resources to care for a

child; or for orphaned children. The arrangements to whāngai a child may be initiated by the child's birth parents, the would-be mātua whāngai, or a kaumātua of the whānau (Metge 1995:99). Consent may occur out of informal agreement between the two sets of parents, or be mediated by a kaumātua, by formal discussion in a whānau hui. Senior relatives often play a pivotal role in the transfer of children within the whānau (ibid.).

The experiences of the women reveal that the part that senior relatives play in whāngai agreements may vary. Senior relatives played a key role in some of the whāngai agreements experienced by the women. In one case only were whānau deliberately excluded from any of the decision-making regarding the adoption. The majority of cases discussed by the women however, applied traditional processes.

Sharing the load of birth parents is a major reason for children to become whāngai. Pane's parents for example became matua whāngai to two of her children. These were informal arrangements made between Pane and her parents. In arrangements where the two parties are closely related agreement is reached without extensive discussion (Metge, 1995:228).

Hinehou became matua whāngai to Sharon in order to lighten the load for her sick sister who already had many children to care for; *"But it wasn't a question of giving her away, it was a matter of not being able to cope"*. Both women in turn were to whāngai their mokopuna when their children went through some difficulties. Sharing the burden of caring for children through

the practice of whāngai is an experience shared by Pane, Hinehou, and Sharon.

Companionship is another reason why grandparents whāngai mokopuna. Grandparents taking on the role of caring for mokopuna, is a role that is evident throughout Māori history and one which Pane's parents continued. Sharon gave her son to her mother to keep her mother company. Once a decision is made about whether to whāngai a child, it is generally accepted that grandparents have first claim to the child and that the parents of the mother have stronger claim than the fathers (Metge, 1995:229).

Many childless couples seek to or are supported by senior relatives to whāngai children from within the whānau. Lena has a sister who was given to an aunt and uncle who were childless. Sharon is one of two whāngai children to Hinehou who was unable to have children. Hinehou's mother played a pivotal role in initiating the process that saw Hinehou whāngai two of her sister's children, although the final transfer was carried out between Hinehou's sisters and Hinehou. Sharon was prepared to whāngai her baby to her brother and his wife who were at the time childless.

The process of whāngai is not always smooth. There may be resistance or opposition from other whanau, and resentment by the child. Metge (1995:236) found that resentment from whāngai children came out of not fully understanding the circumstances and the reasons for their becoming whāngai. Hinehou for example made regular returns to the birth whānau to

keep the lines of communication open. On the other hand, Lena's daughter refused whānau input into the adoption of her child. Instead of employing the whāngai method of adoption, Lena's daughter chose to legally adopt her son out of the whānau. Lena is determined that the child will know his whakapapa and has a contingency plan in place to pass on the information when he reaches adulthood.

Knowledge of whakapapa is seen as being important particularly to ensure that as adults, whāngai do not inadvertently form sexual relations with or marry a sibling or close cousin (Metge 1995:234). Therefore, openness about being whāngai or adopted is very important.

Retention of ancestral land within whānau was one reason given to Hinehou (by her mother) for taking whāngai children from within the whānau; "*But the wish of my mother that I will not allow anyone else outside the family to take the properties that she was going to leave to me, and that my kuia and koroua will leave to me must go back to the family - bloodlines, whakapapa lines.*". The link between land, whakapapa, and whāngai was also found to be important in a study by Metge (1995:249). In-whānau whāngai inherited land from matua whāngai just as they would if they were birth children (ibid.). Hinehou's experience demonstrates how the practice of retaining land within certain whakapapa lineages through whāngai applies today.

Children who are whāngai of grandparents have the opportunities to learn about cultural and traditional knowledge from their grandparents. Some are

raised specifically to acquire and hold whānau knowledge for future generations. Julie's mother for example, was told about tipuna land holdings for the purposes of acquiring the land for future generations. Hinehou is teaching her mokopuna about cultural values through te reo Māori to enable him to hold whānau whakapapa knowledge. Such practices associated with handing down of knowledge from kuia to mokopuna, continues in Whakatohea today.

The women's experiences demonstrate the important role that the practice of whāngai has in helping to maintain whakapapa and ahikaa connections for whānau. The reasons given are varied. The women's experiences highlight the importance of elder relatives. Issues such as sharing the responsibility, passing on whakapapa knowledge, keeping open connections with the birth whānau, the retention of whānau treasures such as land, continue to be important factors in the practice of whāngai.

### **Te Reo Māori**

“Tihei Mauri ora”  
Tis life

The use of words to define significant life events began with the first ancestress, Hineahuone, when she sneezed and exclaimed “Tihei mauri ora”, ‘tis life’. All of the participants said that te reo Māori was an important factor to their identity. All of the women used both te reo Maori and English in their interviews and some used te reo Māori more extensively than others. A recitation of their whakapapa (genealogies) was done in te reo. Hinehou spoke about her life experiences almost entirely through the medium of the

Māori language. For two of the women (Sharon and Julie) the lack of knowledge of te reo Māori equated with a lack of identity as Māori. According to Julie, her siblings who are not conversant in te reo Māori do not strongly identify as Māori. Sharon spoke of her struggle to become confident in the use of te reo Māori as a competency in te reo Māori was seen as an important measure of her feeling secure in her identity as Māori.

The ability to speak te reo Māori was regarded as important to the identity of the women as Māori. Three of them (Sharon, Tārati and Hinehou) in particular considered the passing on of Māori language to younger whānau members as being essential to their identity as Māori. However, exposure alone to te reo Māori does not always ensure understanding and fluency in the use of the language. For instance Sharon grew up in a Māori speaking community but did not learn to converse in te reo Māori until she made a determined effort to learn as an adult. Although her mother was fluent in te reo Māori, the language was not used as the mode of communication in the home. Tārati on the other hand made a point of teaching her children te reo Māori in the home, when they were young. This ensured that the children at least understood te reo Māori.

A child best learns language in context and with constant reinforcement through use and encouragement from significant adults. Actively engaging with a language helps ones ability in a language. Cultural meanings and beliefs are imbedded in a language (Walker, 2001:223) as highlighted by the whakatauki:

*Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori*  
 (The language is the key that unlocks the treasures of a  
 culture). *(Kupenga et.al. 1990:8).*

Tārati has also been involved in the foundation of, and provides ongoing support to, Kohanga Reo (Māori language nests) within Whakatōhea. Kohanga Reo was the preferred Early Childhood Centre by Sharon for her children. Sharon is now a confident te reo Māori speaker and teaches in a total immersion Māori language primary school class. Hinehou is highly proficient in te reo Māori and has taught the language at a tertiary level. Her extensive recitation and explanations of whakapapa lineages through the medium of te reo Māori clearly demonstrates the importance of te reo Māori to understanding cultural values and traditions. As a kuia she has the freedom that she did not have as a young parent, to pass on her knowledge of te reo Māori and whakapapa to her whāngai mokopuna.

The learning of te reo Māori through song and whakatauāki proverbs was highlighted by two women (Hinehou and Sharon). For Sharon traditional songs gave her a sense of identity; *“and it’s a feeling of belonging when I hear those waiata”*.

The use of distinctively Māori symbolic language or written language was referred to by one of the women. Sharon wears a moko. The design represents Māori and tribal identity. The lines are common to tribes from the Mātaatua waka and the meaning behind the lines, are representative of the whakatauki ‘Me mate iwi, kei mate wheke’, ‘whatever the goals you set in

life you must strive to achieve them'. The moko announces Sharon's whakapapa links to the tribes of Mātaatua that include Whakatōhea.

Tribal identity is also evident in the way that certain idioms and accents which often distinguish one tribe from another. For example, Pane used the soft 'wh' sound with a slight emphasis on the 'h' in the word Pakowhai - a distinct Whakatōhea accent. Julie and Lena used the word 'hunaonga' as a generic term for in-married whānau members – the usage and meaning common in Whakatōhea. Hinehou spent many years living amongst Tuhoe and has picked up the accent of that iwi. She pronounced words with the consonant 'ng' as 'n' dropping the 'g' – a distinct Tuhoe accent. She provides an example of how idioms, pronunciations, and accents can be influenced by the Māori language community a person is surrounded by.

From all the women's experiences it is evident that te reo Māori is important to their identity as Māori, and that certain expressions, accents, and symbols distinguish them from other tribes.

## **Conclusion**

The women's experiences demonstrate the centrality of whakapapa and connections to hau kainga to a secure sense of identity as Māori and specifically Whakatōhea. Belonging to many tribes was a reality shared by the majority of the women. Whanaungatanga brought with it advantages, such as greater networks and sometimes loyalty struggles. All of the women were linked to Whakatōhea through whakapapa. Identity with Whakatōhea

emerged out of shared whānau experiences of ancestral lands, rivers, and bush. The centrality of land to a sense of identity was important to all of the women, and consequently. The loss of connections to traditional lands was associated with a loss of identity as Māori and Whakatōhea. Having pākehā ancestry impacted on women's identity as well. The philosophy of 'making the best of both worlds' was important to some. The centrality of kaumātua in passing on traditional knowledge about whakapapa and whānau, hapū and tribal stories is also highlighted as important to the women. Conversely, the loss of kuia or kaumātua was attributed to the loss of identity with being Māori and Whakatōhea. Positive experiences with elders and their support were regarded as important. Te reo Māori was significant to identity for two of the women. The practices associated with, naming are traditions that have relevance for Whakatōhea women today and are important to their identity to particular whānau, hapū, and iwi. Elder relatives played a significant part in shaping the views and experiences of the women in regards to gender roles. The women's experiences show that their identity as Māori is based on their affiliation to Whakatōhea as well as other iwi. For them whakapapa is central to their identity as Māori and more specifically as Whakatōhea. The following two chapters provide further evidence of the significance and relevance of Māori traditional practices and values in the lives of Whakatōhea women and men today.

## Chapter 7

### Mana Whenua me te Mana Wāhine

According to Māori worldview,<sup>47</sup> women and land share a close relationship (Pere, 1990; Kupenga, Rata & Nepe, 1990). This chapter explores the relevance of customary practices, beliefs and values associated with land which highlight how women, mana, and land are closely aligned. The present study participant's experiences and views about land are grounded in whakapapa, tribal traditions, values, and beliefs of their tipuna. A recurring theme is the loss and reclamation of links to land. The following discussion focuses on their participation in and strategies adopted by them in the reclamation of land and traditions associated with land. It will also consider issues regarding their spiritual relationship with land, as well as their political interests and views about the management and authority over land. The women's experiences and views highlight the relevance of traditional and customary practices in their lives today.

#### Whenua

Woman and the land in Māori worldview are highly valued, as evidenced in the whakatauki:

Mā te wāhine, mā te whenua, ka ngaro ai te tangata  
(Without women and land, people would be lost)

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<sup>47</sup> Maori worldview = Maori beliefs, norms and customs that are strongly based on Maori customary narratives.

The close relationship between women and land was formed at the beginning of human kind. The first human was a woman and, as her name Hineahuone<sup>48</sup> describes, she was ‘formed out of the earth’. Māori regard Papatuānuku, as an ancestress. She provides people with physical and spiritual well being for the living and a final resting place after death.

Women and land are regarded as sharing a symbiotic relationship, one that is mutually advantageous (Kupenga, Rata & Nepe 1990:8). Just as a mother provides sustenance to a child, Papatuānuku the Earth Mother, land provides sustenance for human-kind (Pere, 1990:3). The importance of women is demonstrated in the likening of sustenance from the land to milk from a woman’s breast (Kupenga et.al, 1990:8).

Ko te whenua te wai-u mo ngā uri whakatipu  
(The land provides the sustenance for the coming  
generation)

Papatuānuku also provides the means of shelter and protection, and a woman provides the placenta, which nourishes that baby before birth (Jackson, 1993:71). The health and well-being of Papatuānuku is also dependent on people. Just as a baby immunises the mother from certain infections whilst in the womb (Kitzinger & Bailey, 1990) so too are women and men required to assume responsibility for the care and protection of Papatuānuku. The maintenance of a distinctly Māori way of living is dependent upon the care and survival of the environment (Durie, 1998:5). Customary practices such as *rāhui*, which is a temporary

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<sup>48</sup>Hineahuone = Woman formed from the earth.

protection placed on an area or hunting species; and protests and petitions of governments for the protection of the environment, help to ensure the survival of future generations (ibid.). The relationship between Māori and Papatūānuku is symbiotic in nature.

Through whakapapa, Māori women, and men link to specific geographical locations, which they belong and relate to (Pere 1990:3-4), thereby becoming *turangawaewae* or ‘people of the land’ (Bennett 1979:9). It is this status of *turangawaewae* that gives people *mana-whenua* or rights of ‘authority and control’ over the land (Durie 1998:115). Whenua is gained by *whenua kite hou* (right of discovery) or *ahikāroa* (ceaseless occupation), through *ōhaki* (ancestral inheritance) or *raupatu* (cession and conquest) (Pere 1990:3-4; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996:72). Links to specific locations provide Māori with a sense of belonging.

Whenua is also regarded by Māori as a source of physical as well as spiritual well-being (Pere 1990:3-4). Sense of identity, self-awareness and *mana* originate with *whenua* (Bennett 1979:78-79). Whenua not only contributes to sustenance, but also wealth, resource development, and tradition (Durie 1998:115). Whenua also “strengthens *whānau* and *hapū* solidarity, and adds value to personal and tribal identity as well as the well-being of future generations” (ibid.). Māori well-being is expressed in a partnership with Papatūānuku. Consequently, when *whenua* is lost, then identity and life are placed in a precarious position.

Whatu ngaro te tangata, toitū te whenua  
(People perish but the land remains)

The whakatauki refers to the permanence of land and the mortality of people as well as the impermanence of land ownership (Durie 1998:115). Land has played an integral role in the “lives and deaths of people for whom it has been home, as well as those for whom it should have been home” (ibid.). Although land possession and retention cannot be guaranteed Māori form a binding relationship with particular places.

Without land, whānau links with past and future generations become endangered (Durie 1998:115). Māori history is filled with stories of tipuna dying in defence of land or later generations returning to take up the fight again. In recent times Māori women such as Te Puea (Karetu, 1998:96-99) and Whina Cooper (King 1991) have been warrior leaders for their people in campaigns for the reclamation of inherited lands. The prominence of women in land campaigns is not new but has its roots in tradition.

What experiences and views do Whakatōhea women and men have in regards to land and traditional values associated with land? This question will be explored through examining the stories of seven women of Whakatōhea.

All seven women in the present study expressed in various ways a deep affinity to ancestral lands. Two of the women (Julie and Lena) provide

examples of how customary practices associated with whenua (afterbirth) and pito (umbilical cord) have significance today. Their experiences and views about the spiritual significance, the traditions, the loss and reclamation, and the roles of both men and women associated with the customary practices are explored in the following sections.

### **Te whenua me te pito – afterbirth**

The Māori names given to placenta and land indicate how closely related the two are in Māori thought. “The placenta that nurtures us before birth, and the land that provides nourishment in life are both whenua” (Jackson, 1993:71). Rose Pere (1990) highlights the significance of the relationship between placenta, land, and women when she says:

The placenta is the lining of the womb during pregnancy, by which the descendant is nourished. ... Whenua is also the term used for land, the body of Papatuānuku, the provider of nourishment and sustenance for her myriads of descendants. (p. 3).

Traditionally, the placenta was buried in a special place thus forming a bond between the newborn baby and Papatuānuku, the Earth Mother (Walker, 1990:70; Buck, 1982:351). The umbilical cord, after it had separated from the *pito* (naval), was placed in the cleft of a rock or a tree, or buried in a spot and marked by a stone or post (ibid.). After the birth of a child, the whenua (placenta) is returned to the whenua (land), thereby earthing the child’s *mana tangata* or personal dignity, where it is sustained through life until, at death, the body is returned to Papatuānuku (Kupenga et.al.). When the whenua is buried, Papatuanuku preserves the mana of a

child (Tikao, 1990:17). Tikao (1990:97) illustrates the significance of caring for the afterbirth in relation to mauri and mana for Māori saying;

When a child is born to the Pākehā, the doctor or nurse usually burns the placenta or afterbirth. The Māori did not do this - it would be against the mana of that child and would destroy its mauri (life principle). As the mauri of a person ceases at death, to burn a corpse did not destroy its mana, for the mauri was already gone, but burning the whenua (placenta) of a child born alive is to destroy its mana - the mauri of the living child would be gone. Therefore the whenua was never burnt, but was carefully buried in the whenua (earth) and I think this is how it got its name, and by this burial the child's mauri and mana is preserved.

Two of the women (Julie and Lena) provide examples of how customary practices associated with whenua (afterbirth) and pito (umbilical cord) have significance today in the lives of Whakatōhea women and men.

Their experiences and views about the spiritual significance, the traditions, the loss and reclamation, and the roles of both men and women associated with the land are explored in the next section.

Whenua plays a central role in linking present generations with tipuna for Lena. She is drawn back to the land where her pito and whenua, and those of her ancestors are buried:

*[A]t least once a year I make my journey back home to keep me in touch with my whenua. And I'm talking about my whenua the land, but also whenua in that all our afterbirth was kept by Mum and Dad and my Grandparents either up at the house up the top under the pūriri tree where we used to swing and get hurt and all those things, or underneath the pohutukawa trees. There are two pohutukawa trees down at Te Hānoa where our afterbirth of our tipuna and our past generations and present generations have their whenua buried there.*

Lena's experiences demonstrate how highly significant burying whenua (after-birth) on ancestral lands is in strengthening spiritual ties to ancestors.

Attachment to specific geographical areas are due to the association of the particular area with ancestors and explains why successive generations return. Lena believes that it is because her whenua and pito were buried on her tipuna whenua (ancestral lands) that she feels a strong attachment to the place; *“So like for me, that's where I was born and that place has a certain draw, it draws me to go back there from time to time”*. The land where her whenua and pito are buried is where she wishes to be returned to when she dies.” *I've always said that that's where I was born, and that's where I'll be taken back to.*” Here Lena highlights how whenua and pito establishes a connection between the beginning and the ending of life. Te Puea (King, 1990:148) sums up the significance of the relationship between land and human lifecycle when she said, “The land is our mother and father. It is the loving parent who nourishes us, sustains us ...when we die it folds us in its arms.” Lena's experiences and views about whenua demonstrate how customary practices associated with the burial of afterbirth and ancestral lands continue to have relevance today.

What role does the whānau play in passing on traditions associated with afterbirth?

For Julie early whānau experiences contribute significantly to her understanding about customary practices associated with afterbirth. She learned about the customary practice of returning pito and whenua to Papatuānuku through observing what was happening around her whilst growing up: *“I can recall that some of my cousins were born at home.”* Julie’s memories associated with the traditions refer to a time when the larger whānau social group was strong and intact thereby increasing the possibility for Julie to be exposed to such practices while young. Her experiences demonstrate the centrality of whānau in passing on customary practices.

Julie also remembers the part that men played; *“I can remember the men taking the whenua over to Tokomanawa to bury you know, and that stayed with me.”* Julie’s experiences provide an example of how men took part in traditional child birthing practices thus emphasising the complementary nature of the role of women and men in customary Māori society.

Julie has become a link between past practices and future generations by continuing the traditions associated with afterbirth with the birth of her own children; *“I’ve always buried my children’s whenua”*. In continuing this practice she provides a spiritual link between her children and their ancestors through association with the land.

The ancestral mountain Tokomanawa provides shelter for physical as well as spiritual needs for Julies whānau and hapū; *“I can recall at*

*Tokomanawa which is our maunga - we call it a maunga - it's only a hill. And one half was for our pito and our whenua, and the other half was used as rua....*" For Julie's whānau and hapū, opposite faces of the mountain provide physical and spiritual demarcation zones between the two distinct domains of noa and tapu. The area set aside for the storage of food (rua) in the face of the hill is considered noa, and the opposite outlook, which is set aside for the burial of whenua, is considered tapu. Setting up domains that separate areas, which are either noa or tapu, is a basic Māori value, which is practiced today as Julie's experience demonstrates.

### **Loss of traditional practices**

All seven women referred to the birth of their children in hospital, but only two, Julie and Lena, noted the practice of taking and burying the whenua as significant. The loss of traditional practices associated with afterbirth is attributed to the overall shift from home births to hospital births by two of the participants in the present study. Julie observed the shift; *"Then all of a sudden the hospital came, and then they had their babies at the hospital"*.

Lena did not carry on the tradition of burying the whenua when it came to the birth of her own three children:

*"I was not told of this [practice] until after my children were born in tauwi hospitals and I did not have a full understanding of the importance of this until my youngest mokopuna was born eighteen months ago... her whenua is with Papatuānuku ... It didn't happen for me because Mum*

*didn't teach me that ... I didn't realise because I was a young mother and there were other things in my life that were highlighted."*

Not being taught the traditions of burying whenua, being away from traditional family support structures and being in a pākehā hospital environment where practices reflected the Western European values and beliefs, Lena did not carry on the practice. Her experiences highlight the important role that the environment, which includes the whānau, has on the continuation or loss of customary practices. If Māori women are not taught about values or do not experience or observe customary practices associated with birth then these traditions become endangered and may be lost to future generations.

The centrality of the role that whānau plays in whether or not customary practices associated with afterbirth are passed on are highlighted as a significant issue for all seven women in the present study. Julie's early observations and experiences of whānau member's activities around childbirth and afterbirth contributed to her ability to continue these practices when she became a mother. However, Lena's experiences demonstrate how, if Māori women and men are not taught about values or do not experience or observe customary practices associated with birth, these traditions may become endangered, and may be lost to future generations. Significantly, only two of the seven women within the present study referred to traditions associated with childbirth, which may indicate the possible loss of wide usage of such practices amongst Whakatōhea women and men. The revival of such practices in small

pockets of Whakatōhea may catch on and may be given greater status amongst coming generations as the experiences of Lena and Julie indicate.

### **Reclaiming tikanga**

How can customary practices associated with afterbirth be revived? What part have the women played in the reclamation of such practices? Two of the women within the present study, Lena and Julie, have observed and actively encouraged the reclamation of traditions associated with afterbirth.

Julie observed that health professionals and hospitals came to acknowledge and support the implementation of some Māori customs associated with childbirth; *“I was pleased that this practice was acknowledged in the hospital in 1980. ... I’ve always buried my children’s whenua’; you know all of a sudden it became a big thing. And I suppose I could say Māoris started saying, ‘Hey this is a tikanga we want to continue, we want to take whenua back to where we were born’.”*

With the birth of her mokopuna, Lena has revived the practice of burying the whenua on tipuna land passing this knowledge on to her children thereby becoming a role model. *“And today our mokopuna are the same too. We take their whenua or afterbirth back there and bury them there... Even my own daughter, went to her, I said to her ‘Where’s the afterbirth?’, [be]cause she had a caesarean and I didn’t get there till*

*after. But my son he remembered, he remembered.* Lena has acted as a role model and teacher for her own children, passing on values about traditional childbirth practices; “*I told him to put it in the fridge, but not where the kai is, somewhere in a fridge where there’s no kai. He says, ‘I’ve got a beer fridge.’. So I said ‘Good, chuck the beer out’*”. Values, which are founded on the beliefs about tapu and noa, determine how the afterbirth should be handled. The customary practices determine that body parts which are tapu must be kept separate from things that are noa, such as food (Buck, 1982:347). Lena has become a role model for her whānau by encouraging her children both male and female to learn the spiritual significance of and the traditions associated with childbirth.

The experiences and perceptions of Lena and Julie provide examples of the relevance of traditional values and beliefs pertaining to whenua and pito in the contemporary lives of Whakatōhea women and men. Their experiences demonstrate the centrality of whānau and the complementary nature of men’s and women’s roles in maintaining, reviving and passing on customary practices and beliefs associated with afterbirth and land. Lena’s son and Julie’s uncles played active roles in the burial rituals associated with the whenua and pito. The customary practices pertaining to whenua and pito are shown to be practices, which are valued and applied, today by Whakatōhea women and men.

## Reclaiming Mana-Whenua

Whenua provides whānau and hapū with physical and spiritual well-being, and when it is lost, then the identity and life of the whānau and hapū are endangered (Durie 1998:115; Pere 1990:3-4). When land slips from the control of whānau and hapū, then obligations to reclaim it passes to following generations. Generations of battles over borders between neighbouring whānau, hapū, or iwi have been a feature of Māori history and indeed Whakatōhea history. Whakatōhea borders that have been in constant shift up until the Raupatu period have been those shared with Ngai Tai to the North East, and Tuhoe and Ngāti Awa to the South West. These same borders are today contested locations for Whakatōhea. What are the women's views and experiences with loss and reclamation of whānau, hapū or iwi lands?

Reclamation of mana-whenua over hapū or iwi land is an issue that five out of the seven women view as important. They share their experiences and views about how the loss of land occurred, the effects of the loss on men and women of Whakatōhea, and the reclamation of the land and the part that they played in the reclamation process. Their experiences speak of women as political and women as strong. They also speak of the complementary relationship that men and women share in the socio-political activities within Whakatōhea.

Hinehou is involved in a campaign to reclaim land, which is now under private ownership to be redesignated as wāhi tapu. The lake and

surrounding site is called Te Awahou and is situated at the river mouth of the Waiaua river. The area holds significance for the hapū of Ngāti Rua and Ngāti Muriwai of Whakatōhea, and the iwi of Ngai Tai, as it was the site of the last great battle between Ngai Tai and Ngāti Rua and occurred about four generations before the Raupatu. Over centuries, the area between Opape and Tirohanga was a site of constant territorial and boundary disputes between Ngai Tai and Te Whakatōhea. The reclamation of the area is a tradition that Hinehou and the members of Ngāti Rua continue today.

The battle referred to as the Battle of Te Awahou or Waiwhero occurred from an incident where in a bid to claim the area, Ngāti Rua killed members of the hapū who shared kinship ties with the iwi of Ngai Tai (Lyll, 1979; Rātima 1999). The elderly chief of Ngai Tai, Tuterangikurei<sup>49</sup> hearing of the murders lead a party of Ngai Tai from Tōrere to save others of his kin still living at Tirohanga. The battle raged along the Opape beach, and many lives on both sides were lost. The bodies of the dead from both sides were thrown into the lake which turned red hence the name Waiwhero for the lake (Hinehou). The rangatira (chief) of Ngai Tai, Tuterangikurei was killed and the Ngai Tai survivors left the area. Ngāti Rua claim mana-whenua over this area based on the principle of conquest (Hinehou; Julie). However Ngāti Muriwai and Ngai Tai also claim rights based on the principle of ahikāroa (Julie). Tutahuarangi, the son of Tuterangikurei, and others of Ngai Tai returned

to live at Torere and Tirohanga<sup>50</sup> thus re-instating their mana-whenua based on the principle of ahikāroa thereby maintaining their links to the land. Those members who returned to Tirohanga are known today as the hapū of Ngāti Muriwai (Julie). Te Awahou was part of the lands confiscated by the government of the 1870s. These lands were redistributed to settlers and Maori who worked with the Crown at the time of the confiscations. Thus lands that previously were communally owned came under individual ownership.

The land on which the lake lay, was owned by a Māori woman who had considered selling the site to build a home, which would overhang the lake (Hinehou). Ngāti Rua was attempting to reclaim that area through seeking designation of the site as wāhi tapu. Hinehou and other elders of Ngāti Rua attempted to directly negotiate joint kaitiakitanga of the lake with the legal landowner. Negotiations were conducted through the woman's grandmother; *"And the old lady tried to tell her granddaughter of the locality of the wāhi tapu"*. However, according to Hinehou the landowner who had adopted a different belief system, dismissed the concerns of the hapū and those of her kuia, saying, *"I don't believe it, I'm not interested in any of that nonsense"*.<sup>49</sup> Western religious belief systems, which undermine Māori values, were perceived by Hinehou as the root of the woman's disregard; *"She's steeped in the religion of Closed Brethren,*

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<sup>49</sup>Tuterangikurei is an ancestor of mine as well as two of the participants (permission not sought or given to name them).

<sup>50</sup>This is a culmination of knowledge handed down to me by my grandfather Manuhiri Davis of Ngai Tai, as well as Julie Lux, Hinehou Campbell and Opotiki Minute Book 3.

*and she will have nothing to do with culture, tradition or any other thing other than what her church provides for her”.*

Colonial military invasion, the introduction of Western laws and Christianity has had a devastating effect on Māori since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (Jackson 1993:77). The individualisation of land ownership has undermined the mana of hapū (ibid. 72). Durie also emphasises the devastating effect of individualisation upon Māori society when he states:

Social cohesion between whānau and within tribes has been seriously undermined by the individualisation of land titles and the forced abandonment of collective ownership.  
(Durie, 1998:72)

Hinehou and other elders of Ngāti Rua, were invited by the new owner to visit the site. Hinehou observed the area had become defiled, according to Māori custom; *“Went down to Te Waiwhero and I stood on the top of the ridge and I really felt sad.”* Local hunters used the lake for hunting birds, and the remains of a maimai (hunting shelter) stood as evidence. Furthermore, the new buyer planned to build his house on stakes overhanging the lake.

According to customary Māori practice, food is used to remove tapu, to make something noa. Eating or gathering food around a burial site is regarded as an insult and an attack on the mana of the dead. Hinehou’s knowledge of such beliefs and values may be at the root of her distress. Setting up a bird-hunting hut on the lake could also symbolise defiling the

resting place of those buried in the lake. Precedence for placing a rāhui on a food gathering area is found in the ancestress Muriwai. When her sons drowned while fishing, a rāhui was placed over a broad area stretching from the place now known as Tauranga to Tihirau, at the tip of the Whangara peninsula. The rāhui has been lifted but is still remembered through the saying “Mai i Tihirau ki ngā Kurī ā Whārei” (Ratima, 1999).

Learning about how the lake area was to be used offended Hinehou and members of Ngāti Rua. This also gave Hinehou the impetus to seek a political solution. Hinehou was determined to work towards reclaiming authority over the area for hapū and iwi groups who had historical interests there. In her role as secretary for the Ngāti Rua marae committee, Hinehou wrote a letter on behalf of kaumātua, to the Reserve Lands Department and Cultural Heritage, in a bid to change the status of the area to wāhi tapu. Hinehou wrote:

*“All wāhi tapu lands registered and unregistered and included in raupatu claims between the Crown and local hapū, this land Waiwhero is labelled ‘Wāhi Tapu’ to Ngāti Rua, Ngāti Patu, Ngai Tama, and all hapū of Whakatōhea and Ngai Tai iwi. The reason being, this is the battlefield where Whakatōhea and Ngai Tai iwi fought and died because of land ownership and boundary claims ... In lieu of the proposal presented to us by Graham Fraser, we ngā kaumātua Trustees of Ngāti Rua hapū will register the area that we claim as wāhi tapu and will continue to claim the land under raupatu initiations.”*

The letter also sought right of access through privately owned lands to the area, and the right of hapū and iwi to be kaitiaki of the wāhi tapu.

The letter also sought re-designation of other lands such as ancient pa sites within the Tirohanga area as wāhi tapu<sup>51</sup>.

As the letter claimed to represent broader iwi associations, Hinehou sent copies to other associated hapū of Whakatōhea, and the iwi of Ngai Tai, as well as members of parliament at the time; the Minister of Māori affairs (Tau Henare) and the Māori member of parliament for Waiariki (Tuariki Delamere). The strategies utilised by Ngāti Rua in their bid towards gaining a right to kaitiakitanga status over the lake, included the personal approach in a public forum of a hui, speaking through an elder of the owner and then seeking redress through the claims process. The letter became an example for other hapū of Whakatōhea to follow. The Chairman from Ūpokorehe rang Hinehou claiming that their hapū would use her processes (letter writing) as a blueprint for claims to wāhi tapu they sought in their area (Hinehou). Hinehou's experience provides an example of how Whakatōhea women become role models for men and women by assuming responsibility for hapū and iwi political affairs. These strategies employed by Hinehou and Ngāti Rua provide an example of how Whakatōhea may approach issues to do with hapū or iwi reclamation of tipuna lands and other hapū or iwi taonga.

Hinehou's experience emphasises the important role women assume in the reclamation of ancestral land. She provides evidence of the prominent role that Whakatōhea women assume in the raupatu claim process as

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<sup>51</sup>wāhi tapu = a place of special significance, such as a cemetery.

representatives of iwi and hapū. She represented the interests of the iwi of Ngai Tai and Whakatōhea, as well as the various hapū of Whakatōhea. Her experience also provides an example of how women may utilise the authority vested in the political office they hold to effect positive change for hapū and iwi. Her experiences also provide an example of how women, as well as men, may enter the battle arena with the Crown in the reclamation of ancestral land. The battle is not in this instance fought with blood but with the pen. Hinehou seeks to reclaim land by minimising the power of individual ownership and returning mana back to hapū and iwi. For Hinehou, the immediate threat is not the neighbouring tribe, but colonialist laws and Western religious belief systems and cultural hegemony that are reinforced by members of the group. Hinehou's experiences demonstrate how women may assume a prominent and effective role in hapū and iwi political discourse with the Crown. She also provides an example for other iwi leaders, of effective strategies in the reclamation of land.

### **Mana Ake, Mana whenua**

The next section explores the intertwining themes of land-ownership, identity, well-being and the effects of colonial legislative law on Whakatōhea and their reclamation of land.

Three of the seven women in the present study Tārati, Julie and Pane acknowledge that there are more than the six hapū of Te Whakatōhea. Pane refers to two others “...all the hapū which is Whakatōhea iwi, those

*six... and there's other ones, there's Ngāti Muriwai... and there's Pākowhai ... “ (Pane). Two of the women, Julie and Tārati declare their descent from the hapū of Ngāti Muriwai thereby confirming the existence of the hapū. Tārati is the daughter of Paku Eruera, who according to Julie was “rangatira” of Ngāti Muriwai and was instrumental in successfully petitioning government for the return of some of the land lost to the hapū after the confiscations of the 1800s; “Paku Edwards was very articulate in making sure he petitioned the government to also grant [Ngāti Muriwai] land. We were allocated ...660 acres of land”.*

Julie provides examples of how mana-whenua or the loss of mana-whenua has a bearing on ones identity and sense of well-being. Julie is a member of Ngāti Muriwai, which has been ignored by the majority of Whakatōhea and the Crown in the Treaty negotiations. This is a reflection of the near non-status this hapū has in Whakatōhea socio-political context.

Julie is committed to reviving the hapū of Ngāti Muriwai “ *...one of my moemoea<sup>52</sup>'s is that I would like to revive Ngāti Muriwai. It will happen ...somehow it seems to be slowly pushed aside, and unless people like myself, the descendants of these tipuna start reviving it, it may be lost forever.*” Her commitment comes out of a need to reclaim mana-whenua which was lost to the hapū: “*I believe the most aggrieved hapū of the whole of Whakatōhea was really Ngāti Muriwai and Ngāti Rua because the other hapū were pushed back onto [land] what belonged to them*

*first.*” Julie is referring to the establishment of a reserve of 20,789 acres at Opape for all the hapū except Ūpokorehe awarded by the Crown following the land confiscations (Mikaere, 1991:36).

In the 1870 census Ngāti Muriwai was not mentioned as a hapū of Te Whakatōhea (Gilling 1994:157), but was registered as one in 1874 (Lyll, 1979:197). Ngāti Muriwai share ancestry with the iwi of Ngai Tai, and according to Julie “*Ngāti Muriwai really was the basis of what Ngai Tai is today*”. Ngāti Muriwai also share common ancestry with the hapū of Ngāti Rua and today is absorbed into Ngāti Rua. Tutāmure is the ancestor to whom all three tribal groups merge through whakapapa (Lyll 1979:35).

However today Ngāti Muriwai is not widely recognised as being an entity, does not have collectively owned land, has no representation at the iwi level, or inclusion in the raupatu negotiations with the Crown. The exclusion of Ngāti Muriwai from iwi discourse with the Crown regarding the raupatu claim is an issue that Julie would like addressed. She would also like recognition that Ngāti Muriwai as well as Ngāti Rua suffered loss of land due to the Crowns actions: “*I believe that we need to promote not only Ngāti Rua, because within the claim itself I believe that these two hapū [Ngāti Rua and Ngāti Muriwai] were the most harshly dealt to because of the government pushing all the other hapū onto its land that was known for its hunting, its fishing and a way of life and survival.*”

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<sup>52</sup>moemoea = a dream or desire.

For Māori the loss of land is closely associated with loss of well-being.

Julie makes a connection between land loss and feelings of depression:

*“But I think most important there were a lot of mamea and hurt with the iwi because of their loss of lands, whether it’s through the Crown or whether it was sold and they had no control over it; that two-thirds of our iwi feel landless.”* Durie (1998) highlights how individualisation of land tenure has affected Māori sense of well-being in a negative way, when he says:

Caught somewhere between a group philosophy of shared histories and aspirations, and an increasing emphasis on individual rights, many Māori find themselves in a situation in which land, or its absence, is the main cause of their discontent. (Durie 1998:116)

To add, common interests in traditional lands keep Māori communities cohesive and give them purpose (Durie 1998:119-120). Transference of land away from the tribal or whānau group rendered them vulnerable to a point where “even survival appeared unlikely” (ibid.). The Ngāti Muriwai experience, as told by Julie, provides an example of the devastating effects of Western law upon a Māori social group.

For Julie claiming mana-whenua on behalf of a hapū is potentially problematic when, as a collective, the hapū does not own land; *“...that’s not to say we can proudly stand tall and say we are still on our land that was originally given. Some of the Ngāti Muriwai descendants have since sold their lands but there are some of us who still sit on these lands to this very day.”* Grants of title to hapū land given to individuals or groups of

individuals expected to act as trustees, effectively alienated hapū from land ownership. The Ngāti Muriwai scenario highlights the close relationship between land and mana and that without land a community may struggle to survive as an entity. Individualisation of land has served as a catalyst for the dispersal of the members of Ngāti Muriwai, and increased the possibility of the hapū fading from the memories of the iwi. Without shared interest in land a hapū loses an essential element of their identity.

Highlighted here, is the effect of individualisation of land ownership, which served as a catalyst for the breakdown of whānau or hapū working and living as cohesive units. Grants of title to hapū land given to individuals, or groups of individuals expected to act as trustees, effectively alienated hapū from land ownership. The Ngāti Muriwai scenario highlights the close relationship between land and mana and without land a community may struggle to survive as an entity. Individualisation of title has served as a catalyst for the dispersal of Ngāti Muriwai, and increased the possibility of the hapū fading from the memories of the iwi. Without shared interest in land, a hapū loses an essential element of their identity.

### **Te Ture Whenua**

To help counter the fragmentation of Māori land ownership, Te Ture Whenua Act (1993) is set up to hand the management of Māori lands over to trustees of statutory bodies. The terms of a Trust are set or approved by

the Māori Land Court (MLC) and are tailored to suit the owner's circumstances. Julie and her family formed a Whānau trust – a kin-group, rather than an individual administers the land. Such flexibility provides some insurance against fragmentation of title and ownership. The idea of 'turangawaewae', holding the land in trust for future generations can potentially be realised through Māori Trusts (Te Puni Kokiri Kitset & Newsletter, March 1993). Trusts help to ensure that turangawaewae is maintained and helps stop fragmentation of shares.

Whānau Trusts, such as the one set up by Julie's whānau, help preserve family turangawaewae by replacing individual interests in the land. Trusts must have the consent of all the owners and can be set up in the mana of a tipuna. The assets and income are used for the benefit of the descendants of the tipuna named in the court order. Trusts provide a contemporary answer to communal utilisation of land. Land may be used as a means to earn income and/or provide spiritual sustenance.<sup>53</sup> Trusts provide a central focus for whānau identity and whānau activities.

Purchase and ownership of land allows for flexibility. Placing of the land under a Whānau Trust, allows Julie's immediate whānau a focus for whānau identity, which links to past generations, and a legacy for future generations:

*"In my case, on a personal level, we've just completed a big whānau house on the whenua that we call Ruarākai.*

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<sup>53</sup> Kitset Newsletter, Te Puni Kokiri, 1999.

*And that whānau house is supposed to be similar to a marae where my family and their children and their mokopunas come home to meet together. So we've actually set up a little whānau whare for ourselves, so that we strengthen ourselves as a whānau."*

Julie's experience demonstrates the benefits of maintaining or reclaiming ancestral lands and placing the lands under a Trust as a means of creating a common focus for whānau and strengthening whānau links.

There are some parallels in the Ngāti Muriwai experience found in other locations around the country in recent years. The Kereama and Waitāui whānau in 1993 bought land and built a whānau marae at Halcombe and named the wharenuī after their ancestress Manomano, thereby establishing a new hapū of Ngāti Raukawa.<sup>54</sup> During the early 1990s the Pānapa whānau at Ruahāpia in Hastings built a whānau whare named after Karaitiana Takamoana. Family members pooled individual titles for the purpose of building the whare. The whare provides a focus and foundations for the development of a new hapū of Ngāti Kahungunu. These are examples of how hapū begin to establish themselves in the modern context. Each has begun with the pooling of whānau resources and land, and the building of a whare.

Political opposition to the revitalisation of a hapū may present barriers to successful entry into the iwi socio-political arena. Julie is wary of possible opposition from Ngāti Rua, to the revival of Ngāti Muriwai:

*"Already we're facing politics, where Ngāti Rua is become ... well, you*

*know I would say certain families, certain lines of Ngāti Rua are trying to stamp this out.” Julie’s knowledge of the links between whakapapa and the land provides her with a persuasive argument for those who may doubt the authenticity of her petition: “I remind them that they cannot stamp this out because the land that this marae [at Omarumutu] sits on belongs to these families of these descendant ... Yeah so that’s the Ngāti Muriwai, but they were the mana-whenua.”*

According to Karauria Edwards (Sissons, 1991:60-61), Whakatōhea as it is today is a Crown construction formed about the period following the 1866 confiscations. He states:

The Whakatōhea at the height of its power was comprised of numerous hapū, many more than the six hapū we know, these being Ngai Tama, Ngāti Rua, Ngāti Patu, Ngāti Ngāhere, Ngai Ira and Te Ūpokorehe. The courts now began the task of resettling the Whakatōhea on the poorer marginal lands that they had been reduced to. It was the courts that decided that the Whakatōhea would now be comprised of six hapū.

It was not unusual for government officials to redefine tribal organisations for administrative expediency (Ballara, 1998:227).

Ngāti Rua over many generations also shared the same geographical area as Ngāti Muriwai - an area, which covers from Opape to Otara. Ngāti Muriwai’s diminishment in numbers and close kinship ties to Ngāti Rua laid Ngāti Muriwai susceptible to being absorbed by Ngāti Rua over time. However, the acknowledgement by two women in the present study of

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<sup>54</sup> Rachel Selby, (1999), “Tararua is my mountain”, in *Te Ukaipō*, A Journal published by Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, Otaki, New Zealand, Volume 1, December 1999.

their whakapapa links to Ngāti Muriwai indicates that as an entity Ngāti Muriwai continues to exist. Importantly one of the women is committed to reviving the hapū to a degree where it may become politically independent and strong, representing its own interests as a legitimate hapū. Further observation of these developments would make an interesting study in the future.

### **He Noho Whenua – Land Occupation**

Land marches and land occupations have been strategies used by Māori to demonstrate dissatisfaction with local and central government policies and actions.<sup>55</sup> The picture of an elderly Whina Cooper hand in hand with one of her mokopuna, marching off down the road to parliament, is a powerful symbol of protest against government policies (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996).

Māori women have played prominent roles in land protests.

Two of the Whakatōhea women in the present study have been actively involved in protest action against local or central government policies, which have affected Māori.

Hinehou and Sharon were instrumental in staging a '*noho whenua*' or land occupation at the Ōhiwa Harbour, Te Moana a Tairongo in January 1999.

Ōhiwa has been regarded as the '*kete kai*' the 'bountiful sea-food bowl' of Whakatōhea since the ancestors first inhabited the area. Hinehou

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<sup>55</sup>See Kings biographies on Whina Cooper, and Te Puea, for example.

remembers how on visiting the Ōhiwa harbour with her son-in-law, they were both appalled at how the area had become polluted:

*“I haere atu ētahi o mātou ki te noho whenua i Ōhiwa. E titiro ana ki ngā mahi kino e mahiatia nei e te ao whānui ki taua rohe. A, ko ngā mahi whakaparu i te wai, whakakino i ngā mea katoa o te whenua, ā heke ki te wai. Ko Te Moana a Tairongo, ko te kete kai a Taiwhakaea, ana koina Te Moana a Tairongo, ka mōhiotia nei e te ao Māori. Ko ngā kai o roto, e kī ana ko Ngā Tamāhine a Te Whakatōhea.”*

Early in 1996 a Whakatāne development company, announced it’s plan to build an exclusive housing area on an old pa site belonging to Te Kooti situated at Ōhiwa peninsula. The plan included private mooring for the 66 residential sites. The developers needed to dig up the mudflats to do this. The Mātaatua iwi of Tuhoe, Ngāti Awa, as well as Whakatōhea opposed this development by petitioning the Whakatāne District Council in order to deny consent. The risk of destroying a natural resource containing much historical and spiritual significance to the Mātaatua tribes, for the monetary gains of so few was considered abhorrent to the local tribes.<sup>56</sup>

Sharon describes how this inspired them to seek a solution to the problem. Hinehou broached the idea of a land sit-in with a number of hapū and iwi leaders:

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<sup>56</sup>Whakatōhea Newsletter from the Raupatu Negotiating Committee Project Manager, Issue 1, July 1996 p. 7.

*“...and then [Hinehou] started talking to some of the different kaumātua. -[the Ūpokorehe chairman], different ones, [the Trust Board chairman] about what are we going to do about, you know, look at Ōhiwa, you know, they want it to become a playground for the rich. How are we going to ensure that our kete kai is not destroyed for a playground for the rich. She was talking to different ones she said we'll do a Pou Whenua, occupation in January sometime.”*

When January came Hinehou and Sharon began to plan; *“It was just after New Years, Mum says to me ‘Well daughter what are we going to do about this Ōhiwa?’ I says, ‘Me, you and whose army?’” (Sharon).*

Calling on political networks to plan and strategise is a tactic which Sharon and Hinehou employed. Sharon had previously participated in a sit-in and political protest with Tameiti and Te Kaha Karaitiana. By chance, Sharon met Te Kaha and explained her infant plan. They set a time to meet and discuss details; *“So he came over the next day and we talked about some of the dynamics of occupation, what happens and things like that. And Mum and we decided, oh well we'll have a bigger meeting on the Sunday. ...Mum and I went around contacted different ones around [Opōtiki].* They engaged the skills and knowledge of Tameiti a seasoned campaigner for Māori causes and Te Kaha contacted Tameiti; *“Tame rang Mum, ‘Nau mai, haere mai, come, Ōhiwa belongs to our iwis, so we need to do this on a Mātaatua waka’”.* Sharon, Hinehou, Te Kaha and Tameiti strategised. The strategies included staging a sit-in, handing out eviction notices to the residence of Ōhiwa and attracting politicians and media attention.

A hui of interest groups held at Hinehou's home received good support; *'Big turn out. We had a lot of the whānau involved in the Kohui-a-rau group. Some of them came along ...They were all in support. We decided that we were gonna start the occupation after the tekau-ma-rua on the 13th of January at Ōhiwa up Onekawa marae site, that's by the camping grounds. ...at the end of the meeting they were all showing their support. ...had a hui with Mum on the Monday. You know it was all go.'* The protest was to take place two days later. The men who were made up of Ūpokorehe and other Whakatōhea hapū offered to set up the protest sight.

Unfortunately for Hinehou and Sharon at the kaumātua of Ūpokorehe withdrew their support at the last minute:

*"they're the kaitiaki of the harbour. ...And the kaumātua got up from Ūpokorehe ...and he rubbished us." Two days previous to that he was in support. [name removed] was here, showing support saying they'd approached their kaumātuas and Mum had approached their kaumātuas three months before, talking to them about it. They made out they weren't told. A whole lot of nonsense." (Sharon).*

The late showing of opposition by the Ūpokorehe kaumātua disabled the women there for a short while. Sharon describes how they felt; *"We were stunned. It was mainly only women there and [Sharon's partner] ... I was very angry, I was very bitter". [Hinehou] got up and she was crying, and she says, 'Kei te pai, the women we're here to stay'.* However not all support from Ūpokorehe was withdrawn, a gesture of care was made towards the physical comforts of the protestors: *"... But a couple of the*

*ones from Ūpokorehe, [name removed], came and went, and [the kaumātua] did leave their tables and things with us.”*

Perhaps the Ūpokorehe kaumātua were supportive of the reasons for the protests, but for political reasons stood back from showing overt support for what the women were doing. The women’s other supporters may not have pleased them either. In speaking to the media, the chairman from Ūpokorehe claimed mana-whenua lay with the hapū of Ūpokorehe who were the tangata whenua and kaitiaki of Ohiwa, not the iwi of Whakatōhea or other Mātaatua tribes. The concern of Ūpokorehe lay in the claims to the harbour by Whakatōhea and possibly other Mātaatua tribes such as Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa. The men may have refrained from overt support of the women’s protest actions as it may have undermined their own efforts and negotiations with the Crown and other interest groups. Also, Ūpokorehe and Whakatōhea may have felt their mana could be diminished if they were seen to be supporting a Mātaatua-wide campaign in an area that different tribal groups were competing for any way. Whatever the reasons for the withdrawal of support by the kaumātua, the women were left feeling abandoned but not discouraged, and instead more determined to continue their campaign.

Despite the short-term setback the Whakatōhea women felt strong enough in their convictions to continue their fight for their whenua even without the support of the Whakatōhea kaumātua. Sharon spoke to the media, which included the international media about why they were occupying

the land and handing out eviction notices. She told them; *“the land had been stolen, illegally taken and it doesn’t matter how long a period, if something has been stolen, by law it has to be returned if its proven to be so.”*

The public withdrawal of support by kaumātua for the political action of the women may have been seen to marginalise them. However, precedence for how the women responded is found in Whakatōhea history. The ancestress Muriwai and a few young were left to take care of the Mātaatua waka after the older men had gone inland on a discovery campaign. Muriwai saved the mana of all her people by directing the younger males to take up the oars and row the canoe to safety after it had drifted away from shore. Muriwai’s action foretells the strength of Whakatōhea women and in this case Hinehou and Sharon to take the ‘flak’ when men seem to either relinquish or place different priorities on their responsibilities. Hinehou was able to draw the descendants of Mātaatua together on a kaupapa of interest that is the health of the harbour and therefore the health of Mātaatua people.

Clearly, the Ohiwa incident and the experience and views of Sharon and Hinehou demonstrate the relevance of Māori traditions which speak of the affinity that women as well as men share with Papatuānuku. The women’s experience demonstrates that spiritual and physical well-being is intrinsically connected to the well-being of Papatuānuku. Their experience demonstrates the Māori world-view, which closely associates

physical or environmental well-being with spiritual well-being. The bountiful resource of Te Moana a Tairongo holds spiritual significance to Mātaatua in that it is a tangible reminder of past generations. When Hinehou saw that her ancestral environment was being mistreated, she felt it deeply and raised the awareness of others through political means in order to protect Papatuānuku. Their experience informs of how women's spiritual and physical well-being is intrinsically connected to the well-being of Papatuānuku.

#### **Te whenua: Te waiū**

Land traditionally served dual purposes – it provided spiritual and physical sustenance. The care and utilisation of land for whānau, hapū, or iwi may be administered through trusts. All seven women participants have interests in inherited lands. All have in the past, or are presently, working on whānau land, which is either farmed, or in orchards. Five of the women have been trustees or manage whānau lands run under a Trust system. This section explores the women's experiences and views about how Trusts work generally and the Trust that they are part of in particular. Their experiences about land Trusts in regards to the utilisation and the management of whānau, hapū or iwi lands are highlighted, including their perceptions and understanding of the sorts of qualities and skills required of those in governance of trusts. Their perceptions and experiences indicate the relevance of traditional values in the utilisation and governance of lands, although the way they are practiced may differ to past generations.

Pane is trustee on a whānau trust. She sees the role of trustees as caretakers of the land for future generations. She also believes that the land should provide a source of income; *“The land is given to us... it will never change its name... it will always be, it’s there for us and our children and our mokopunas and all the unborn ones that’s coming up it’s there for them when we’re not around.”* Pane also believes that the land should provide a source of income: *“And we’re all supposed to be working to make it profitable so it will always look after itself”*.

Pane provides an example of how whānau are placed in what may seem a juxtaposition between the role of caretaker for future generations and exploiter of the land for profitable income – two opposing value systems. However, closer examination of customary whānau values and practices show that the two positions in fact complement each other. Customarily, groups formed a bond with particular tracts of land through living and working. Working the land for monetary return is a contemporary equivalent of traditional utilisation purposes. In the contemporary scenario, upkeep costs such as rates need to be met. In customary society, land provided sustenance for succeeding generations, and came to be regarded as a concrete reminder of those who had passed on, and a legacy for following generations. The same views and values apply today. Pane provides an example of how Trusts may provide a way for contemporary whānau to experience and utilise traditional lands in a way that closely resembles customary Māori practices

Julie's Whānau Trust also utilises the whānau land for monetary purpose. It is run as a successful business; *"The Whānau Trust I must say is really a viable business trust, and I must say thanks to my Dan. He encouraged us to not only to look at it from an emotional point of view, but also to look at it from a business-like point of view."*

The Whānau Trust land also potentially provides a spiritual focus. Julie's Whānau Trust has also designated land to be an urupā (cemetery); *"Our next dream is ...we have also put aside at least two acres for our own whānau urupā."* Setting aside land for communal living has provided Julie's whānau with choices; *"While we might have our marae just down the road, which is about six - seven miles down the road, a lot of my younger members of my whānau felt a lot more comfortable being on the land that their parents and their grandparents worked and lived on.* The urupā also provides choices for the whānau; *"...And that now if that time comes when any of my whānau pass on, be the mokopuna's or the aunties and uncles, they have a choice. They can either be buried down in our hapū urupā which is called 'Rangi-mata-nui', or in our own family one."* Julie associates the Whānau Trust with mana; *"So that was a dream of ours and that dream has been realised. In a lot of ways it has given our own whānau mana, because we can truly say we are still on our whenua that was handed down by our descendants, that we have exclusive use, and that we don't feel landless."*

However, certain skills and qualities are required of trustees in order that Trusts may operate satisfactorily. Rangimarie Parata (1990:78) observed traditional leadership qualities which relied on age and experience are not sufficient for today's circumstances. A wide range of skills is needed to lead Māori, because "in Māoridom, age has traditionally been a prerequisite for power, influence and respect" but business and administrative skills are required today. She observed that it is these very skills that "many authorities are seriously deficient in" (ibid.). Traditional knowledge may not necessarily be enough to meet the requirements of modern day Trusts.

Using the land towards economic advantage is important also to Tārati and Julie. Tārati observed how hapū representation of Whakatōhea needed to be carefully chosen. She is of the opinion that there is a need for those who administer trust lands to possess sound business administrative and management skills:

*"You got to be careful about who you put in ...No experience of management, business management or any other experience. Oh put him on there because he's brother, or he can whaikōrero on the marae. Whaikōrero, yes there's a place for that. I've got respect for that. It's different to business management. ...The people we put in here, usually the wrong people. And we're not getting anywhere as far as income."*

Educating members of the tribe about the roles and responsibilities of Trustees was a strategy that Julie employed. Julie observed that people who were trustees of Māori land did not have the skills or knowledge required to fulfil their duties. She planned and set up a course to train

Trustees about what was expected of Trustees; *“Now a lot of our people get stuck on these land trusts because that is the thing to do. And I began to observe they really didn’t know why they were there.”*

Julie’s observations and experiences gave her the impetus to find a way to get whānau members educated. She set up a course to train Trustees Administration Course; *“I talked to Judge Hingston and to ...one of the tutors at Waiariki Polytech - and said I would like to bring this Māori Trustees course to the marae so these people know why they’re there and what their responsibilities are.”* Thirty people attended the six week course: *“And you know it was very successful, because thirty of them came and they sat there for six weeks and the important thing was - I always say knowledge is power.”*

Julie points out what she sees her role and those of other marae trustees entails:

*“Well I’m also a marae Trustee for the marae, ...the marae trustees role is to ensure that the buildings are maintained, is to look after the land, and make sure it doesn’t get sold or otherwise, or also the urupā to maintain, to make sure it is maintained for the well-being of the hapū. They also give the mandate to the marae committee to carry out their functions on their behalf, as well as to ensure that money are raised or gained through various sectors, is spent on what the project decided on.”*

Tārati also views land as important in providing economic opportunity.

She observes how when administrators do not have appropriate skills and knowledge, crucial opportunities to reclaim mana-whenua and

possibilities to gain economic advantage associated with possessing land may be lost. Tārati regards land as something that should be utilised to benefit beneficiaries of Whakatōhea:

*“...we’re not getting anywhere as far as income. I never forget the old people saying, ‘We’ll buy all that land’, Ōtara, ‘Bring it back’. We didn’t. And the man that’s bought it is a millionaire now. Our management didn’t. We only got the three farms. That’s our only income we got here. And people moan ...[t]hey don’t realise, where’s the income coming from. Only three farms. We should whakarongo ki ngā tipuna. Kāre i whakarongo. However, times changed. Farming might not be the thing now. Kāre e mōhio. But land is always there. You can always do something on land. Put trees on, whatever.”*

Gaining and maintaining control and authority over whānau and iwi land for the purposes of improving the economic situation of members was regarded as important by three of the women. They were of the view that communally owned land should be economically viable and that those who have control and authority over the land should be suitably qualified to administer lands well. Trustees should also understand the boundaries and limits of their authority for the benefit of present and future generations.

### **Conclusion**

The experiences and views of the women in the present study provide evidence of the symbiotic relationship that women share with Papatuānuku, and that mana-wāhine is associated with mana-whenua. Their experiences confirm how traditions associated with whenua and birth continue to have relevance in the lives of Whakatōhea descendants.

Three of the women played a central role in reclaiming mana-whenua for whānau, hapū, or iwi.

Two of the women experienced being supported by rangatahi, which demonstrates how closely aligned rangatahi male and Whakatōhea women are politically and spiritually. At the same time these women also experienced being politically marginalised by Whakatōhea male elders on issues of mana-whenua. Co-operation by male elders was dependent on political issues and hapū affiliation. What is clear is that when men and women of Whakatōhea work together on socio-political issues to do with whenua, much may be accomplished for the betterment of Whakatōhea.

The women regard land as an important economic source, to be managed and administered well by those who have the authority and control in order that whānau, hapū or iwi members may benefit economically. The women's stories demonstrate the important role that women have in the socio-politics of Te Whakatōhea on issues of mana-whenua. The following chapter explores further issues of participation in decision-making and hui.

## Chapter 8

### Hui: Participation Rights and Responsibilities.

Hui held to discuss raupatu claims by Whakatōhea, during the 1990s, provide the contexts which the views and experiences of the seven women in decision making at hapū and iwi hui will be explored. Significant themes highlight issues of whakapapa, intergenerational relationships, ahi-ka-roa<sup>57</sup> and ahi-tere<sup>58</sup>, and gender. Māori customary practices provide the context by which the women's experiences and views of hui participation rights and responsibilities are analysed.

#### **Mā wai e kōrero: Who may speak?**

In traditional Māori society, rights to participate in decision-making were based primarily on whakapapa and kinship ties to a particular whānau,<sup>59</sup> hapū<sup>60</sup> or iwi<sup>61</sup> either directly or through marriage (Buck, 1982:380).

Women and men who shared land ownership rights were accorded rights to participate in discussions that usually took place in the meeting-house (Walker, 1979:22-23). Women were granted material and power considerations equal to that of men and participated in the decision-making processes at whānau hui where the major decisions were made (Kupenga, Raia, and Nepe 1993:305).

<sup>57</sup> Ahi-ka-roa=people who keep the home fires burning meaning the home people.

<sup>58</sup> Ahi-tere=members of the tribe who live away from traditional lands, and return intermittently.

<sup>59</sup> Whānau' may be several family units who share a common near tupuna (up to four generations back); whānau also refers to a family unit consisting of parents and children.

<sup>60</sup> Hapu', may be several 'whānau' who have a common tupuna (more than four generations back).

<sup>61</sup> Iwi', is a larger social organisation consisting of at least one hapū.

To participate in tribal affairs today, one must literally show one's face 'he kanohi kitea' at the home-place. This is a principle that is based on traditional practices and beliefs. The concept of 'he kanohi kitea' almost always applies where an individual must be often seen taking part in social gatherings and contributing to the social organisational and economic upkeep of whānau, hapū, or iwi (ibid.). Individuals may also apply this principle where they represent or are represented by, other kin at hui. At the root of this principle is the concept of 'ahi-kā', where traditionally even if one cooking fire was kept burning by an individual while other members of the whānau or hapū temporarily moved elsewhere, then the rights of land occupation remained with the greater whānau or hapū (Buck, 1950:380). Those who live away and return to the home place are referred to as 'ahitere'. The principle of 'he kanohi kitea' could also apply where an individual may assume or be given the right to represent a family member at whānau, hapū or larger social organisational gatherings. Another family member, in turn, may represent them.

Participation of in-married whānau member's participation was traditionally limited to participating in discussions but not usually in the final decision-making (Metge, 1995:63-4). Although, authority and control over the political affairs were in the hands of the kaumātua who were whānau leaders, decisions were made by consensus and open discussion (Walker 1990:63). Time given to prolonged debates and discussions was the norm and decisions were brought to a conclusion in the meeting-house. According to Walker (1979) such a practice ensured that issues were:

*kia whitingia e te ra,  
kia puhipuhia e te hau*  
(...exposed to the bright sunlight  
and blown about by the wind). (p. 22).

Although total unanimity was unlikely, the important point is that all members of the whānau, hapū, or iwi, are able to fully participate in bringing the discussions to a consensus conclusion.

In contrast to this tradition is the British in-committee method, where discussions and decisions are carried out behind closed doors (ibid.). The advantages to this method include cutting down on time allotted to deciding on how to proceed due to the lesser numbers of people to consult between. However, decisions made in-committee have a far higher chance of alienating the committee from the people they may be representing. Where quick decisions need to be made, the in-committee method may be more appropriate than the traditional Māori method, although the committee would need to justify their actions to the whānau at a later stage. As a quick solution finder the in-committee methods may serve whānau well, however traditional methods allow for wider participation in decision-making.

The consensus method is most often used at marae committee level in Whakatōhea today. There are other occasions when the British Parliamentary in-committee system at hapu and iwi levels, are used as well.

All seven women participants in the present study explain how individuals, whanau, or hapu members were excluded from decision-making processes and political discourses of hapū or iwi affairs. Whose voices were heard?

Whose voices were stifled, muffled, and silenced and by whom? Why?

What were the responses?

### **Whakapapa**

Whakapapa and residence are traditional qualifications for participating in decision-making within Whakatōhea. The following section will discuss the place and relevance of whakapapa as a qualification to participatory rights in decision-making today?

Peggy, Pane, and Julie maintain the traditional view that whakapapa is the principal criteria for participating in the final decision-making at whānau, hapū and iwi governance levels. Their experiences show that knowledge of one's whakapapa, and declaration of rights based on whakapapa links are elements, which qualify an individual to participate in decision-making.

For example, declaration and proof of whakapapa was required of Peggy at a hapū meeting. Her right to speak was challenged to which she replied, "*none of you can give me the right to be here, only my tipuna can!*" This declaration, and her knowledge of her whakapapa, provided Peggy with the confidence to claim her right to participate in the decision-making of her hapū. This resulted in her being voted as hapū representative to her local iwi authority, the Whakatōhea Trust Board.

On the other hand Pane's lack of knowledge about her whakapapa connections to Whakatōhea restricted her right to vote at iwi hui. On one

occasion her right to participate was challenged by a kaumātua and she was asked to show how she was connected because “*Only when you can direct your descent down to yourself do you know your whakapapa, otherwise it’s hopeless*”.

Because she was unable to clearly state her descent Pane felt she did not have the right to participate in discussions at iwi hui. “*No I can’t take part [in discussions] because you have to be registered, because I haven’t registered under Whakatōhea yet.*” Unfortunately, Pane was not clear about the details of her whakapapa connections to Whakatōhea. This lack of knowledge also restricts her from registered with the iwi and thereby eliminated her from taking part in the decision-making processes of iwi.

For Pane and Peggy knowledge of whakapapa was required before they could participate in the decisions and governance of Whakatōhea. Thus, their experiences provide evidence of how whakapapa is the primary qualification for participation in decision-making within Whakatōhea.

However, the three women (Julie, Pane, and Peggy) found that in-married whānau, hapū, or iwi members were given rights or asserted influence usually reserved for full members<sup>62,63</sup>. In Julie’s whānau, her husband Dan is given special rights and responsibilities in governance matters over whānau land. Julie’s mother put her lands interests “*under a Whānau Trust*”. Dan was appointed as one of the four trustees by Julie’s mother because, Julie’s

<sup>62</sup> Full membership = membership through whakapapa.

<sup>63</sup> The Te Ture Whenua Act 1973, enabled in-married whanau members to play a more active role in the socio-political activities of their spouses hapu.

*“mother saw the skills and expertise that he had”* in financial and business management. Julie’s experiences demonstrate how in-married whānau member’s skills may be utilised to benefit the whānau they marry into.

In Pane’s whānau, a Whānau Trust was founded on the efforts and expertise of two in-married whānau members who *“spent a lot of time...putting this Trust up.”* She also admitted there are times when some in-married members may *“take over”*, or assumed more control than Pane thought was desirable. Pane’s experiences demonstrate how in-married members do play a crucial role in not only the every day affairs, but also assert a lot of influence in the important affairs of whānau. According to Ratima (1999:53) in-marrieds sometimes take on roles such as treasurer or secretary for whānau, hapū, (ibid.) or iwi committees. In these roles in-marrieds opportunities may present which place them in powerful positions to influence the affairs and assets of the whānau, hapū, or iwi. Pane and Julie’s experiences demonstrate the contemporary relevance of traditional practices that allow in-married members under certain circumstances the same rights as full members.

Ratima (1999:52) gave an example of this occurring at the hapū level. At the 1998 Annual General Meeting of Ngai Tama hapū, in-married hapū members were given full participatory rights in decision-making allowing them the right to vote (ibid.). However, the rules were adjusted to benefit certain factions within the hapū. This vote-fixing strategy ensured that a certain whānau held the balance of power within the hapū for another year. The following year, the strategy to allow in-marrieds voting rights was argued for

by a full member of another whānau. The reason given was based on the previous years ruling.<sup>64</sup> The ruling potentially turned the balance of power back again. The Ngai Tama experience, demonstrates how in-marrieds may be used to help change or maintain the power-base within hapū. Also to gain voting rights, in-marrieds still need the endorsement of full members. Therefore whakapapa remains the primary criteria by which one may gain participatory rights to governance at hapū level.

Such flexibility is not usually hapū or iwi practice for Whakatōhea. At Ngāti Rua, in-marrieds are “*allowed to speak but not allowed to vote*” (Julie). This is a practice Julie fully supports. The rule for in-married members is clear in this case. According to Ratima (1999:53), iwi membership, and in particular beneficiary rights to iwi assets is jealously guarded (ibid.). To be a recognised beneficiary of a tribal group, an individual must be registered with a tribal trust (ibid.). Proof of whakapapa is usually required for registration (ibid.).

Despite the restrictions on in-married iwi members, Peggy observed how there were some in-married members who showed interest in iwi governance affairs; “*Attendance [by members] on the whole for AGM are very few*” and that there were “*probably more in-laws than members.*” Although in-married members may show interest in hapū and iwi affairs, whakapapa members more readily accept their contributions at whānau levels than at hapū or iwi levels of governance. Therefore the women’s experiences and

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<sup>64</sup> I was present at this AGM.

views demonstrate how whakapapa remains the basic qualification for membership and thereby participation at hapū and iwi levels of governance.

The influence of in-marrieds on the affairs of iwi is found also in traditional narratives of Whakatōhea. Te Uhengaparaoa of Whakatōhea who married into Te Whānau a Apanui was greatly valued and is remembered for her talents in making fine clothing and passing her knowledge on to them.

The women's experiences and views provide evidence that whakapapa is an essential element for participation in decision-making of whānau, hapū, and iwi socio-political affairs although in-married members under certain circumstances are afforded the same rights as full members. Members also need to demonstrate their knowledge of whakapapa links to Whakatōhea, and may be required to declare it. In-married members, who possess desired skills, may be called upon to utilise their abilities for the benefit of the whānau, hapū, or iwi. What is clear is that whakapapa rights to participation at governance levels of whānau and remains a primary qualification thereby demonstrating that traditional practices and values have relevance in the present day realities of Whakatōhea women and men.

### **Ahi-ka Ahi-tere**

Demographic situation can impact on an individual's ability to participate in iwi decision-making processes. An estimated 80% of Māori live outside of the tribal district and the majority of urban Māori are women and young under the age of 25 (Durie 1998:54). The 1996 Census showed that of the

7,350 people were affiliated to Whakatōhea and that 3,600 of those lived in the Bay of Plenty.<sup>65</sup> How then is such a large proportion of the tribal population able to participate in the tribal decision-making? According to Mahuika (1981:76) an individual's right to reside in a particular area never grew *mataotao* cold if one could establish their genealogical link. Medge (1995:41), on the other hand, pointed out that these rights could not always automatically be assumed or accorded an individual based purely on whakapapa.

All seven women are affiliated to one or more of the hapū of Whakatōhea (Ngai Tama, Ngāti Patu, Ngāti Ngāhere, Ūpokorehe, Ngāti Rua, Ngāti Ira or Ngāti Muriwai), directly through whakapapa links or marriage. All women spent some time away from their ahi-ka for the purposes of work or education. Five of the women (Tārati, Pane, Lena, Julie, Peggy) spent the majority of their early years in the district. Since the Wai 87 tribal raupatu claim was initiated in 1989, all the women are more actively involved in whānau, hapū and iwi hui. Four of the women (Peggy, Julie, Sharon, Hinehou) have returned to participate in hapū affairs since the Claim was registered.

What were the women's experiences and perceptions of being ahi-ka or ahit-ere? All of the women experienced behaviour they perceived to be barriers to their participation and that of certain other members in iwi and hapū hui. What strategies did the women employ to overcome these

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<sup>65</sup> Statistics New Zealand (1998) Iwi Vol 1, pp. 17-21.

barriers? Who were being excluded and who was excluding? How were they being excluded? These are some of the issues that the women tried to address.

Julie returned home to Opotiki in 1994. When she first returned she perceived that she needed to prove herself before she could gain the trust and acceptance of the ahi-ka; *“For two years, I had to tread carefully when I first came home because while yes I went to school here my whānau is well known here, but you didn’t want to be said ‘Oh well take away your city ideas back there’.*

Julie mindful that others may perceive that she had new ways of doing things, applied the ‘kanohi kitea’ principle to gain acceptance; *“Well, I suppose I tread carefully, and did not tell them what I could do, I actually showed them with my own hands, like being at the back, being involved in various things relating to the marae. And after a while you were accepted home.”* Working at the back gave her insight into what the marae needs were. *“I started to identify things that needed to be done around the marae. We needed our kitchen needs doing, our toilets need doing.”* Caring for guests through healthy practices is an issue, which Julie regards as important, and she introduced new health practices at her marae. *“I encouraged things like, when we’re handling food you should wear gloves so that when people are looking at you that makes them feel good about their food.”*

Julie served an ‘apprenticeship’ at the back and gained office serving on the marae committee; *“And for two years I was the secretary. And I will proudly say that I did quite a lot for our marae in terms of administration.... One of the skills that I had, and I picked this up in the city, is how to apply for government funding.”*

She also put her organisational skills to work by implementing new practices to improve the running of social gatherings:

*“[T]hey used to have Wananga before, everyone would turn up ‘Oh what we gonna do now?’ I encouraged writing a programme so that everyone knew what was happening ... [I] encouraged them with a lot of talking and persuasion that we should send out a newsletter to all our whānau out there, that we don’t see them, and tell them, our marae needs doing. We need money. On top of that trying to get money from the lottery. And which we did, and everyone started to feel ‘Hey, things are happening’.”*

Julie organised a hui to educate land trustees about their duties. She also encouraged others to get involved in discussions at hui; *“...I found my skill with my own hapū was to empower our people to start standing up and saying, “No I don’t like this no more!”* She sympathised with those who lived away from home and determined to make the marae a welcoming place for them’ *“I encouraged people who stayed away to come back. That I made a point of making them feel welcome”*.

Julie is the mātāmua (eldest sibling) and works on the family tupuna land (Julie). She acknowledges she now takes on the role of representative for her whānau in the hapū; *“[E]ven though my mother’s still alive<sup>66</sup>, she’s not here*

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<sup>66</sup>Sadly one week after this interview Julie’s mother passed away. Na reira e te whaea, moe mai ra, moe mai ra.

*to be an ahi-kā, so I suppose in some ways, I've become the ahi-kā for the whānau”.*

Julie's experiences of moving back home, provides an example of how the principle of 'kanohi kitea' applies in Māori society today. Julie performed an apprenticeship by working at the back and organising hui. The introduction of new practices for the marae by Julie is an example of how successfully tikanga or 'tradition' may be changed to adapt to meet particular needs of present day hapū. The skills she had acquired while away from home and the energy she had were utilised for improving how things were done at the marae. Julie was also recognised as possessing desired leadership skills and qualities evidenced by her nomination to represent the hapū at iwi level, and secretary for the hapū. Julie's experience of moving home is an example of how women and other members who have moved away from the home place may utilise their skills to benefit the hapū and iwi of Whakatōhea.

For Peggy, abusive behaviour was the barrier which almost drove her from participating in hapū affairs. Peggy observed and experienced conflict at hapū hui between those recently returned home, and long time residents. She reflects that the; *“four years that I've been home, I've seen people being abusive to one another, and to me it just saddens me... To me it's something that is; it brings mamae for me...”*

She saw this kind of behaviour as unproductive and hindered her from participating in the decision making processes of hapū. She explained:

*“When I first came back, I went to a hapū meeting and I sat in the hapū meeting for ooh about five hours, and nothing was achieved.... there was nothing constructive, and I thought, wow, what a waste of time... one’s at the back were talking about something totally irrelevant to the ‘take’.*

Time was precious to Peggy. When she perceived that others were wasting what little spare time she had, that became an issue that she needed to address if she were to continue attending hui. The strategies Peggy employed were to put herself in physical proximity to the table and to suggest better hui procedure. Challenging the status quo held consequences for Peggy and some took her suggestions as an affront. *“And then in the background you’d hear, ‘Why? Who does she think she is?’* Peggy’s experience of being a victim of backbiting at hui confirms Meads (1995:111) observation that this is a common occurrence at hui.

In this instance, the backbiting comments were an indirect way of challenging Peggy’s right to have a say at the hapū hui. Peggy came to a crossroads where she was to withdraw from hapū discussions or to change the way things were to be done. She explains:

*“In the end I just thought, you know after about a coupler months of this I thought ‘I’m either gonna have to say how I’m feeling or I’m gonna say bugger it’ ... And I just turned around and got up one day and I said ‘Look I’m really hōhā. I come here to try and help, to try and see constructive things happening, I hear a lot of kōrero, you know, so and so’s this and so and so’s that. Its not about putting people down, its about working together and finding something that’s constructive.”*

She again raised the issue of hui needing to be more constructive and was again challenged. This time she responded by claiming her right based on

whakapapa by saying; “*none of you can give me the right to be here, only my tipuna can!*”

Being challenged about one’s right to speak in Māori society has been part of tradition (Metge, 1995:41). However a challenge to ones right to speak, speaks more about the ignorance of the person questioning than the one being challenged. Proving that one has the appropriate credentials to participate in hapū affairs then allows one the freedom to move as Peggy experienced; “*And from that day on, it was sweet as*”.

Peggy’s experiences indicate that in today’s world, time is an issue and needs to be taken into account at important hui and necessary changes made. The hapū and extended whānau do not sustain the everyday lives of its members. If discussions at hapū hui are taking members away from the domains that support their livelihoods then perhaps traditional practices to do with decision-making of hapū and iwi affairs need to adapt to reflect this change. Therefore, better use of discussion time and hui procedures need to be made. Taking days to debate and discuss issues is not necessary if new rules of hui proceeding were drawn up by each hapū to meet the needs of all hapū members.

Pane, a long time resident in Whakatōhea, was also put off from taking part in discussions and the decision-making process because of the negative nature of the discussions. Julie too recognised the conflict between the *hau kainga* (home people) and those recently returned home.

The experiences of Julie, Pane, Sharon, and Peggy highlight some of the disadvantages of the open-discussion type of hui forum. Aroha Mead (1995:111) too observed that the practice of open-discussion has been misused and that abusive behaviour has become the norm at hui.

The experience of being regarded as a threat to the status quo is something that two of the women (Julie and Peggy) experienced.

For Julie differences in educational experiences have also contributed to the way she is viewed by the homefolk; *“.... and you got some who believe that because I’ve been to varsity and I’m an academic I know more than the home people.”*

Julie believes that home folk have become static in their thinking; *“Those who have lived at home are still living in the 1800s and 1900s. So when you get the urban and the rural hapū and whānau together, this is where the clashes come.”*

Julie has observed the inconsistencies in the way tikanga and kawa are applied on the marae:

*Within our different hapū ... we’ve got our people at different levels of attitude and thinking. ...Because I believe what’s happening - the values and beliefs are clashing. ...*

The loss of a traditional communal way of living is one of the contributing factors to the breakdown in participation in decision-making procedures;

*“....and in a lot of ways it’s because we have not had what I call that*

*closeness of village-type living together.*” In traditional Māori society, each had their roles to play as illustrated in the following whakatauki:

Ko te amorangi ki mua, ko te hāpai ō ki muri.

Karetu (1984:60) gave the meaning as those at the front on the paepae have their role to play, and those at the back preparing the food and physical comforts have their roles. Both are reliant on each other in upholding the mana of the hapū. Julie sees the only way forward is to:

*“...combine those resources of the past - those ones at home who have always been at home - and those that have been away and come home ... find some common ground ...for the well-being of our whānau hapū and iwi, then we would probably be a force to reckon with.”*

Sharon the youngest participant in the study was also challenged at hui; *“I’ve had lots of disagreements”*.

Sharon’s experience demonstrates how credibility is lost when those in leadership roles do not maintain the principle of ‘kanohi-kitea’. Sharon describes an example of one such situation; *“[name removed], because he was part of the negotiating team, he got up and he said something, and [name removed] got up and said, ‘Where have you been? I don’t see you around very often’.”*

This experience demonstrates what may be lost should the ‘he kanohi kitea’ principle not be practiced. A person may be challenged about their right to speak, or represent hapū or iwi.

Sharon believes there is a close association between being seen and being effective in hapū affairs. Her views demonstrate how respect for leadership may be diminished if it is perceived that their words are inconsistent or do not follow their actions. Sharon observed:

*“... that’s what happens, they talk about things, but they don’t make it happen.”*

There are extra barriers to participating in iwi socio-politics for those who do not live in close proximity to the home front. Iwi members who live away from the home district are required to commit greater monetary and time costs to return home to participate at hui.

The experiences of Julie, Peggy, Pane, and Sharon show how customary traditions and practices have relevance in the decision-making of hapū and iwi affairs within Whakatōhea. Today, changes need to be made to meet the demands of present day living of all its members. Their experiences demonstrate that rights to be heard are not a given and that one must win the trust of those who ‘maintain the home fires’. Serving apprenticeship type duties at hui, actioning new ideas were regarded as important for gaining respect for governance. Abusive and time-wasting behaviours created barriers for both the women and rangatahi wishing to participate in discussions and decisions made by hapū and iwi. The home fires have the potential to burn and hurt or to draw families together, providing light, warmth and sustenance.

The women's experiences showed how traditional customary practices based on whakapapa and kanohi kitea can be applied to meet the participation rights of Māori communities today.

### **Rangatahi and Pakeke**

Ka pū te rūhā  
Ka hao te rangatahi  
(The old nets lie heaped up on the shoreline  
While the new nets go to sea)

Ruha is used here to describe elders – kaumātua and kui. Like an old net, as they age they are not as productive as they used to be. Rangatahi is a metaphor for the youth who help to sustain whānau. Rangatahi is commonly used to describe those below the age of 35<sup>67</sup>. Pakeke, kaumātua, koroua and kuia describes those above the age of sixty<sup>68</sup>. In previous generations, when life-expectancy was low, kaumātua status began earlier than today. As people began living longer, ages of rangatahi and kaumatua have also changes. People living in their late 30's into their fifties are regarded as rangatahi particularly by those above sixty years of age. Therefore it is the context and the correlation between particular groups and people that determines what status one has – pakeke or rangatahi. Sharon is the only participant who may truly be regarded as rangatahi (based on age).

Four of the women participants (Peggy, Lena, Hinehou and Sharon) noticed that rangatahi were being marginalised from hapū and iwi of Whakatōhea.

<sup>67</sup> This is very dependant on the individual, circumstance, and the relationship between individuals.

<sup>68</sup> This term meaning is dependent on the individual, circumstance and relationship to others as well. Retirement age is another marker. Kaumatua (traditional) also refers to those, regardless of age who are given leadership roles in whanau, hapu or iwi.

*“... if you don't awhi our rangatahi back they're not gonna come back.”*

*(Peggy)*

Peggy noticed the absence of rangatahi at hui. *“And I wondered why that there were beggar-all young ones at our marae”*. She assumed that rangatahi observed or experienced abuse at hui and were put off returning to take part in the processes of hapū decision-making. Peggy had experienced put-downs and backbiting, and observed how inefficiently the hui discussions proceeded.

An initial high turnout of rangatahi at hui about the Raupatu Claim soon decreased when information was not disseminated fast enough and they went *“elsewhere to find out information”*. Kaumātua were not comfortable with this.

Peggy felt that kaumātua and kuia had a responsibility to include rangatahi in hapū forum otherwise they would be lost to the hapū and iwi. She recalled an incident in which kuia behaviour may have served to disenfranchise rangatahi; *“and I said to her, ‘If you don't awhi our rangatahi back they're not gonna come back. ... Lets work together, not pulling one another apart.”* Peggy also believes that abusive behaviour frightened rangatahi away from hapū; *“one of my kuia's in particular, if she is not heard, she gets very loud and very angry...”*. She believes that such bad behaviour diminished the respect of rangatahi for kuia and kaumātua.

In traditional Māori society kaumātua, kuia and koroua were the whānau leaders. They had authority and control over political and whānau affairs (Walker 1990:63). They were also regarded as possessing valued knowledge (ibid.) to be passed on to mokopuna. Inherent in Māori society was the notion of seeking knowledge from one's elders as expressed in the whakatauki:

Whakarongo ki te kupu a tou matua  
*(Listen to the teachings of your elders)*

Peggy's view is that the tikanga of respect *"Today it's not the same. Respect I believe is not the same."* She also perceived that rangatahi are more independent in their thinking; *"Our rangatahi are not satisfied with what some of our pakeke are telling them. They're going out to search for more - and I think that's a healthy thing... they're not satisfied with the answers they're getting at home..."*

Peggy's experience and perceptions indicate that traditional values, which elevate the status of elders, may not be at the same level that previous generations of elders enjoyed. The knowledge that kaumātua today possess is sometimes regarded as not important to rangatahi today. Peggy is able to sympathise with rangatahi who seek knowledge from outside of the hapū, particularly in regards to dealing with political issues. The clash of values and beliefs between generations may occur at many levels of socio-politics of Whakatōhea.

Sharon observed and engaged in debate at hapū meetings. Sharon was more stimulated by the disagreements than discouraged; *“... coming back to our hapū hui, I’d be probably one of the youngest rangatahi coming back for quite a while to Ngāti Rua ... And yeah I’ve had lots of disagreements with our kuia and koroua at hapū level. But just debating! Healthy debate between mokopuna and kuia is not necessarily disrespectful behaviour by mokopuna if the debate is not taken to a level where personalities are attacked. Sharon’s experiences reveal a level of maturity that needs to be adopted when there is a difference in the views of kaumātua and rangatahi.*

Sharon also observed how other rangatahi had become disaffected and estranged from the home-place after conflicting with kaumātua; *“...[name removed] been raised in Auckland and came home to Opotiki... had all these good ideas and the old people would rubbish him, you know ... And in the end, well he just gave up...”*

Sharon recalls another incident - *“...was appointed to do something with our Raupatu a while back [name removed] got shot down by some of the kaumātua at a... hui ... well he was gone.”*

Peggy too observed members were disaffected by kaumātua and therefore participation at hapū affairs:

*“One of my extended whānau and I were talking about the raupatu and she said to me ‘Peg’... I wonder why the koroua ...says a karakia before ... our kōreros about the raupatu.’ ... ‘They talk about ‘tika’, they talk about ‘pono’, they talk about ‘aroha’, they talk about ‘rangimarie’, they talk about*

*'rongoa', and then hello ...someone's screaming at someone''.*

Rangatahi expectations of how kaumātua should behave sometimes results in them disassociating themselves from their iwi of Whakatōhea.

Sharon's and Peggy's experiences and observations confirm Mead's (1995:111) views that negative behaviour of those in leadership positions serves to prohibit women and rangatahi from contributing to the social and the political affairs of iwi. Mead (ibid.) states:

It has become an accepted norm within Māori society that overcoming backbiting, petty jealousies and downright abuse of privilege and position are part of the initiation process for gaining acceptance and credibility as a 'real-Māori'. This is ridiculous. It always has been ridiculous. That it has continued for as long as it has is an indication of the calibre of leadership. I shudder to think how many Māori, and particularly Rangatahi have felt compelled to leave and walk away from their whānau, hapū, iwi, or Māori organisations after having experienced prolonged bouts of this. (ibid.).

According to Peggy rangatahi need role models but is of the view that present hapū and iwi leaders and kaumātua do not seem to be providing what they need. Peggy identifies one of the factors that affect the inter-generational split is that elder's inability to admit their lack of knowledge:

*"I don't think it's the fault [of the kuia and koroua]. If [they] are ignorant of things it's not their fault...I believe that there's no shame in saying 'Oh I don't know'. If we as people can say, 'Well I don't have to be perfect' life would be much easier for all of us..."*

Saving face may be a reason for kuia and koroua not wishing to acknowledge their limitations. Knowledge in Māori society has always been associated with maturity, hence the whakatauki:

“E tū huru mā, e noho huru pango.”  
*(Let the grey-headed man speak,  
 while the black cropped hair remain seated.)*

However kuia and koroua as well as rangatahi are not legal experts. If given, the right information, and time to understand the political and the social implications of the Raupatu claim and the Crowns stance, then all whānau members then more informed decisions would be made. It takes time and deep contemplation for even educated and trained individuals to come to grasp with complicated legal issues (Sykes, 1995:18). Sykes, a prominent lawyer, took six months to understand the meaning and implications of the ‘fiscal envelope’. It is then reasonable to conclude that kaumātua and rangatahi untrained in law would find it almost impossible to understand the implications of the raupatu claim, without more time to work through the issues. What role then would kaumātua and kuia have in contemporary Whakatōhea society?

In traditional Māori society and indeed Whakatōhea society, it was the young, the strong and the fit who engaged with the enemy.

Some kaumātua may not have the required skills at that time to take their hapū forward, as expressed in the whakatauki “Ka pū te rūhā, ka hao te rangatahi”.

However, just as in traditional Māori society, kaumātua can continue to play a role in teaching rangatahi about tradition and tikanga, e.g. Kohanga Reo, and Wananga. However, it is the view of the author (based on the women’s views) that kaumātua should leave the legal battles to those who have been

recently trained, and acquired the skills and agility to step into the new day battle arena. Kaumātua could contribute positively to the iwi by “acknowledging their limitations” but also giving freely of their traditional knowledge, and encouraging rangatahi participation.

Pane too noticed how very few rangatahi participated in marae activities, confirming Parata’s (1990:78) observations about the intergenerational mistrust. She attributed this to the rangatahi not having a sense of belonging.

She believes this may be gained purely by helping around the marae:

*“Go to all marae dos. ... I say, ‘Just take part, even getting wood ..., helping to wash the dishes, peel the potatoes... ‘just help with anything ... most people that take part in marae things I think you find they’ll end up knowing about the Maori life any way.”*

Pane observed that rangatahi’s lack of knowledge of tikanga was another barrier preventing them from participating in marae life. They need to actively participate in marae activities, and get involved. They are then in a position to learn about the tikanga of their marae and other important issues that help develop a sense of belonging.

An example of pakeke working with rangatahi on political issues was demonstrated by Ngāti Ngāhere. Peggy described the situation where the chairman of the board encouraged members to carry out research and bring back to the hapū for discussion. It was a real attempt by a “hapū to work as one” and include all in an important decision making process.

It is a useful strategy for all hapū wishing to utilise the energy, passion, and drive of their young for the betterment of the hapū.

In spite of the disagreements at the political level, Sharon was able to maintain positive interactions with kaumātua and ahi-kā at a personal level. *“But afterwards we’re still able to laugh and talk together.”* And where there were differences in opinion, Sharon recommended separating emotional responses from the political; *“... if we think they’re wrong,...give your perspective and go and mihimihi and kiss them afterwards and you know, you’re all right. That’s the approach that I’ve taken.”* She maintained a philosophy of perseverance in order that one’s ideas be heard and advised; *“... don’t let them beat you ... And don’t run away at the first obstacle, you’ve got to keep coming back.”*

Rangimarie Parata (1990:78) observed that there is evidence of conflict in modern Māori society between elders and rangatahi about what is useful knowledge. She noted that Māori authorities, the ‘established regime’, seem to feel threatened by the growing number of rangatahi coming through with superior educational skills. On the other hand rangatahi seem to feel threatened by kaumātua knowledge of things Māori (ibid.). She, however, sees positive outcomes rather than negative. She suggests that by combining the two strengths, wisdom of the elders and skills knowledge of rangatahi then Māori society could only but benefit (ibid.). She however does not give examples of such an ideal occurring in modern Māori society.

The ancestor Māui, has set a precedence for how rangatahi could deal with elders when seeking knowledge from them. Timing, patience, and

persistence, guile, cunning and caring were some of the tools he employed (Walker, 1990:17). These are the same virtues which rangatahi today need to apply in order to win the trust of their elders.

The incidents, which Sharon and Peggy describe, confirm Meads (1995:110-111) observations of how rangatahi may be deterred from participating in iwi socio-politics. They include poor hapū or pakeke leadership; differences in values and knowledge; abusive behaviour; rigidity of thinking; and tunnel vision of elders.

### **Outside the loop, getting in**

Te Tāwharau o Te Whakatōhea was a lobby group which was used by two women in the present study, to be heard by hapū and iwi leaders. Sharon set up a branch in Whakatāne and Hinehou is the kuia of the group. The members are mainly Whakatōhea rangatahi and women. The group was originally formed in opposition to the signing of the Deed of Settlement<sup>69</sup>, October 1996 (Ratima, 1999:159). According to Ratima (1999:157) what draws the members together is a common concern that the Deed had been developed without the input of the hapū of Whakatōhea. In his 1999 study, the group has been described as; "... not a voice ... [but] ... a reminder of who we are" and as a movement which is attempting to "tie us back to the whanau and the hapu" (Ratima, 1999:157-159). Other participants in his study regarded Te Tāwharau as a group of rangatahi who were "immature" and "hoha" (ibid.).

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<sup>69</sup> The Deal included a \$40 million dollar settlement of the Whakatōhea Raupatu Claim. It needed to be mandated by the iwi members before it was full and final.

What are the views about and experiences of the women in regards to Te Tāwharau?

Sharon's political awareness and interest in the raupatu issues of Whakatōhea were raised as a student at Te Wananga o Te Awanuiarangi. There she learned about the injustice of legislature on tribal groups. Her involvement in Te Tāwharau came about when she decided to become involved in the Whakatohea "Raupatu issue[s]..." She attended hui-a-iwi to learn more about the Whakatōhea Raupatu issues. When she learned of the plans by the chief Whakatōhea negotiators to sign the Deed of Settlement, she called Te Tāwharau members together. They gathered at a hui in Wellington. She was concerned that iwi members did not understand what was being agreed to between iwi leaders and the Crown; "They had the lawyers representing Whakatōhea explain the offer... if we couldn't understand, we don't know how our kaumātua could get a handle on it. "

At this meeting the kaumātua asked the rangatahi not to protest. The rangatahi did ask however, that time be given for all of Whakatōhea to consider the implications of the offer. It was not heeded and the document was signed by the Crown, and Whakatōhea representatives, John Delamere and Claude Edwards. Hinehou admits to not understanding the issues and wanting time to consider the implications.

The reactions to the signing of the deed were of despair and grief at losing everything; “*E mātakū ana kua riro ngā rawa katoa o te hunga kei te piki ake. Ka pēhea ōna tamariki, ka noho i roto i te kore.*” The enormity of the effects of one generation on another overwhelmed Sharon; “*...with our raupatu, the offer for Whakatōhea, the most profound effect was how can one generation take the rights of another generation. What right do we have to close the door on our children and future generations? We do not have that right!*”

There was the belief of some that the Crown position of ‘Full and Final Settlement’ meant that once the settlement was accepted by Whakatōhea and put into legislation there would be “no revisiting of or re-staking any claim in the future, regardless of changing circumstances” (Ratima 1999:174).

Based on the belief that ‘full and final’ really did mean that, Sharon immediately determined to work towards halting the Deed of Settlement; “*Its from then on, I worked towards ensuring that this, the offer would be rejected*”. They mounted a major campaign to initially inform Whakatōhea whānau about the implications of the Deed of Settlement. They then focused their energies on terminating the Deed (Ratima, 1999:159).

Networks were formed to inform others including kaumātua, about what they thought the implications of the deal were and how to halt it’s progression. Te Tāwharau were formed in Whakatāne, Auckland and Hamilton by Whakatōhea members living there. The group made submissions to Māori

Land Court (MLC) hearings, Whakatōhea Raupatu Negotiations Committee meetings, hui-a-hapu and hui-a-iwi. As well as the unfavourable terms of the Deed, submissions focused on issues of process and mandate (Ratima, 1999:159-160).

Sharon played her part in the information campaign. She encouraged other Whakatōhea students at the Wharewananga to attend hui to discuss this and other issues. After speaking to a member of the Mokomoko whānau<sup>70</sup> Sharon learned that the whānau had not been consulted about their settlement being “*lumped together*” with the iwi settlement. From there, Sharon and others including some members of the Mokomoko whānau worked together to inform others of what had occurred. They sent out information letters, and had a phone-in-line. Members helped in whatever way they could; “*Good group dynamics each took different roles and worked hard for the cause.*” Other educated and skilled members, mainly women, used their professional skills to assist the group. For example, those qualified in law worked on simplifying the language so that everyone could understand the implications of the Deed. Sharon explained:

*“... they actually analysed the Deed ... gave the legal perspectives of it and then they summarised it in simple language so our people could understand it... We were the most active in actually raising the awareness amongst our people and getting kōrero out to our people, and it was just mainly women.”*

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<sup>70</sup> Mokomoko was the tipuna of the Mokomoko whānau. He was blamed for the killing of Reverend Volkner. Volkner's death led to the invasion of Imperial troops into Whakatōhea and the confiscation of her lands (Raupatu). A pardon was granted Mokomoko in 1989 (see Chapter 2). Following this a separate claim against the government was lodged by Tuirirangi Mokomoko.

These experiences show how rangatahi and women have been able to influence the political outcomes of their iwi.

However, the Crown policy of getting claims settled within a tight timeframe placed the iwi leadership in a very difficult position. I believe that if the circumstances were such that the leadership was united and had had the time to properly seek mandate from Whakatōhea, then the talent of the rangatahi and women could have been utilised by leaders to prepare and negotiate a better deal from the Crown. It is evident that there is an abundance of energy and educational skills that Whakatōhea rangatahi and women possess which needs to be utilised in a positive way to benefit iwi and hapū (990:78).

Tārati also sees the benefits in working with the Crown:

*“Well to me, if you can't beat them you join them to get what you want... After all they hold the purse strings. Not that I'm in favour of what they've done to us... But there are certain ways that you get what you want, beat them at their own game... you have to be crafty just like them to get what you need, what you want.”*

Some important issues raised are that to do with inheritance, being informed, and taking time to think through issues. Whatever the age, all Whakatōhea members, wish Whakatōhea descendants to inherit their rightful legacy. Also being informed about important issues and being allowed time to become familiar with the issues and to think about the implications of any decisions coming out of the issues. These experiences demonstrate how the traditional practice of consultation where everyone had a right to be informed and to express their views are practices are valued by women and rangatahi

of Whakatōhea. Where consultation is not carried out by leaders and decision-making is not achieved through consensus then other members will use other means to influence the affairs of hapū and iwi. Kuia and rangatahi, despite the differences in views about how one must relate to the Crown, share a common goal. The goal of securing redress from the Crown for injustices suffered by Whakatōhea is one shared by rangatahi and pakeke alike.

**Whakawhiti Kōrero: Taking time - wasting time.**

Five of the women participants found that with time was an important factor which influenced their ability to participate effectively in the decisions made about their hapū and iwi affairs. Abusive behaviour was regarded by Peggy and Pane as an unproductive use of time at hapū hui. Taking time over important decisions was also considered important. Ineffective hui procedures were also regarded as issues. Peggy suggested that hapū delegates only should be allowed to speak at iwi hui to save time.

Peggy, Sharon, and Hinehou, experiences indicate that hapū leaders who do not take time to hear the views of those they represent cannot achieve true representation. Decisions are not then made through consensus. Sharon and Hinehou also saw the merits in taking time issues, which had potential important implications for Whakatōhea future. They along with other members of Te Tāwharau asked at the hui at parliament that John Delamere and Claude Edwards allow more time for consultation with iwi members before they sign the memorandum of understanding with the Crown. Sharon

and Hinehou regard it as very important that time should be given for proper informed consensus to be arrived at.

Tārati is also of the view that there are benefits in the traditional way of making decisions which asks that time be taken to discuss matters fully;

*“They should have more debate about the whole thing instead of one person going in and saying this is what we’re going to do and that’s it. More kōrero, more kōrero, that’s how we used to do in the old days. Weeks of kōrero.”* However, Tārati also recognises that the lifestyle today does not allow for the same amount of time to spend on going through the issues required as in the past:

*“But now of course as you understand, it’s a change of times. You haven’t got time to sit and talk and talk and talk. We gotta work to get our bread and butter. In the old days we used to kōrero kōrero until there was consensus that we all agreed. And of course as I say, times have changed and people have to go to work. They can’t sit and talk for a week like we used to in the old days. So it’s up to the people. I really don’t know, I really don’t know. We’ll get there though, I’m pretty sure we will get there. But no rush. No need to rush like some of these people having to rush kia teretere. The government will have to pay us sooner or later. See the first raupatu was fifteen thousand pounds. Peanuts. And our pakeke said ‘Kei te pai, take this, apōpō we’ll get another one.’ See apōpō has arrived.”*

Tārati’s belief that there would be avenue for comeback later is based on the fact that the 1920 agreement was to be a final settlement (Sinclair, 1981:118) and yet Whakatōhea have returned to the negotiating table. Tārati along with others who were in favour of settlement with the Crown is not convinced that “full and final” meant exactly that (Rātima, 1999).

To add, the government imposed a tight time frame for settlement of claims, which placed pressure on the negotiators. The process was considered too hasty for the negotiators (Durie 1998:199). Time was of the essence for Delamere and Edwards. With the upcoming elections and the possibility of a change in government, they saw the need to at least get some commitment from the government by signing of the Deed. The possibility of further delay of a settlement may not have favoured Whakatōhea. The \$40 million dollar settlement was generous when placed alongside other settlements such as Tainui and Ngaitahu. While \$40 million dollars could go a long way to alleviating much of the poverty suffered by Whakatōhea people, the view held by many is, that it would be extremely difficult to take back what is signed away. Durie (E, 1990:23) also observed that government policy for settling claims does not allow time for enough iwi-wide consultation to take place. He says:

Time is something the government ‘fiscal envelope’ framework did not give Māori as far as consultation within tribes. “Justice delayed is justice denied,” and I can understand the wish to act promptly. I suspect, however, that this is not the main reason why many are demanding more speed. The demand [for speed] is rather to dispose of Māori claims quickly so that the country might return to normal; normality being, I think it is assumed, a way of life in which the Māori thing can be put out of sight and mind. But it must not be seen as normal, in my view, to exclude Māori from future consideration because of the settlement of a claim. (Durie, E., 1990:23).

The Whakatōhea leadership by signing the memorandum of agreement were seen to have bought into the government plan, thereby becoming agents of hegemony. Durie warns that history has shown that hastily agreed upon settlements may not endure, when he states:

Nor can I accept that a quick inquiry and pay-off can ever produce an enduring solution. Those who do not learn the mistakes of history are bound to repeat them, as has often been said, but we also need to be reminded in this case that the quick inquiries and pay-off's of last century are a significant source of complaint in many of the claims before us now. (Durie, E., 1990:23).

The women's experiences show that there is a fine balance between taking time to consider issues of importance and that of wasting time on petty and abusive exchanges at hui. Consensus decision-making is shown to be of importance to all women participants. Present day lifestyles of members does not allow the same time to debate issues at a face-to-face level that was possible in previous generations. The main issue is for Whakatōhea members, is that they are kept informed and are given the opportunity to take part in the decision-making of whānau, hapū, and iwi affairs.

### **Wāhine participation in decision-making**

Issues about gender roles and participation in iwi socio-politics was raised by six of the women. All important debates and decisions that affect Whakatōhea hapū and iwi are carried out in Whare Tipuna or Whare Kai where women and men have equal speaking rights.

Leadership of the six hapū of Whakatōhea is centred on marae committees, and kaumātua the latter are the spokespersons for the hapū (Walker 1997:16). The women's leadership role at formal hui on the marae is also found 'at the front' as kaikaranga, and at the back as ringa wera<sup>71</sup> (Lee, 1994:222).

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<sup>71</sup> ringawera = lit. hothands; e.g. kitchen worker

In the past year, Julie and Hinehou filled secretarial positions on their hapū marae committee. Women usually occupy secretarial and treasury positions on marae committees whereas chairpersons on hapū and iwi committees have been men. This style of leadership is not based on traditional criteria such as whakapapa or kaupapa. It reflects the pakeha leadership style that encourages men to head committees and women to seek support roles is usual in governance-style committees. Szasky observed how; "...women are ... limited in the recognition, authority and legitimate power due to them. They are denied access, to decision-making, but all decisions that are made by others are, by and large, referred to them for action" (Szasky, 1993:289-90). At the hapū level in Whakatōhea women do not usually fill spokesperson roles such as those assigned to Chairpersons, but are relegated to administrative leadership roles. This pattern is transferred to the iwi level of governance.

The Whakatōhea Trust Board set up under the Māori Trust Board's Act 1955 is the iwi authority for Whakatōhea (ibid.). Two delegates from each of the six hapū are elected every three years to the board who are accountable to the Minister of Māori Affairs. In the past, the women have been reluctant to seek, selection to 'the board'. Up until the 1996 election the membership was dominated by men.

With such under-representation for women, it is very unlikely that issues of importance to women may be addressed. Peggy confirms that difficulty

when she states: *“I’m the only woman on the Whakatōhea Māori Trust Board, and it’s quite hard”*.

In 1999 another two women, Josie Matchitt (Upokorehe) and Rita Wordsworth (Ngai Tama) joined the board. Women now occupied three of the twelve positions. These ratios reflect figures of other iwi governance committees where a disproportionate number of men sit on governance boards. Such figures also reflect the pākehā world of governance committees.

Although, the nomination of, Sharon and Hinehou by a kaumātua, reflects a promising change in attitude, by this particular sector of the hapū.

Tārati expressed concern about the way delegates were sometimes chosen to represent hapū at the iwi level:

*“Because he’s cousin-bro. No matter what. No experience of management, business management or any other experience. ...put him on there because he’s brother. Or he can whaikōrero on the marae. Whaikōrero, yes there’s a place for that. I’ve got respect for that. It’s different to business management.”*

Misguided loyalty to respected whanau male elders and speaking abilities are not regarded as sufficient leadership qualifications for today. As well as traditional leadership qualities, modern governance structures that control iwi assets require people that have appropriate educational and business qualifications and experience. Choosing someone out of kinship loyalty or because of their skills in fulfilling ceremonial duties such as whaikōrero, are

not the only skills and qualities required to meet the long-term needs of Whakatōhea.

To add, such qualities are based on bias that favours election of men rather than women. For instance whaikōrero is part of the domain for men in Whakatōhea. There is a perception, evidenced by the low number of women elected onto the Board, that Whakatōhea favour qualities that are attributable to roles traditionally carried out by men. Mira Szaszy (1993:289) highlighted how patriarchal practices, permeate throughout modern Māori society. She compared how Māori society is suffering from something similar to the ‘hidden curriculum’<sup>72</sup> phenomenon found in schools.

Discriminatory practices are so covert that they are accepted as the norm.

Practices such as that which allows only men to speak on the marae serve to create a mindset that is transferred into other areas of Māori society (ibid).

The under-representation of Whakatōhea women at iwi governance levels is evidence that the ‘hidden curriculum’ phenomenon has been and continues to be present in Whakatōhea. The lack of female representation on the Board is of concern to two of the women participants; *“So too many men in the Trust Board, no vision, no maternal instinct and we need more women in there.”* (Sharon).

Six of the women participants felt that the leadership of women at this level needed to be addressed.

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<sup>72</sup> hidden curriculum = describes how school and teacher values and attitudes impact on how and what is taught.

*“ I believe, I as a Whakatōhea woman - have a responsibility to try and find the common ground that we become one voice to lead our people into the future. Because each and every one of us have the well-being of our iwi that at the end of the day, what's important here is our future generations, whether it be as a whānau, whether it be as a hapū, or whether it be as a iwi. ”*

Rei (1993:50) found that Māori women experience opposition from Māori men when they become politically ‘visible’. Some Māori men uphold the view that women are taking something away from Māori men because of their interest (ibid.).<sup>73</sup> Such views have become “mistakenly accepted” as a Māori worldview about gender roles within Māori society (ibid.). Women according to such men should concentrate their efforts, for the survival of Māoridom on their reproductive roles and should not compete but leave the political arena to Māori men (ibid.). However, such paternalistic attitudes have their basis in the colonisation experience and not Māori tradition (Mead 1995:110-111). Māori men who hold such beliefs become the agents of Western patriarchy. Mead (1995) states that:

Māori constitutional rights in New Zealand through colonisation, has caused a redefinition of masculinity and femininity within Māori society. Colonists and indigenous men perpetrate sexism against indigenous women (p.111).

Mira Szaszy asserts that Western colonist influences are most clearly seen on the marae. Our marae is a patriarchal institution, ‘pervaded by assumptions of male domination’. This position of women in our political whānau mirrors the role of women in the larger society. The custom, which disallows women from speaking on that forum with the assertion that men and women

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<sup>73</sup>For example read Bennett, 1979 p.78 “if the consent and support is not available because of over-commitment in areas of competition with her men folk ...We who are about to die salute you.”

have complementary roles, is in fact, ‘a denial of equality, as such roles are certainly not equal’ (1993:289)

Women become agents of hegemony by not valuing the contribution that accomplished women are able to make toward iwi development. Women and men of Whakatōhea have equal voting rights, however, women have not represented their hapū at iwi level. Szaszy believes that such inequalities occur because they are condoned by Māori women and men:

Turning a blind eye’ to this situation of our women, even those in privileged positions, is a form of dishonesty – condoning the situation, we are equally guilty of perpetuating discriminatory systems. Both men and women are guilty of these evasions. (Szaszy, 1993:289).

Although all women have contributed to hapū and iwi discussions, three were more actively involved. Julie is campaigning to revive the hapū of Ngāti Muriwai. Sharon began the Whakatāne and Opōtiki branch of Te Tāwharau. Hinehou has also been involved in Te Tāwharau and was influential in organising a sit-in for Te Moana-a-Tairongo. Hinehou is campaigning for the recognition of wāhi tapu sites and is raising hapū awareness about resource management issues. These are examples of avenues other than tribal ones which the women have used to enable them to participate in and influence hapū and iwi affairs.

There is a gender imbalance in representation on hapū and iwi governance committees. The influence that Whakatōhea women assert at whānau levels does not transfer into hapū or iwi levels of governance. Such an imbalance is

attributed to Whakatōhea men and women, buying into the hegemonic influences of pakeha, which determine that the political arena is for men and not women. However, there is indication of changing attitude with the recent nominations and representation of women to Whakatōhea governance committees. The complementary nature of men's and women's roles at the whānau level of Māori society is a model that should be transferred to hapū and iwi levels of governance.

### **Conclusion**

Traditional values and practices in Māori society are relevant in the lives of Whakatōhea women and men today. Whakapapa and 'kanohi kitea' are essential for those wishing to participate in decision-making of whānau, hapū, and iwi socio-political affairs. Under certain circumstances, in-married spouses are afforded the same rights as full members. Barriers to participation included abusive behaviour and wastage of time.

Contemporary solutions to the problem of time and distance were found to counter the potential barriers. Informed decision-making reached by consensus was valued within Whakatōhea. The remedy or solution to this problem lies in kaumātua making a place for rangatahi, then the iwi will benefit from their passion and energy. Women are now encouraged to fill positions of responsibility in tribal matters. Women are utilising other means to influence decisions occurring at hapū and iwi levels. Traditional values which give worth to the complementary nature of men's and women's roles within Māori society should be transferred into the political affairs of Whakatōhea, thereby giving such practices a modern day application.

Traditional values and practices as they relate to participation rights and responsibilities within whānau, hapu and iwi political affairs continues to have relevance in the lives of Whakatōhea women today.

## Chapter 9

### Conclusion

This thesis identified and discussed common themes around whakapapa, whenua, and hui, that arose out of a study of seven Whakatōhea women and their life experiences and views about the socio-political affairs of the tribe. The cosmological and customary narratives based on Māori-centred and Mana-wāhine theoretical viewpoints provided the frameworks for analysing the participant's experiences. Their experiences give some insight into gender and cultural relations within Whakatōhea today.

The maintenance, loss, reclamation, and adaptation of traditional values and practices were recurring threads throughout the thesis. Whakapapa and connections to the home place were central to a secure sense of identity as Māori generally and Whakatōhea. Identity with Whakatōhea emerged out of shared whānau experiences of ancestral lands, rivers, and bush. Kaumātua played an important role in passing on traditional knowledge about whakapapa and whānau, hapū and tribal stories to following generations. A lack of access to this was identified as contributing to a loss of identity felt by some members. Important to the women's sense of identity were; connections to land, inter-tribal links, whanaungatanga, te reo Māori, naming, tipuna and home. Whakapapa which identified them as specifically Whakatōhea was also important to their sense of belonging.

The women provided examples of how sense of mana-wāhine is associated with mana-whenua. Traditions associated with whenua and birth continue to have relevance in Whakatōhea today. Three of the women played a central role in reclaiming mana-whenua for their whānau, hapū, or iwi. Land was regarded as an important economic resource, to be managed and administered well for the benefit of all its members. They were unconvinced that the best people were in positions of power.

At a governance level, whakapapa was found to be an essential qualification for participation in decision-making of whānau, hapū, and iwi political affairs. An analysis of in-married members showed that under certain circumstances they were given the same rights as full members. Barriers, to participation in decision-making practices included, time constraints, aggressive verbal exchanges, distance, gender, age, and a lack of information. The under-representation of women on governance committees was found to be of concern for most of the women. They were determined to change the status quo by supporting nominations of women to positions of power. Alternative forums such as lobby groups were used by some of the women. The strategies they used to influence the outcomes for their tribal group reflected those of their tipuna kuia. There was growing support by men for women to fill positions of power within hapū and iwi authorities. This was an example of how Whakatōhea men and women are rising above the negative impacts of colonialism. Whakatōhea women are emerging as future leaders alongside their Whakatōhea men for the well-being of future generations.

Further recommendations that have arisen from this present study are made.

First, further research into the role of Māori women in the emergence or revival of hapū or iwi social and political identities would build on the findings of this study. Second, an investigation of Māori women and their participation at governance levels of tribal affairs and the leadership qualities and skills required of them would make another interesting study.

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## APPENDICES

1. Information Sheet
2. Information Sheet
3. Consent Form

INFORMATION SHEET  
MASSEY UNIVERSITY

“The Voices of Māori Women: How far do they reach?  
Māori Women in Tribal Socio-politics: A Case Study.

*Who is the researcher?*

Dorothy Hayes, Whakatōhea.

*Where can she be contacted?*

Opape Marae Road  
Opape  
OPOTIKI  
(07) 31-58159  
(06) 35-95373

*Who is my supervisor?*

Huia Jahnke  
School of Maori Studies  
Massey University  
Palmerston North  
(06) 350 5799 ext 2412

*What is the study about?*

The study will investigate the stories of contemporary Whakatōhea women and their views, experiences and perceptions about marae, and tribal organisations and politics.

*How much time will it take?*

Interview Time:                      Approximately 3 – 4 hours per person.  
Feedback on Transcript and Analysis:                      1-2 hours.

*What can the participant(s) expect from the researcher?*

If you take part in the study, you have the right to:

- refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the study at any time
- ask any further questions about the study that may occur to you during your participation
- provide information on the understanding that it is completely confidential to the researchers. All information is collected anonymously, and it will not be possible to identify you in any reports that are prepared from the study unless you agree to it.
- be given access to a summary of the findings from the study when it is concluded.

The Voices of Māori Women: How far do they reach?  
Māori women in tribal socio-politics – A Case Study.

## Consent Form

I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I also understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study. I agree to be interviewed and have the interview recorded on tape or video cassette, or hand-written but I have the right to ask at any time to have the video or tape recorder turned off.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my identity is completely confidential if I wish.

I wish to participate in this study under the conditions set out on the Information Sheet.

Signed:

Name:

Date: