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**NGAMOTU ME KIHITU NGA WHENUA, NGAMOTU ME KIHITU NGA TURANGAWAEWAE.**

**"AUE TE ARIKI AUE", KEI WHEA RA NGA TANGATA O TE HAU KAINGA NEI?.**

**A Personal Journey: Where Have All The People Gone?**

**A Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of requirement for the degree of**

**MASTERS OF PHILOSOPHY: A MAJOR IN SOCIAL WORK**

**Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand**

**EMMA TE PAEA WEBBER-DREADON**

**2012**



**Ko Huianui te Maunga**

**Ko Wairoa Hopupu Honengenenge Ma Tangi Rau te Awa**

**Ko Takitimu te Waka**

**Ko Ngati Kahu, Ngati Apatari, Te Uri-o-Te-O-Tane ki Wairoa,  
Ngati Pahauwera ki Mohaka nga Hapu**

**Ko Ngati Kahungunu, Rongomaiwahine, Rongowhakata nga Iwi**

**Ko Kihitu te Marae**

**Ko Te Rauhinē me Hine Ringa nga Whare Tipuna**

**Ko Rewi Webber oku Papa**

**Ko Te Paea Ahuriri O'Keefe oku Mama**

**Ko Emma Te Paea Webber-Dreadon ahau.**

**Kei Tauranga Moana inaianei**

## **ABSTRACT**

Enclosed to the north and west by hills, edged by the Pacific Ocean and the Wairoa Hopupu-Hongenge Matangirau River, it seemed to me as a six year old that Ngamotu, Kihitu and Wairoa were the only places that existed in the world.

It was then, and will always be, the 'centre of my Universe'.

## **NGAMOTU TE WHENUA, NGAMOTU TE TURANGAWAEWAE**

### **"AUE TE ARIKI AUE", KEI WHEA RA NGA TANGATA O TE HAU KAINGA NEI?**

The purpose of this research was to explore why the whenua of Ngamotu, and additionally Kihitu, are almost deserted of her people, and why there is so little use of her agriculturally or horticulturally. The inclusion of Kihitu within this thesis is because it is a 15 acres block of land located in the centre of Ngamotu. Whatever happens to either 'block' must surely impact on the other in some way.

The use of tikanga and kaupapa Maori as the 'pou' of this research is what determines the mauri (well being) of nga whenua o Ngamotu and Kihitu, and their people. These are used because they are the most appropriate techniques and tools to use to explore and ascertain the mauri (well being) of Ngamotu and Kihitu, and her people.

The study is an oral and recorded history, as told by seven purposively chosen mokopuna, who willingly shared their experiences and their knowledge of Ngamotu and Kihitu. In their own words, they shared their stories about Ngamotu and Kihitu, their history, their current status, and the influences that they have had on them, and what if any, are their moemoea (dreams) for Ngamotu and Kihitu.

By naming Ngamotu and Kihitu as our turangawaewae acknowledges and provides a 'chiefly' place for us all to stand, which contributes to the importance and the 'mauri ora' (wellbeing) of Ngamotu and Kihitu as a

whenua, which then enables us as mana-whenua (people of the land) to determine, define and strengthen our world views about and around Ngamotu and Kihitu, which in turn reflects the concept of being Maori and being a mokopuna of Ngamotu and Kihitu.

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**Nga mihinui, mihi aroha kia koutou kaoutoa**

Paimarie



## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my 'whangai mum' Ritihia Wilson-Bean, who has always been there for me, as a child, as a teenager and as an adult, and without question – you are my 'life saver', and words cannot express enough about the support and love you have given me over the years.

**Tino nui te aroha, me te awahi kia koe mo tautoko ia hau arohanui**

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### TIROTIRO KAU AU

*To gaze out in deep thought*

487 Acres

#### **Where have all the people gone?**

“I try not to think about colonisation, because it is neither in my ancestry, nor my origins. I survive because when I am talking whakapapa, it is not only about one person or people, it is also the whakapapa of the people, the trees, the birds and every other living thing, but most of all it speaks of shedding our skin onto the land, and that is what binds us to the land”  
(Piita Robinson-Walker-Robinson )

*Ngamotu in her ‘radiant beauty’*

**This research was a very special journey for me as a mokopuna of Ngamotu, because it is my Turangawaewae in life and will be in death.**



The background image is a landscape photograph showing a wide valley. In the distance, there are rolling hills and a small town or village. A river or stream flows through the valley. The sky is blue with some light clouds. The foreground is filled with tall, dry grass and some small yellow flowers.

## **NGAMOTU ME KIHITU**

**As I look down, from the road upon the hill**

**I see Ngamotu and Kihitu - our whenua,**

**Stark, beautiful and barren,**

**Embraced by the hills to the west, and to the north,**

**Caressed by the Pacific Ocean to the east and,**

**Edged by the ever-flowing Wairoa-Hopupu-Hongenge-Matangirau River to the south.**

**Ngamotu and Kihitu a whenua, where there was once a thriving community**

**A community that was once the 'kai basket' of Napier,**

**Now a whenua, desolate and unproductive,**

**Over flowing with corsages of blackberries and gorse in places**

**And bereft of her people**

**As I travel down that gravel road,**

**Past the few tired and derelict houses**

**On my way to the Marae, and the Urupa,**

**I feel a presence, everywhere.**

**As I gaze out over the whenua, the whenua of Ngamotu and Kihitu**

**I hear our tipuna ask**

**Where are the people Moko, they ask? Where are the people?**

**Gone Matua, gone... nga hau e wha**

**Why they ask, why**

**We are lonely they say**

**I cry**

## **Researchers Interest in the Topic**

The whenua of Ngamotu and Kihitu have a personal significance for me as a mokopuna of the whenua. As I sit on Te Poti overlooking this whenua, there always seemed to be so many questions I wanted answers to. Who were the people that lived there historically, where did they come from and why, but most of all I wanted to know why Ngamotu and Kihitu are so captivating and alluring for me.

When I began this research, I was not meaning to be a participant, but during the interviews I somehow found that I had something to offer this study. Based not only on the participants reflections, but also on my own reflections and recollections of events and insights it significantly altered my outlook, because it made me reflect on my own academic practices and reflexive writing on my journey of discovery. It thereby became important for me as the Researcher to position myself that would allow me to share the gifts given to me from my whanau and tipuna. Using the notion of autoethnography, Mead (1996) describes, it as being a time when one is able to use their own voice legitimately, thereby allowing me the researcher, to share my experiences and 'knowing' as an 'insider' (participant), and 'then as an outsider (researcher). Goodall (2004), and Ellis (2004) concurs and suggests it allows memories or life stories to be assembled ethically, using hindsight and reflective research.

## **Ngamotu and Kihitu**

Ngamotu is a whenua affectionally known as Kihitu, has a total acreage of 487 acres. It is a small portion of land on the east coast of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand, on the eastern side at the mouth of the Wairoa Hopupu Honenganega Matangi Rau River (Wairoa) River, where it meets the Pacific Ocean. Ngamotu is made up of sectional blocks and has a total land mass of 472 acres that centrally embraces Kihitu, a land mass of 15 acres, belonging to the Peka/Blake whanau. On the opposite bank, is the township known as Wairoa.



This research positions Ngamotu and Kihitu geographically, as a rural portion of land across the river from the township of Wairoa, not confiscated by the dominant culture, but still bereft of her people. It is hoped that this study will be the voice that evidences the past, discusses the present and makes some recommendations for the future, exclusively about Ngamotu and Kihitu.

### **Location**

It is important that the location of Ngamotu is explained, because there is another Ngamotu in the Taranaki province. Our Ngamotu and Kihitu are situated on the eastern side of the North Island, between Napier and Gisborne, and on the eastern bank at the mouth of the Wairoa River, across the river from the township of Wairoa.



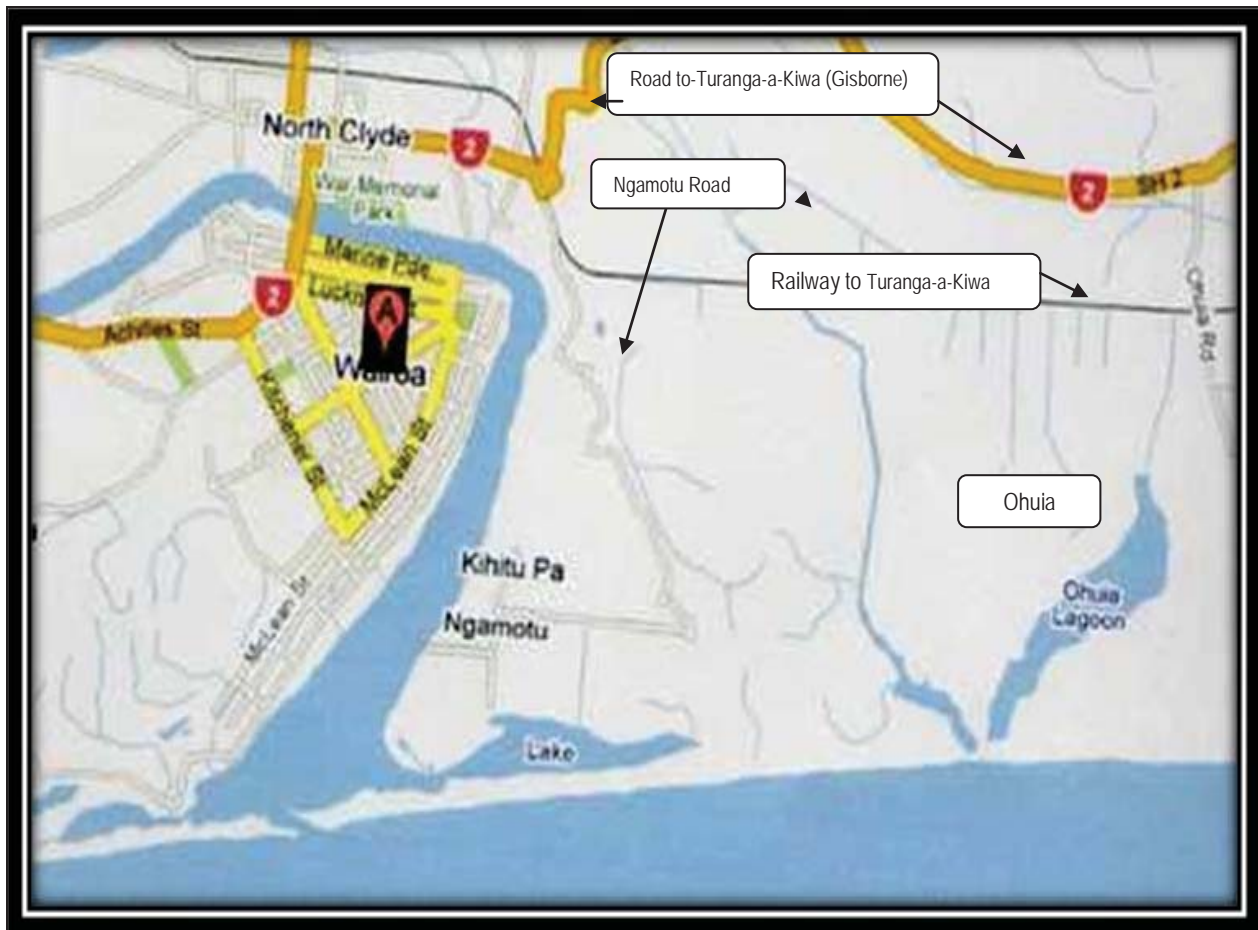


**Wairoa, Ngamotu, Kihitu**

### **Access**

To access Ngamotu/Kihitu, is approximately a 12 kilometre winding metal road off of State Highway 2. If driving from Turanga-nui (Gisborne), one will see the township of Wairoa from the top of Te Uhi Hill. As one proceeds down Te Uhi and across the railway line at the bottom, rather than turning right to go into the township of Wairoa, one turns left and follows the road which is sealed to begin with and then metal, on out to Ngamotu and Kihitu.

If one is heading to Ngamotu and Kihitu from Napier, one would enter Wairoa, continue over the Wairoa Bridge (by the Lighthouse), until the T Junction. Turn right into Mahia Avenue and follow this. On the way one would pass the Freezing Works and the Taihoa Marae on the right. Stay to the right (do not turn left over the railway line and up Te Uhi), and follow it on the tar sealed road up the hill, then onto a metal road which eventually emerges into Ngamotu and Kihitu.



**Directions to Ngamotu and Kihitu**

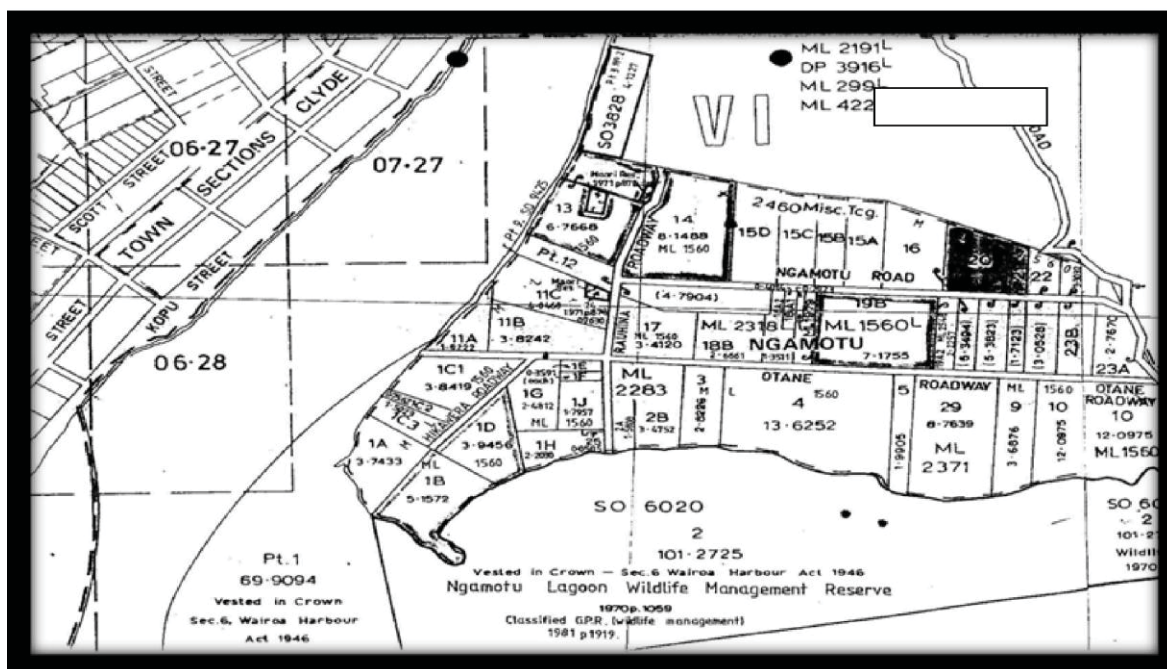
### **Time is a Precious Commodity**

Over the past three decades there has been an ever and ongoing insistence for me to find out the history of Ngamotu and Kihitu, and to find out why they are so bereft of their people, socially, economically and spiritually. There is now an urgent need now to move this study into a reality, because each time I return home to Ngamotu and Kihitu the land of our ancestors, time has slipped by and so have more and more of our Kuia and Kaumatua.

*Time is precious, it has not stood still for any of us, and one by one our tipuna have left us to make their journey to the spirit world, cloaked in the korowai of Papatuanuku (Earth Mother), overseen by Ranginui (Sky Father). While the old generation leaves us, a new generation emerges into our midst. A generation that could be almost unaware of Ngamotu, her history, her role as a dwelling place for our hapu and the reasons why she is now depleted of*



people. My biggest and greatest regret is that I didn't start accumulating information 50 years plus ago. A lesson well learnt. (Webber-Dreadon: A Personal Journal 2009)



### NGAMOTU BLOCKS

Over the past few years, we have sadly lost Kuia, Kaumatua and Pakeke, who were the repositories of Ngamotu's and Kihitu's tribal and hapu history and knowledge. With their passing, there has been a loss of some very important tribal and hapu history. I, as the researcher am now in my senior years and am relying on informal audio recordings of my Aunties and Uncles, formal interviews with six participants, old photos that have been passed down by my mother and older sisters, information and data collected from the Maori Land Court records, museum records, newspaper articles, journals, thesis, unpublished papers, and books inclusive of historic literature, oral information from key informants who have knowledge about the history of Ngamotu and Kihitu, and who have provided some insight and moemoea (dream) as to what they see as the future for Ngamotu and Kihitu (Webber-Dreadon, 1996)

*"It seems to me that each time I return home, another piece of 'time' and kaumatua has slipped away into the past. There is nothing much left to remind us of the prosperous times of Ngamotu and Kihitu that I remember as a child. Now, except for*

*the Okaka Urupa, the Marae and a few tired and derelict cottages, the whenua is almost desolate of her mokopuna, and there is so little use of the whenua (land).*

Whilst this study began as a personal journey for me to fulfill a moemoea (dream) to academically achieve, it has also become a whanau and hapu journey, not only because of the participants but also because “tribal and family knowledge is not the possession of one member of that group alone. It belongs to everyone, and it is maintained to serve the people” (Royal, 1992:11), and for this reason the information and data collected will be returned to the people of Ngamotu/Kihitu at the completion of this study.

### **Going Home**

On my many excursions home to Ngamotu and Kihitu, I have often sat aloft of Te Poti and speculated as to why this once thriving community is so desolate of her mokopuna. As a child I remember there were a lot of people and gardens of vegetables and flowers at Ngamotu, and that Wairoa across the river were the only two places that existed in the whole wide world. But as a young woman I came to know that Ngamotu and Wairoa were not the only places in the world, but personally for me Ngamotu and Kihitu will always be the centre of my universe, and will continue to be in my life and ever after.

### **Te Pukaaka: The Tellers of Stories**

As I matured my Grandmother Matengahere and my Aunty Nora told me stories about Ngamotu and Kihitu. I remember them telling me that Kihitu (as it is affectionately known as), was a much busier place in their day, and that it was once a rebel stronghold, and that our tipuna (elders), at that time were staunch to Te Kooti. Knowingly, our tipuna and kuia Mere Te Huia Apatari (my Great Great Grandmother) could not only whakapapa to him; she was also a sub-lieutenant of his. In residence at Ngamotu/Kihitu, her role was to guard the mouth of the Wairoa River, to stop any marauding tribe's crossing over the river bar to go upstream to attack the varying hapu that lived up there (Webber-Dreadon 1996).

Further, I was informed that Henare Apatari, our tipuna and the husband of Mere Te Huia Apatari (nee Hukinga) was staunch to the Kingitanga Movement and the retention of land. Lambert (1977) confirms this when he recounts how Henare Apatari gave a very fiery speech in Turanga-nui-a-Kiwa (Gisborne), about the Kingitanga Movement and encouraged whanau, hapu and iwi to understand why not to sell their land. For such support, he was gifted a flour mill by the Maori King, which he transported back to Wairoa, but the cost of transport and to erect it was too expensive, so it sat in a shed and eventually rusted away.

My Aunty Nora told me that there were some tensions between the Kingitanga Movement and Ngati Porou at the time, but she was not sure why. The question that arises from that statement, 'Could such tensions have caused a migration from Rongowhakata to Ngamotu/Kihitu?' Matua Bill Blake (participant) in his interview makes a connection with Muriwai, when he speaks of walking with his Nanny from Mahia to Muriwai, for what he thinks now was a church service, and inclusively Aunty Gran tells of her monthly journey with her Grandfather to Turanga-nui-a-Kiwa, and while she explains it was for church, the connection is still linked to Turanga-nui-a-Kiwa. Perhaps these statements are amiss, but it certainly gives one 'food for thought'.

Whilst I have never lived on Ngamotu, I have been a regular visitor, not necessarily for tangihunga or celebrations, but more to visit and sit and talk with my whanau at the Okaka Urupa, where my Mother, my Grandmother, my Grandfather, my Great Grandmother, my Great Grand Aunties, my Aunties, Uncles, Aunties, Brothers, Sisters, Cousins and other whanau members of the Hapu that rest there. I would also visit my Great Great Grandmother Mere Te Huia Apatari (nee Hukinga), the wife of Henare Apatari, who does not rest at the urupa, but instead rests on Ngamotu 14.1b.

*Researching Maori is inclusive of whanau, hapu and iwi even in death, for those who have  
passed on are still with us and will remain so forever, for they are us and we are them  
(unknown source)*

## **A Journey**

In 1996, I completed a research project at Victoria University, about Mere Te Huia Apatari who rests on the land block of Ngamotu 14b, two paddocks over from the Okaka Urupa, under Huianui, by a totara tree planted by my Grandfather some time in 1946. Unfortunately, when that research was completed, the cost to have it published for whanau, as a book was \$10,000, because it had no commercial value they said, and I just could not afford that kind money. But what was interesting was that at the completion of that research, there were still more questions to ask, and it was this that moved me to further explore the anonymity of Ngamotu and Kihitu, and I know on the completion of this study that there will be even more questions to be asked.

Over the years, we have sadly lost many of our Kuia, Kaumatua and Pakeke, who were the repositories of Ngamotu's tribal knowledge. With their passing, it has meant the loss of some very important tribal history. I, as the researcher am now in my senior years, and am relying on informal audio recordings of my Aunties and Uncles, old photos that have been passed down by my mother and older sisters, information gathered from informal talks with people and data collected from the Maori land court records, museums records, newspaper articles, journals, thesis, unpublished papers, and books inclusive of historic literature and oral information from some key informants who have knowledge about the history of Ngamotu, and who provided some insight and moemoea (dream) into what they saw as the future for Ngamotu (Webber-Dreadon 1996)

We are all inheritors of a rich tradition, being the mokopuna of Ngamotu and Kihitu and it is important to recognise that the whenua, whanau and whakapapa are the fundamental concepts that are significantly symbolic to them, because they connect us to our history, and to our realities of today. The whenua (land) of Ngamotu and Kihitu have a history of many generations of occupation by our tipuna, not as the owners but as the kaitiaki (guardians) of it. Unfortunately western history has colonised such thoughts, and now we speak of

ownership, rather than belonging. We are the caregivers not the owners, and this study strongly supports such a notion of belonging. The following diagram illustrates the notion of belonging.

## Belonging

Belonging begins with **Au**, which is you and me. When we are born, we become part of a whan**au**, where we actively become a whan**aunga**, liken to be known as ‘someone’s bones’. The **Au** then repositions itself and moves on to be part of whan**aunga**tanga, a place where the **au**, (you and me) are able to make links with



other whanau (cousins). Here one readily re-adjusts and moves into whakawhan**aunga**, where a hui is actively preparing for the move gracefully in to whakawhan**aunga**tanga, a framework that connects and acknowledges the **au** as having a relationship with the whenua, whanau and whakapapa. It connects us to constitute a hapu (sub-tribe). Multiple hapu often unite, to strengthen their tribal affiliation, which currently has become known as Iwi, and again, it provides a sense of belonging and a place to stand (turangawaewae).

“It is a place ‘where the human element is symbolically portrayed like an entity to their founding parents, grandparents, great grandparents, (Matua, Kaumatua, Kuia) and the natural and esoteric dimensions” (Ruwhiu, 1994, p.2). Such a journey that begins with ‘**Au**’ (me), thereby being born into, signifies a journey of belonging.

While my reasons for selecting Ngamotu and Kihitu as my research topic might be regarded by some as being a 'romanticised folk tales' of our ancestors, I cling to the notion that this study will leave something significant for the mokopuna of Ngamotu to add or to refute. But knowingly they can say, “I am a mokopuna of Ngamotu”.

My journey in to this research began in 1995/6, when I wrote a poem very similar to the one that began this study, but the focus at that time was Mere Te Huia Apatari. Now there is a similar poem, with the same beat, but a different rhythm. Such poems have been catalyse for both my studies, because they centralise my thinking and give me focus.

### **The Mandate to Research**

The mandate for this rangahau (research) was laid down at the beginning of time by the story of Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatuanuku (Earth Mother).

*To position my discourse is to mark a place from which to speak*  
(Lather, 1991:8).

Ranginui the Sky Father saw Papatuanuku, Earth Mother below him, looking radiantly beautiful. With desire in his heart, he courted her and this resulted in a union and the birth of a number of children. Among the children was Tane, who with his siblings lived in a world of darkness between the enclosed bodies of their parents. Eventually, following a whanau hui (family meeting) held by the children, the majority of the children made a decision to part their parents. After several unsuccessful attempts by Tane's siblings, Tane tried. His first attempt was by standing and trying to push Ranginui upwards with the palms of his hand. When this did not succeed, having observed his siblings attempts and in his desperate search for

enlightenment, Tane stood on his head supported by his hands and shoulders and proceeded to push with his feet. This led to the separation of his parents, bringing about *te ao marama*, (the world of light into being) (Walker, 2004).

Following the separation of his parents and in his quest for knowledge, Tane was selected by his brothers, and in his changed form, following a special ritual, he became to be known as Tane-nui-a-rangi, who journeyed through the twelve heavens, in search of knowledge on behalf of his people, eventually returning with three baskets of knowledge; *te kete tuauri*, which held the knowledge of ritual, memory and prayer, *te kete tuatea* which contained the knowledge of evil or *makutu*, which was harmful to mankind but a necessary evil, and *te kete aronui*, which held the knowledge that could help all mankind. Tane-a-rangi then distributed the contents out onto mother earth, to be later discovered by humans for their use. (Walker 2004).

The following Kahungunu tauparapara is unique in its value, and it acknowledges and gives credence to 'earthly research' in the domain of Mātauranga Māori. (Buck 1977:449).

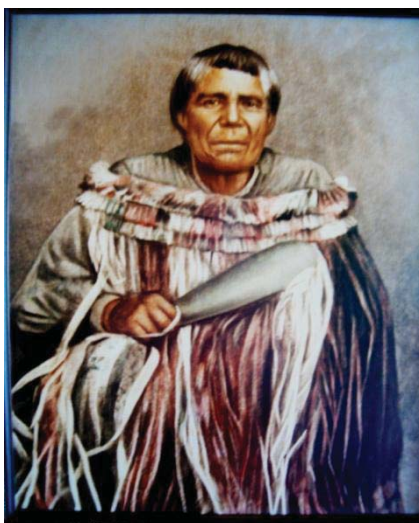
Tenei au, tenei au	Here am I swiftly moving by
Ko te hokai nei, taku Tapuwae	The power of my karakia for swift movement,
Ko te hokai-nuku	Swiftly moving over the earth
Ko te hokai rangi	Swiftly moving through the heavens
Ko te hokai a tipuna	The swift movement of our ancestor
A Tane-nui-a-rangi	Tane - nui - a - rangi
I pikitia ai	who climbed up
Ki te Rangi-tuhaha	to the isolated realms
Ki te Tihi-o-manono	to the summit of Manono
I rokohina atu	and there found
Ko Io-Matua-Kore anake	Io,the-parentless alone.
I riro iho ai	He brought back down
Nga kete o te Wananga	the Baskets of Knowledge
Ko te kete Tuauri	The basket called Tuauri
Ko te kete Tuatea	The basket called Tuatea
Ko te kete Aronui	The basket called Aronui
Ka tiritiria, ka poupoua,	Portioned out, planted

Ki Papatuanuku  
 Ki puta te Ira-tangata  
 Ki te whai-ao,  
 Ki te Ao Marama  
 Hui e, ui e, tai-iki e

in Mother Earth,  
 the life principle of humankind  
 comes forth into the dawn  
 Into the world of light.  
 I sneeze, there is life.

## The Journey

In the year 1996, I completed a study at Victoria University about Mere Te Huia Apatari, not realising at that time, it was going to take me on another journey.



**Mere Te Huia Apatari: He Tohu**

Mere Te Huia Apatari, is the daughter of Pita Hukinga and Whareke Makitau, and was born into this world about 1822; and passed away on the 21st January 1907 and is buried on the whenua of Ngamotu (14 1b). Her age was thought to be about 85 years. (Maori Land Court Records, Gisborne 1907).

Mere Te Huia Apatari met and married Henare Apatari somewhere about 1851 and of this union there were eight children. (Maori Land Court Records, Gisborne: Friday 19th March 1909).

(1) Harata Rumatiki Apatari (f) born about 1852.

(2) Ropitini Apatari (m), born about 1854.

(3) Harete Apatari, (f) born about 1856.

(4) Ema Apatari, born (f) about 1858.

(5) Henare Hohatana Apatari (m), born about 1860, died Manawatu 22 April 1918.



(6) Harakeke Apatari, born about 1862.

(7) Te Paea Apatari, (f) born about 1864.

(8) Nani Te Kerehi Apatari, (m) born about 1866, died Manutuke January 1909.

(Information supplied by Pita Hukinga Walker-Robinson.)

Following her marriage to Henare Apatari and the birth of their eight children, Mere Te Huia had a union with Tareha Te Moana Nui from Heretaunga. Not much is known how and why this union occurred, but it is my opinion, that the match was to acquire 'peace', because Tareha Te Moana Nui, a friend of the Colonials and Mere Te Huia and Henare Apatari were the friends of the Kingitanga Movement. From this union came Te Roera. Tareha. Te Moananui sent a message and asked Mere Te Huia if the child had a crooked little finger. When she replied yes, he asked her to come to him with the child. Instead Mere Te Huia sent her eldest daughter Harata Te Apatari with Te Roera. Following this Tareha Te Moana Nui, had a union with Harata Te Apatari and she gave birth to Kurupo Tareha. Harata remained with Tareha Te Moana Nui, and was his 'kai karanga' before battle (Te Paea Whaanga nee O'Keefe)

Mere Te Huia Apatari==Tareha Te Moana Nui==Harata Te Apatari [daughter of Mere Te Huia]  
                                   |                                  |  
                                   Te Roera Tareha                                  Kurupo Tareha

Mere Te Huia is not buried at the Okaka Urupa on Ngamotu, but instead at her request she was buried at the rear of the O'Keefe Homestead on Ngamotu 141b, by the totara tree that my Grandfather planted in 1946. She wanted to be buried there so her mokopuna could play, eat rest or just sit on her. In 1995/6 I wrote a poem very similar to the one at the start of this study. It has the same tune, but a different beat, driven by the passion of wanting to know.

As I sit aloft of Te Poti, overlooking Ngamotu and Kihitu, overseeing the whenua, I always seemed to have the same questions, who were our tipuna that settled on this whenua? Where did they come from? How did they come to be Ngamotu and Kihitu and why?

### **So many questions to ask, and so much more to know**

Over the past few years, we have sadly lost Kuia, Kaumatua and Pakeke, who were the repositories of Ngamotu and Kihitu's tribal and hapu history and knowledge. With their passing has meant the loss of some very important tribal and hapu history. I, as the researcher am now in my senior years, and am relying on informal audio recordings of my Aunties and Uncles, formal interviews with six participants, old photos that have been passed down by my mother and older sisters, information and data collected from the Maori Land Court records, museum records, newspaper articles, journals, thesis, unpublished papers, and books inclusive of historic literature, oral information from key informants who have knowledge about the history of Ngamotu, and who provided some insight and moemoea (dream) as to what they see as the future for Ngamotu and Kihitu (Webber-Dreadon, 1996)

Fundamentally research is a Western paradigm based on western philosophies and values, but as a mokopuna of Ngamotu and Kihitu, my choice of method for this study was to apply a kaupapa Maori approach as the research engine. This determined the methods of exploration and the **people's** voices, that need to be heard. It was once explained to me by my Kaumatua that Maori research (rangahau) has no end; it goes on forever in a never ending cycle of life. He went on to say that Maori are tribal and communal peoples, who together have a voice that acknowledges the past and the present, and for that reason what we do now, will be our future (Harongo, 2009). As I sit aloft of Te Poti, with nothing but the gentle swirling of the wind and a peaceful silence, I look out over the whenua and I wonder.

### **Memories**

As a child, I thought that Ngamotu and Wairoa were the only places that existed in the world. I believed that there was nothing beyond the hills that surrounded us, that the ocean went on forever and the Wairoa Hopupu Hongenge Matangirau River stopped around the corner somewhere eventually. It was the centre of my universe.

I remembered Ngamotu and Kihitu as being a very busy community. Cows, sheep and a few horses grazed, beautiful flowers gardens, and most of all, huge vegetable gardens. Matua Blake (2008) explains that the Mick Barrett, the agent responsible for organising the sale of vegetables to the Market in Napier, said that “Kihitu was once the ‘kai-basket’ of Napier”. But my question still remains why is Ngamotu so bereft of people still and why is there so little use of the land, agriculturally or horticulturally?

Now as time has moved on, and I sit aloft of Te Poti, I wonder if any of my whanau from Ngamotu or Kihitu feels the same as me, and have they ever wondered how our tipuna (ancestors) came to be at Ngamotu and Kihitu?

### **A Look into my thoughts**

I am the youngest of my mother's twenty one children and my Dads twelve, and a whangai (foster) into a whanau of four. As a child, my parents and I lived in 3 railway huts bolted together with a lean-to, with a further hut attached, surrounded by a corrugated iron fence. My mother, (as were my Aunties) was fastidiously clean and everything in our whare was spotlessly clean. People in the community spoke of her cleanliness, so much so one could almost eat off the floors of our house. Even the timbered 'long drop' wharepaku (toilet) was like it had been sanded and 'smoothed' by a professional sander, but in fact it had been scrub and scrubbed by my mother using sand soap and a scrubbing brush. Even the toilet paper (newspaper in those days) had to be cut exactly the same size.

My Dad, David Webber is the son of Makere Karmara (Gemmell) and George Henry Webber who lived in their time, at Turiroa, where my Grandfather was a 'telephone' linesman. My Dad was at one time an Overseer on the Ministry of Public Works in Wairoa. He looked very Pakeha, even though his mother was 'tuturu' Maori, and was unable to speak English. She was from Waihirere Road, area of Wairoa.



Makere Karmara (Gemmell) aka Pepi & George Henry Webber:

My Paternal Grandfather was born in the Otaki in 1854. His father migrated from Torbay England in 1817 and his mother from Kent in England in 1824. My Dad was fluent in te reo Maori and often spoke on the Marae. I remember my Mum being the 'kai karanga' and my Dad on the 'paepae', pacing back and forth, talking flat-out, throwing his hands in the air and making gestures, frothing at the mouth and me thinking it was so funny, but not daring to say anything for fear of getting a clip around the ears.

The oddest thing at that time for me was how my mother and father, with my grandmother and other whanau spoke te reo Maori to each other, but not to any of us kids. As I grew up, I remember asking my parent to teach me te reo, but they said it was not going to get me a job or get me anywhere in life, so forget it. I remember my Mother and Father telling me how they were punished for speaking te reo at school. My mother said she often had her mouth washed out with soap for speaking te reo, which was her first language. My Dad also spoke fluent te reo Maori and got punished if he was caught, which was often. He said he would just slip into it, and then he would end up getting the cane, and not being able to sit down for a few days. There are so many memories, but the importance of those memories did not come to me until later in my life.

Going to Ngamotu/Kihitu, and on the way stopping in to see my Grandmother, Matengahere O'Keefe nee Kainamu, was a treat for me. It was where I learnt to drink tea with condense milk. On occasions I would sit with her under the pohutukawa tree and scrape her apple so she could eat it. She had no teeth and couldn't



Maternal Grandparents: Matengahere O'Keefe nee Kainamu and Hone O'Keefe

bite into it. I couldn't fathom that out because when we went to Tangi or attended church or any special occasions, she always had teeth. I recall my cousin Bill (participant) telling me that one day when he was going into town on the school bus, my Grandmother got on the bus to go to town. It was the only mode of transport for most of the residents living at Ngamotu/Kihitu. Anyway, he said "I happen to look over and here was Nanny taking her teeth out. Well I tried and I tried to do the same, but couldn't. I just could not comprehend it". But most of all I loved the numerous visits to Ngamotu/Kihitu, a place that I really didn't realise just how important it was going to be to me. It was not until the death of my grandmother and my parents that I came to realise just how important this whenua is to me.

I remember riding back and forth from Wairoa to Kihitu (as it was named then) and Kihitu to Wairoa on my Uncle Harry's open green Ford Model T, with a trail of dust left behind. It never bothered me it was all an adventure. Ngamotu as I remembered was a busy community, with people coming and going, tangihanga, people working in their vegetable and flower gardens, milking cows and then of course the celebrations, like my Aunty Gran and Uncle Ruddy getting married on the Marae and I was their flower girl.

### **What Now 2012**

Today there are three tired looking houses, three derelict cottages and our Marae which stands proudly at the T junction of Ngamotu and Te Rauhina Road. Our Wharenui is named after our tipuna, Te Rauhina who is a woman of 'note' and the Wharekai is named Teio, after her gentle nature.

Ngamotu and Kihitu are so desolate now. There is little of any agricultural or horticultural use; but instead she presents us with corsages of blackberries and gorse along the river bank, the drains, some paddocks and along fence lines. On occasions one or two of the paddocks have had viable grass that was used for the grazing of a few stock, or for growing squash or corn, but not much else. In my cousin Tini's (participant) interview, she explained that the Marae Committee wanted to build a 'papakainga' around our Marae, but was turned down by the local Council for health reasons. It didn't matter she said that Ngamotu/Kihitu before our time and even during our time, that there was a fairly big community of people living there and they survived.

Whilst I have never lived on Ngamotu, I have always been a regular visitor, not necessary for tangihunga or celebrations, but just to visit the Okaka Urupa where my Mother, Grandparents, Sisters, Brothers, Aunties, Uncle, Cousins, Great Grandmother, Great Grand Aunts and other members of our hapu rest, and to visit my Great Great Grandmother Mere Te Huia Apatari (nee Hukinga – Manatuke and Muriwai) who rests on the block of Ngamotu 14.1b, and to sit on Te Poti and ponder, where are the people?

### **Imperialism: The Highway to Colonisation, Assimilation and Urbanisation**

Said (1994) explains imperialism as being a theory of dominance in particular of the less developed countries, by using power, control and influence to subdue the people of that land. He further explains that Britain was one of the most powerful forces in the world, and used active colonialism to build up their empires whether it was by force or influences, they didn't care. Supporting this is Michael Parenti (2011) agrees and explains imperialism as a country that extends its power and dominion over another country, and used Obama and Iraq as such an example, where material interests are at stake.

Aotearoa New Zealand was just one such country that was systematically colonised by the British with the aid of Missionaries and Christianity. They reasoned their *cultural superiority* as being a far better thing to do to help the natives, who were deemed to be primitive. This has left our people, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, dislocated and dislodged from their social and cultural tribal links and spiritual beliefs.

In fact some Maori have taken on the persona of the Coloniser, which further disconnected Maori from their culture and their turangawaewae, and this is no different for the people from Ngamotu/Kihitu.

## **Racism and Bigotry**

Regrettably colonisation and racist comment continue, even today. Last year, I asked one of my English friend and colleague. "Do you think that Maori and Pakeha relationships have improved since you have been here? She said *"You are not Pakeha Emma; Pakeha people are still continuing to be callous with their racist and callous remarks."*

Further evidence of racism and bigotry I noted a form of prejudice in the letters to the Editor of our local free newspaper.

Three of these as follow:-

### **(1) New Zealand a Nation Divided by Apartheid**

When are the apathetic citizens of New Zealand going to wake up to Maori greed? By using false claims not mentioned in the Treaty of Waitangi, they have now acquired \$37 billion in land, forestry, fishing rights, building and cash. Now they are trying to claim water – which is so outrageous to be almost funny... ....Why should the part Maori of this country be given shares? They have enough money to buy as many shares as they wish , but the fact remains they did not design or build these large power companies, so what rights do they have? They are for the benefit of all New Zealanders... ...Maori are now blackmailing the Government and their constant demands are costing decent New Zealanders millions of dollars in litigation fees. We are a nation divided by apartheid and need a strong Government to say 'enough is enough! When the Chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, Governor Hobson said "He iwi tahi tatou – We are one people now'. What a mockery that statement is today (The Weekend Sun Friday 03 August 2012)

## **(2) Fairy Stories in Fantasyland**

“Well, I know this is the land of Hobbits, but it seems some inhabitants really believe in fairy stories. We are told of spirits guiding waterways, mountains falling in and out of love, owning the sea etc. How educated people in positions of power can stand in front of TV cameras and spurt the cloud cuckoo land stories beggar’s belief. I thought I had come to live in a beautiful well developed modern society... It is 2012, not the 1800’s. Get use to it, and as the correct Treaty says, ‘one people’, we should all work together for the benefit of all, not the few” (The Weekend Sun, 21 September 2012).

## **(3) With Ownership: Responsibility**

Shame on all the narrow minded critics, regarding iwi ownership of water and wind. Why can’t they all see the big picture? I own my car and if I cause damage with it I am libel, and must pay for damage to property or possible imprisonment if causing serious harm or death. If damage or death should occur from flooding or severe wind, the local Iwi will therefore be responsible for the water or wind that caused such damage or death. Would they be liable for compensation or imprisoned? Of course I’m not suggesting the entire Iwi should go to prison at the same time but they could elect a suitable candidate maybe their Maori MP? (The Weekend Sun, 21 September 2012).

One wonders why people espouse such thoughts, without research. But it does show that some of our Treaty Tangata partners do not understand who we are and where we and our ancestors have come from, and the damage that the colonial invasion has done to our people, and they simply don’t want to know either.

I have often wondered what life would have been like if the Declaration of Impendence in 1835 was utilised, rather than Te Tiriti o Waitangi.



## **Morsels of History**

The first contact by colonialism with Maori, began somewhere around the 1769 (Williams, 1969), when smaller groups like the whalers, sealers and missionaries began to arrive as casual visitors, but during the period of 1820 and the 1830's Colonials began arriving in droves (Williams 1969) and with them came Christianity, which brought immense changes to the Maori way of life. Whilst many Maori resisted colonialism, they slowly began to succumb to accept the 'white man's' God, and accepted such facets of the colonial life style, culture and religion, which flourished amongst Maori, but they did not understanding what that might mean for them and their mokopuna (Woller, 2005).

In 1840, the relationship between Maori and Colonials were fairly agreeable, and with the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Maori thought it was going to support the two cultures to work together, not as one people, but as two peoples. However rising tensions around land sales led to conflict in the 1860s and social turmoil and land wars broke out and there was a rapid decline in the Maori population.

## **Missionaries and Christianity**

There have been many questions as to whether the Missionaries and Christianity played a part in the colonisation of Maori. Woller (2005, pg 26) explains that "with the arrival of Missionaries to Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1800's, had a huge impact on Maori and in fact was one of the main contributing factors of their colonisation". He described "Christianity... as being ... a part of the wider historical impact of colonisation and tensions created by the clash of two very different cultures". Maori customs and beliefs were ridiculed, and seen as depraved and warped by the Missionaries who described them as being unnatural, unworldly and non-Christian. Maori myths, legends and traditions were also ridiculed and eventually these were taken over by the Christian era, with their bibles and their parables (Lange 1999). Walker (1990, pg. 58) supports Wollers (2005) explanation that "the missionaries were the cutting edge of colonialism" and goes on to say "they took this role secure in the belief of their cultural superiority".

Maori accepted the Missionaries as their only salvation and the Bible was presented as a subtle substitute for the direct link between Maori and the new Pakeha God. Woller (2005, pg 23), explains that, “there was a strong spiritual belief within traditional Maori society”...but “the impact of literacy and the escalated availability of the Bible increased the spread of Christianity beliefs by Maori Missionaries”... and so too did ...“attempts to incorporate the new beliefs with traditional Maori beliefs. The traditional aspirations in Maori spirituality weakened and many Maori succumbed to Pakeha rituals and practices, which lead Maori to such faiths as Paimarie, Ringatu and Ratana. These faiths supplied the spiritual faith to struggle against Pakeha political and cultural domination. The continued biblical view of one god was preached which eventually replaced the ‘many gods’ concepts to a single god for Maori. Many Maori found this difficult to accept, but unknowingly those mokopuna from Ngamotu were not any different, as they in their ‘faith’ moved to Ringatu (Webber-Dreadon 1995) and in my Grandparents time moved to follow the Ratana faith.

Christianity speaks in a singular approach to religion by adherence to one god; but in traditional times Maori believed that there were many different and diverse gods. Such an examples of this is Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatuanuku (Earth Mother) who were the parents of seventy plus Gods, but the major eight Gods; were Tumatauenga (God of War), Tawhirimatea (God of Weather and the wind), Tane-Mahuta-- God of the Forests, Tangaroa – God of the Sea, Rongo - God of Peace and Cultivated plants, Haumia-Tiketike -- God of wild plants, Rehua -- Antares (Star) and Raumoko -- God of Earthquakes.

## **Colonialism**

Colonialism, and its effect on Maori has unquestionably bought with it a process of near annihilation, but Maori have shown their resilience even in the face of devastation and by the start of the 20th century, the Maori population began to increase and by the 1960's, there was a revival and an increase in te reo Maori, Maori art, music, and literature. But the majority of Maori even now, still have significant economic and social obstacles to overcome, including poverty and dependency on the State in forms of benefits. Maori are also continuing to have a lower life expectancies, lower incomes and unknowingly are still seen as 2<sup>nd</sup> class citizens, with a high level of criminal records, health problems and under-achievements within the educational sector.

However, with the ever ongoing and continuation of colonial influence, together with tinges of racism, Maori are being attacked and accused of generating separatism, but it is my notion that Maori only want their 'tino rangatiratanga' and mauri-ora (wellbeing) returned to them, by having their own schools, their own health services and their own social service agencies. In my experience as a Social Worker and an Educator, I have found that Kohunga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and Wananga, including writers such as Graham and Linda Tuiwhai Smith, Eddie and Mason Durie, Ranginui Walker and many others have become saviours for our mokopuna Maori. But is that enough?

### **Kingitanga Movement'**

In the early 1850s, the Kingitanga Movement was established, reacting to the rapid sales and confiscation of Maori land by the Colonials. The movement was firstly initiated by Tamihana Te Rauparaha, the son of Te Rauparaha from Ngati Toa, following a meeting with Queen Victoria. He felt that the establishment of a similar movement would achieve unity amongst tribes and jointly they could put a stop to the loss of Maori land. Founded in 1856, the Kingitanga Movement is one of New Zealand's longest-standing institutions. . when the Waikato chief Potatau Te Wherowhero was nominated as the first Maori King.

My great great grandfather Henare Apatari was an avid supporter of the Kingitanga Movement and the retention of land. He often travelled to Turanga (Gisborne), to speak in support of the Movement, and the retention of land. For his services, the Maori King of the day gifted him a flour mill (Lambert 1977), which he transported back to Wairoa, but the cost of transporting the Mill back to Wairoa and to erect it was very expensive, so it was stored in a shed and eventually rusted away.

### **Assimilation**

"Active assimilation demanded that Maori adopt the psyche and behaviour of Pakeha, whilst the same society continued to discriminate against them for being Maori." (Kelsy, 1990. pg: 18-19). Te Momo (2004; pg 5) says that "monocultural state education, sanitised the history of Aotearoa New Zealand, and suppressed the language and rationalised Maori as failures" and thus a 'welfare state' was established (Oliver, 1988). Such a

concept was instituted by Brash (2011) on the premise that Aotearoa New Zealand was 'one nation of people', and nuclear families were normal. Tino rangatiratanga, Crisford (2003, pg 3), informs us, was not represented in a welfare state because Maori sovereignty pursued a nation governed by two people, Maori and Pakeha. What was most concerning at that time was the Maori culture, language and practices which were treated as mere commodities and Maori almost became refugees in their own country

In traditional Maori times, the whanau was the place where initial teaching and socialisation began. It was much more than an extended family social unit. This is well supported by Joan Metge (1995) and Mason Durie, (1994). Metge makes a significant comment when she indicated that in Maori terms, the 27<sup>th</sup> cousin is whanau. These relationships are based on kinship ties because they all shared a common ancestor, where certain responsibilities and obligations were observed and maintained. But colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation over time have forced Maori into family type arrangements, influenced by society and socio-economic realities. While there have been various exposures to traditional cultural practices by Maori, there was nothing in particular that rationalises or signifies Maori identity (Durie, 1994).

### **Urbanisation**

In the late 1930's to 1946, colonisation and urbanisation began to sweep through the country and these were not only detrimental on Maori throughout the country, it had a significant impact on the people of Ngamotu. Food, such as wild pigs, fish, seafood, vegetables and potatoes were no longer a 'bargaining commodity', and money was a necessary requirement to survive and this resulted in many Maori communities having to relocate themselves from their rural 'turangawaewae' (their place to stand), to the towns or cities in order to financially survive. Eventually, around the 1960's there was an increase in public responsiveness to Maori, but there still continued to be a cultural dislocation for Maori, and once again for the mokopuna of Ngamotu/Kihitu.

Those who had moved away, in order to get work to survive, often left whanau behind to look after the whenua, but this was not a viable option because of the land rates, taxes, transport, and fuel costs that had been put in place by the Pakeha systems. No one could afford to stay and work the land horticulturally or

agriculturally, because of the crippling financial liability. Nobody really saw or understood the devastation this caused Maori, and this was no different for the people of Ngamotu/Kihitu. This further broke down the social structure of Maori and further isolated them from their tribal and hapu lands. As such, Maori became reliant on benefit payments in order to survive, and this created a generation of Maori dependency on the state's welfare system. Walker (1990: pg 280) maintains that this has been "traced back to the root of Maori dependency and the history of colonisation". Kelsey (1996: pg 5) thereby also contents that "this lead to 'poverty' amongst Maori' who were still trying to cope with the systematic destruction of their culture, their economic systems, social grouping and political issues". Even in the current climate, colonisation, assimilation, urbanisation and racism continue to reign, and is still problematic for Maori, who have so far managed to resist a 'one nation people', because their world views and social structures are very different to Pakeha.

Ngamotu/Kihitu was just one of the many rural areas, where whanau were forced to move into the town or cities to find work, to feed themselves and their children. The only jobs in the town of Wairoa, if you had no qualifications meant having to labour at the local Freezing Works, on the Railways, or with the Ministry of Works. More than often, those whanau who left their land and moved to the cities to find better jobs, left with little or no education or skills, and few had qualifications, so labouring was the only work they could get. There were very few whanau, who moved to seek qualifications for themselves or to support their children to attend University, and those left behind of their own reconnaissance, felt it was ok to remain in Wairoa because it provided what they needed, and they were not too far from their turangawaewae. More than often, Maori think they are not able to study, to qualify themselves by attending Polytechnics or Universities, including Te Wanga o Raukawa, Awanui-a-rangi and y to or such, a process

My Aunty Gran told me how when they lived at Ngamotu, Uncle would biked the 12 kilometers to work at the Freezing Works. The road was windy, gravel and rough. Then he began to row his boat across the river to where he kept his bike and would ride on the tar sealed roads to work. To own a car was a rarity at Ngamotu. The only mode of public transport to and from Ngamotu/Kihitu was the school bus. The school children who missed the bus after school had to walk back to Ngamotu (O'Keefe 2009). Aunty said it wasn't too bad. They

would walk from the North Clyde School, along the Ngamotu road and then cross over the Okaka hill and down into Ngamotu.

### **The Return of our Servicemen**

Those who came home at the end of World War II, and who lived at Ngamotu/Kihitu, came home more colonised than when they went. In those days alcohol was available to Maori men, but not Maori women. Some of those return servicemen from Ngamotu/Kihitu began taking their mates and alcohol back to Ngamotu/Kihitu. Parties would start and eventually so did the fights, and domestic violence. Nobody seemed to care about the violence in those days. I know I was a child of that era.

Maori worldviews, culture, te reo and the true essence of Maori social structures, is what makes Maori different to other cultures. The social structures are the fundamental essentials and positioning that need to be legitimised and understood. Whilst Maori tradition has been slowly eroded away by colonisation, assimilation, modernisation and urbanisation, Maori worldviews are beginning to be heard, because they remain important to Maori. It helps us to understand why we are almost invisible in our generosity, outside of our own community. Socially the collection of resources, that an individual or a group has access to through relationships, have an on-going network that features within a social structure, such as relationships and social trust for a common and mutual benefit for a common purpose. This shows that Maori are evolving and proclaiming their identity.

The late 1960's and early 1970's and 1980, brought about the beginning of a modern renaissance by Maori. Whilst culture, language and practices began as a mere instrument of 'tokenism' by the Government of the day, and at times a 'political football' of social power by exploitation and the practice of imperialism, social justice and social control, Maori began to claim back their 'tino rangatiratanga'. Maori academics and educators such as, Graham Smith, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Kath Irwin, Mason Durie, Eddie Durie, Taina and Hariata Pohatu, Aroha Mead, Fiona Cram, Leland Ruwhi and Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata, to name a few are now writing from a distinct and different approach to western thinking. Maori are beginning to determine and

define their process for Maori by Maori and with Maori. In order to do this, Maori recognise and respect community norms, because they representing Maori worldviews that are determined by an engagement that offers Maori frameworks, for Maori to engage in and to be 'culturally safe' in (Irwin, 1994).

But the issue is not about rags and riches or colonial factors; it is about us as mokopuna of Ngamotu/Kihitu. How can we, re-attach ourselves back to our whenua and our turangawewae (place to stand), to regain our 'tino rangatiratanga' and mauri-ora (wellbeing) as of right?

## CHAPTER 2

## THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Nurture the whenua, Nurture the people and 'ahi kaa' will burn bright again  
(Webber-Dreadon 2011)

### **Rangahau, Tikanga and Kaupapa Māori - Transformative Idols**

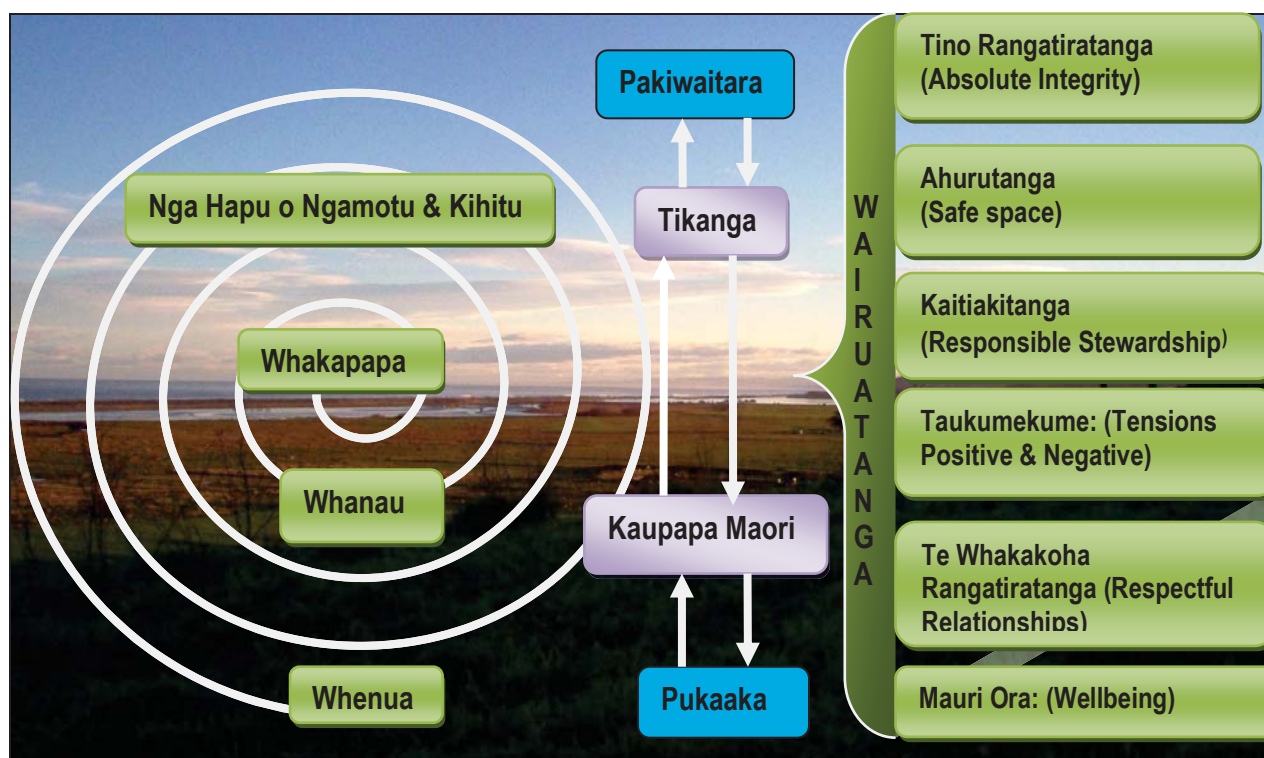
The construct of this study is based on a branch of philosophy that positions rangahau (research) and matauranga Maori as the research mechanism that accompanies tikanga and kaupapa Maori. Rangahau (research) gathers and speaks of the collective narratives that provide the chronicles of a transformative outcome, with a collective vision, mutual objectives and a sound purpose (Smith, 2007). Arm in arm, they are the 'hoa-harere' (companion) of this research that speak to the aspirations of the community where this research is centred, and together they are able to make a valued contribution to the whenua and the people of Ngamotu/Kihitu. These Maori bodies of knowledge in association with Pakeha bodies of knowledge are compatible for this research, because they provide a principled two-way communication that allows information to flow between two parties, and with a principled approach it can orchestrate a sense of Maori worldviews. The Awhiowhio (See Chapter 2) scaffolds and encourages the significant factors of this research, and it is nurtured by nga takepu (Fig 1), which Pohatu (2004) describes as being a principled approach. Such an approach is not only beneficial to this research, but also to the ethos of whenua, whanau, whakapapa of Ngamotu.

### **Introduction**

This chapter discusses the methodology and the 'Awhiowhio' a framework that accommodates 'nga takepu' (Pohatu, 2004/2009), a set of principles that have guided this research. The principles are inclusive of wairuatanga, a spiritual hypothesis that embraces not only the principles, but also the whenua, the whanau and the whakapapa of nga hapu o Ngamotu and Kihitu. Further, attached to the Awhiowhio are two signposts that speak; 'te pakiwaitara' a more formal narrative with a prescribed construct, and 'te pukaaka,' the knowing and telling of stories known or handed down. These companioned with tikanga and kaupapa Maori are the



‘determinates’ that link these bodies of knowledge.



The 'Awhiowhio', companioned with nga takepu (Pohatu 2004), as a principled approach to this rangahau (research)

### The Awhiowhio Framework

The Awhiowhio framework is positioned on the whenua of Ngamotu and Kihitu purposely, as it adds another dimension that invites us as mokopuna of Ngamotu and Kihitu, to become involved within it and to seek out and learn more about ourselves individually and collectively, and to raise not only our own learning about Ngamotu and Kihitu, but to pass it on to our mokopuna so that they will know our stories, our history and our whakapapa, because it is these that pre-determine the pathways for us and our mokopuna. The importance is to know who we are, who we belong to and who belongs to us.

The approach to this research and its positioning is encompassed on and within the 'awhiowhio', infused by 'nga takepu', which Pohatu (2004) articulates as being applied principles to work by, and which we can use in our every day work. They are shrouded with the korowai of 'wairuatanga' that reinforces the physical, the philosophy and the spiritual connections to embrace all elements of our identity as Maori, but more so as

mokopuna of Ngamotu and Kihitu. It holds the intentions of this research, as being honourable (Haronga, 2009). These factors sit within the 'awhiowhio' to assisted and provided a unique and valuable insight into the land and the workings of the people of this research, which are inclusive of the cultural and environmental components that are spiritual and tribally based. It also acknowledges the importance of the people of Ngamotu and Kihitu, and those who were participants of this research who illustrated their love of this land, with a philosophy of reciprocity, generosity and co-operation (Jahnke & Taipa, 1999). With this view, the spiritual notion of *wairuatanga* encompasses the whenua, whanau, whakapapa and hapu, driven by a theoretical basis as it is positioned alongside nga takepu principles. Pohatu (2004) further explains that nga takepu are honourable and shaped by Maori wisdoms, and integrated within those principles is an expectation of respectfulness, integrity and reverence to be truly operative. Also it is important to consider the 'awhiowhio' as the frame work and nga takepu as the principle guides for this research, embraced by wairua because they are all important companions in life.

In considering these factors, the question now is why is Ngamotu and Kihitu so bereft of her people and how can we return the mauri (wellbeing) of Ngamotu and Kihitu collectively?

Such a question centralises the qualitative research method used, which is inclusive of a 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (face to face) approach as set down by our tipuna, as an appropriate approach for research. It let the participants and the researcher to speak in their cultural way, with an infusion of cultural variances and methods that allows the researcher with the participants to gather in the specified gifts and to process them. These thereby related to the approach, the design, the practice, the style, the technique, and the way in which the data was collected, processed and analysed. Smith & Bishop (1997) explain that when choosing a methodology it needs to be congruent to the worldview of the participants and researcher, and constructed in one's own values, beliefs, customs, philosophies, ideologies and culture, to give justification to the approach undertaken by the researcher.

The following is the construct and explanation of 'Nga Takepu', gifted by Matua Taina Pohatu in 2004. These gave life to the principles and directions of this research and even further to follow, in our daily lives.

<b>NGA TAKEPU (Pohatu 2004)</b>	
<b>Tino Rangatiratanga (Absolute Integrity)</b>	Each individual has her or his unique qualities, genealogy and sovereignty. However it is how one displays this among his or her peers, and or if people will recognise this or not.
<b>Te Ahururutanga (Safe Space)</b>	Space was important for Iwi, as this meant survival or death to a tribe. To invade another Iwi space without discussion first meant war. Space was agreed with certain conditions, for example if an inland Iwi wanted to gather food from tangaroa, it could mean an arranged marriage so as to allow that Iwi or whanau to utilise this resource.
<b>Kai Tiakitanga (Responsible Stewardship)</b>	Kai tiakitanga is a value everyone has in different portions. It is a value that is placed on the importance of something such as land, river, forests, oceans and children and their children. We all responsible to look after our natural resources and our children and their children.
<b>Tau Kumekume (Tensions – Negative and Positive)</b>	<p>In the story of the separation of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, some of their children agreed to separate their parents because they could not live in such an environment. However there was a problem as to who was the right person to carry this out. Eventually, Tane Mahuta was the person who performed this task.</p> <p>With the task done, he was later chosen by his older and younger brothers, in his changed form as Tane-nui-a-ranga to climb the twelve heavens in research of the three baskets of knowledge from Io Matua Kore.</p> <p>Before the separation of their parents, Ruamoko disagreed with the separation and became an enemy. Whiro, another brother also disagreed because the brothers had left Ruamoko with Papatuanuku, and he to become an enemy of his brothers. Tawhirimatea also became an enemy, because he did not want his parents separated. Tane, through his courage and unique qualities, managed to accomplish the tasks, through perseverance and diligence.</p>
<b>Te Whakakoha Rangatiratanga (Respectful Relationships)</b>	This will only happen, if the person has respect for one's self. When a person has respect for themselves, then respect for others will come. Acknowledgement and respect follows those who display it meaningfully
<b>Mauri ora (Progressive Energy &amp; Wellbeing)</b>	When something or someone has been lovingly cared for and nourished, it will flourish and grow accordingly, however something or someone who has been neglected, they will have very little mauri ora.

In addition there are a further six principles (Fig 2) that Pohatu (2008) enlightens us about being research principles, that can be understood not only by Maori, but by non-Maori also. To appreciate these unique bodies of Maori knowledge is the point of understanding the representational layers of each takepu. By applying both these sections of nga takepu and takepu to this research, ensured a safe philosophical pathway, not only for me as the researcher, but for the participants taking part also.

Takepu	Rethinking Research Approaches
<b>Ahurutanga</b>	Space that is constantly striven for to enable the pursuit of best practice research in any kaupapa undertaken.
<b>Tino Rangatiratanga</b>	The constant recognition of the absolute integrity of people in their kaupapa relationships, and positions in any research activity engaged with.
<b>Mauri-ora</b>	The constant acknowledgement that at the core of any research kaupapa and approach is the pursuit of wellbeing.
<b>Te Whakakoha Rangatiratanga</b>	The constant recognition that crucial to successful research engagement outcomes is the conscious application of appropriate respectfulness in relation with kaupapa and people, at the social, cultural, intellectual, emotional, economic and spiritual levels.
<b>Kaitiakitanga</b>	The constant acknowledgement that participants in any research kaupapa is part of relationships with others, their environments, and kaupapa, with stewardship, purpose and obligations, either to or of.
<b>Tau Kumekume</b>	The constant recognition of the reality and presence of positions held in any research kaupapa and the tension, either positive or negative, that will bring layers of interpretation.
<b>A Kaupapa Maori Research Pathway (Pohatu 2008)</b>	

Kaupapa Maori is about the retention of traditional Kaupapa Maori approaches which has stood the test of time. From it, we as Maori can learn how to enrich our uniqueness of being Maori, and with it we are able to explore a world-view from within matauranga and its values, knowledge, ethics and being Maori focused.

There is no one research methodology that is better than the other, but the methodology used is dependent on the culture of the people being researched, the questions being asked and the theory used

(Davidson & Tolich, 2003). Kirby & McKenna (1989) support such a notion explaining that a research approach should also be culturally appropriate and comfortable for the researcher and the participants.

### **Tikanga as a Transformative Theory (Webber-Dreadon 2010)**

Tikanga is underpinned by core values, ethics and principles governed by Maori politically, legally, socially and spiritually and are regarded as being proper, right, just and fair. In this context tikanga is defined as the 'way(s) of doing things' and thinking, values, beliefs, concepts and spirituality' which we as Maori have inherited and practised today.

Tikanga is flexible, adaptable and can be unified to fit within the many demands of an occasion or as a new circumstance. But it does not fit neatly with western notions, because of its transportable application. Such an example of this is the tangihanga process. Tikanga is guided by traditional core values and principles which in turn guides the process of how one should act and behave at a tangihanga, but this could vary from one tribe to another. In evidence, there was an occasion when I attended a tangi, (not my roohe) and it was the men who lead. The Kai Karanga was behind the lead Kaumatua, with the tane behind her and the wahine followed behind them.

Tikanga Maori is infinite, inestimable and immeasurable and as a theory it is even more difficult to clarify compartmentalises or makes comparisons with or about any other cultural frameworks, because the value base is different. It is based on whanau, hapu, iwi and those within those communities, and the relationships that are the central points of whanau relationships. Such an approach is important and most appropriate for Maori to carry out such research round whenua, whanau and whakapapa. As a theory, it is even more difficult to clarify, as Mead (2003) explains that tikanga Maori and its practices have been 'suppressed and denied' to Maori for hundreds of years, and it still exists today. While Maori have begun to claim back, what is rightfully theirs, colonisation, assimilation, and Christianity continue to subtly demoralise Maori rights still. But Kaupapa Maori in terms of this research and its methodology, are committed to Maori values and principles, which are expressed throughout this thesis. These values are enclose within nga takepu principles (Pohatu 2004) for the

benefit of this thesis, which is designed to attend to various 'rituals of encounters' when preparing and carrying out the interviews. Karakia and whanaungatanga governed the methods, and nga takepu guide and act as the internal framework of reference. Inclusively they are the sign posts that mark the physical and cultural safety of the participants and researchers, and in the first instant making sure that what I asked and saying was 'tika' (right), because it is governs my decision making as the researcher (Jahnke, Taiapa 2003).

Over hundreds of years the practice and understanding of tikanga has evolved, depending on what timeframe one was born into. For me, tikanga came to me in 1986, while attending a Course for Maori Polytechnic tutors in Wellington, where I wrote this poem, and unthinkably left it on my bed in the whare.



### **Expectations**

I am torn  
Am I a Maori or am I a Pakeha?  
I am of both I say

Pakeha ask me "are you a Maori?"

Maori say "you are a Maori.

But I am both I say.

### **Always Expectations!**

Pakeha people say "you're Maori, you can sing"

You are a Maori, you can play a guitar

Why can't you speak Maori?

You must be able to!"

### **Always Expectations!**

Maori people say,

"You can't speak Maori!  
 You must be a plastic then,  
 Brown on the outside, white on the inside  
 Throw away those books, come to the Marae

### **Always Expectations!**

It is so hard to answer,  
 Because the Marae is my soul, as a Maori  
 And the books are my learning as a person"

### **Always Expectations**

What can I say, because I am Maori?  
 But I don't know Maori

### **Expectations**

*Emma (1985)*

At this same course was Tariana Turia, who obviously saw and read my poem that I had left on my bed in the Whare, which was next to her bed, and she wrote

### *To Bubs aka Emma (1985)*

Your heart seems deeply troubled my friend  
 I can feel it in your words  
 Yet, you really have no choice,  
 For you are Maori

Confusion has been in us all  
 For we have been conditioned  
 To a particular way of life  
 Just like our tipuna, we were given no choice

But, soon you will feel whole  
 As whole as you can ever be  
 At times lonely, at times confused, but at peace  
 For you will realise, you have no choice  
 You are Maori

*Tariana Turia (Arohanui ki a koe) 1985*

This changed my life!



1988

Who Am I?

I am women,

A proud Maori woman

Like a wilted rose, I was given knowledge

And I revived

Who am I?

I am women

A proud Maori woman,

And now I know who I am!

Traditionally, Maori social and society structures were unique, as were their oral traditions and knowledge, which were not always available to others, with the exception of entrusted members of a whanau, hapu and iwi. For example a 'tohunga' had a role to protect traditional knowledge that was considered to be tapu (Smith, 1986). Thus, in this current day when knowledge is examined from a Maori perspective, it is variable and can take on many different meanings. Tikanga is a prime example of this because it is variable. It can adapt to change, and work in two dimensions at times, which has not always been easy, particularly when we are expected, or asked to water down tikanga (Wallace, 2008). This is example by the Principles of Treaty o Waitangi.

Maori continue to pursue their own unique wisdom and only through their perseverance, tikanga, kaupapa and matauranga Maori have survived. It might not have been, as our ancestor's would have liked, but tikanga has come out into the light now and is being valued within Maori debates and discussions (Webber-Dreadon, 2010). Examples of this are the three Whare Wananga within Aotearoa now, Te Wananga o Raukawa, Te



Wananga o Aotearoa and Te Whare Wananga Awanuiarangi who are holding their own, within the indigenous world. Inclusively are the Kohunga Reo and Kura Kaupapa, which provides evidence that there is a determination by Maori to retain their own knowledge base (McClintock, 2001 pg 5).

Tikanga Maori within a Maori society is founded on a traditional belief systems that were made up from a set of ideals and values that personified principled conduct according to ancestral laws (Pohatu, 2004). However, they did not only operate by rules or law alone; they lived by the principles, values and ideals that informed them as a whanau or as hapu. They relied heavily on collective efforts, in order to survive, and as a result certain values and ideals were developed that became part of tikanga Maori which assisted to regulate and guide behaviour, and in particular toward a collective responsibility of belonging, to a whanau, hapu or iwi so as to assist in the maintenance of social harmony. This involved a very operational effort, individually and collectively, so as to live up to and adhere to the ideals of tikanga, that are identified as being as integral part of a system.

### **Kaupapa Maori**

Kaupapa Maori research, Bishop (1996) informs us transpired out of the cultural revival movement preceding the rapid urbanisation of the post-World War II period, but more recently in the early 1990s through to the year 2000, the increased political awareness among Maori has promoted an additional form of renaissance of Maori cultural aspirations, philosophies and productive educational stances, that include a resistance to the hegemony of the dominant discourse. It developed as part of a broader movement by Maori, to question westernised notions of knowledge, culture, and research, where research was conceived, developed, and carried out by Maori, with the end outcome of being of benefit to Maori (Smith, 2003). It has now become part of a widespread movement by Maori, for Maori centred research practice in the social aspects of Maori. It provided a theoretical and valuable base from which Maori researchers were able to work from (Smith 2001). The selection of kaupapa Maori for this research as the methodology was appropriate because it gave justification to provided culturally appropriate pathways of practice for the research and the researcher. It channelled and rationalised the design, the style, the technique, and the kawa in the way that the data was

collected. Without appropriate cultural research methodologies this study would merely be a supposition without a theory, and a data collection with no analysis. There is no one research methodology that is better than the other, but the methodology used is dependent on the culture of the people being researched, the questions being asked and the theory used (Davidson & Tolich 2003).

Maori research may not necessarily be dissimilar to Pakeha or Taiwi sometimes, but there are differences. It means that one has to reposition themselves as a Maori participant and as a Maori researcher, but sometimes we cannot achieve social justice and social change or resolve any grievances without some Pakeha support at times, as they should be part of social transformation. The difference is the changes and adjustments to what are distinctly Maori bodies of knowledge. These are crucial to Maori development, theory and methodologies as they form the theoretical pathways that are fundamental to appropriate social research, but more so for Maori social research. In espousing such thoughts, we as Maori must assume more control over our research, and more importantly continue to explore, write and develop research theory, techniques, methods and methodologies that are appropriate to and for Maori. There needs to be more consideration given to the use of traditional and current Maori knowledge, so as to utilise and define Maori concepts, and avoid any misunderstandings later in research. Durie (1996) believes that there is no question that research on Maori should be conducted by Maori for Maori, and should have a key role in directing the research, so as to keep Maori knowledge 'tika'. By companioning kaupapa Maori and tikanga Maori, as the theoretical 'pou' for this research has provided a traditional social research and ethical pathway that represents Maori values, Maori beliefs, ethics and principles (Pohatu, 2004), for this research. From my perspective these companioned with narrative and qualitative research epitomised the principled values and beliefs of and for Maori.

Kaupapa Maori is a liberating theory that is committed to Maori values, ethics and principles, which are expressed throughout this thesis. These values and ethics surrounded by nga takepu principles (Pohatu 2004) have been designed to attend to the 'rituals of encounter' when preparing for the interviews and during the interview. The 'kaupapa' of karakia and whanaungatanga are important to set the grounds for the interview as they govern the methods used and act as an internal frame of reference to promote the process of

dialogue and reflection. Inclusively they are the sign posts that mark the physical and cultural boundaries for the participants and researchers alike. They provide safety in the first instant and 'tika'(what is right) in the second, because it is these that governs my decision as the researcher.

### **The Questions:**

Durie (1996) says that while there has been criticism about a quantitative approach to research Maori, they are no better if they are not accompanied by a variety of techniques that are appropriate to Maori. Through my many visits to my whenua, my mind continues to ask questions and search out answers, and more and more now, because there is almost nobody on Ngamotu, only the silence with the distant sound of the waves tumbling on to the beach of black sand.

The development of the questions (Appendix 4) asked of the participants for this research, often appeared as I sat aloft of Te Poti in deep thought. I also realised that this research came forward following my research of Mere Te Huia, which set off such a passion in my 'puku'. I wanted to know more about the 487 acres of whenua, and the relationship between Ngamotu and Kihitu, and I wanted to know now! Where did our tipuna come from, why did they come here or were they born to here? Did our tipuna expect the whenua to be almost barren of its people? Where have the mokopuna of Ngamotu gone now?

By obtaining some answers to the questions they might leave something of significance for the mokopuna, and for those who are yet to come, so that they will be able to position themselves and affirm Ngamotu as their turangawaewae.

### **Ethics: University Permission (Appendix 3)**

The Massey University Human Ethics Committee, for Research involving Human Subjects (1990, pg 1) has a profile that all Massey University researchers must adhere to do when researching. Permission from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee took three attempts to obtain consent. Personally I thought and felt that the latter two were not necessary and what they wanted was quite finicky. In a discussion with Walsh-Tapiata (2004), who was my thesis Supervisor at the time, described how she was interviewed by the Ethic

Committee and that “the interview was both academic and monocultural in its focus”. It seems to me that there is an assumption that the dynamics of Maori and their cultural interaction and research were assumed by Pakeha academics as being a weak and of no use. As a result Maori research is often judged in a Pakeha context, rather than in a Maori context. There is not any description in a Pakeha context to describe ‘ethics’ in a Maori context. Maori worldviews and thinking is too wide,

Davidson and Tolich (2003) point out that research should be conducted in a responsible and principled manner, and in such a way that no harm will come to them, or the researcher, or the community being researched. A further consideration explains that research on humans can be challenging, therefore the participants must be treated with respect and the research should be deliberate and set in a way to improve the circumstances of the community or people being researched. Hawkes (1986:146) describes ethics as a science of moral principles, which is supported by Pohatu (2004) who with the use of ‘nga takepu’ prepares an ethical pathway into which to research.

Kaupapa Maori ‘hoa-haere’ (companioned) with tikanga Maori as the theoretical ‘pou’ of this study provided an ethical pathway of safety and participation by Maori for Maori and with Maori. By using such an approach, it provides a traditional social research pathway that represents and incorporated Maori values, beliefs, ethics and principles (Pohatu, 2004). By companioning these along with narrative and qualitative research they formed a pathway for the gathering of information from the research participants. This justifies the philosophy of this research because they were all congruent with each other. Without appropriate cultural research methodologies for this study, it would have merely been a supposition with no theory bases or a data collection with no analysis.

### **Permission to research Ngamotu/Kihitu**

Before this study began, I sought permission of the Kihitu Marae Committee to carry out this study, which they consented to. To gain permission to do the research I arranged and travelled home to a meeting with the Marae Committee at Ngamotu/Kihitu. I did this first by meeting and arranging a date and time with the

Chairman and Secretary of the Marae Committee, after briefing them about my research and what I wanted to do. As an 'insider' this was not difficult to organise and on the date set, I met with the Marae Committee. After explaining what and why I wanted to do the research and a few questions, permission was given.

### **Historical Research**

Exploring the history of Ngamotu is to learn and evidence the past. Some of this is contained in variances of documents, journals, books, Maori Land Court Minutes, kuia, kaumatua, and pakeke of the whenua. However before using them, validity and reliability need to be established. Data in historical research consists of evidence about events, people, situations that are created in the past. Such documents are primary i.e. first hand information and secondary sources i.e. are second or third hand accounts. A few examples of these types of sources are outlined as being:-

**Primary sources** – letters, eye view accounts, diaries, and photographs, legal and or public documents.

**Secondary sources:** newspaper articles, reference books, on the Net and at times hearsay. (Tolich & Davidson, 1999)

### **Research Design**

The design for this research was systematically planned, because of its cultural values that are informed by Maori beliefs including tikanga and kaupapa Maori combined with nga takepu principles (Pohatu 2004). Its focus and design was specifically designed to determine why the people have left Ngamotu and Kihitu, and this journey of research began with the people of the whenua and with their permission to undertake the research

## Tribal and Oral History

*The land ensures the welfare of the people,*

*The forest shades provides the peace,*

*And the food from both replenishes the body.*

*"My word is simply is:*

*Save the land and the people".*

*Te Kooti at Otorohanga, 15 April 1891.*

Any formal literature about Ngamotu and Kihitu and her people is scarce

During the 19th Century Maori were excluded from any assistance offered by the numerous Charitable Boards (Campbell, 1978), and it was felt that Maori could look after their own. Oliver (1994) acknowledged this and went on further to explain that this continued on up to the 1960's, where there was still a continued belief that Maori would eventually become assimilated in the European population and culture. 1867 to 1960 did bring about changes of existing social policy, but they pertained mainly to Pakeha. An example of this was when in the 1890's, under a Liberal Government, welfare legislation was introduced that included the Old Age Pension Act 1898, which provided pensions for Maori, but at a much lower rate than that of Pakeha. Continued actions such as this, were inflicted on Maori by western ideology and values over the years that imposed a culture of low self esteem and displacement. By the end of the 19th Century, Maori position in land that was once theirs was precarious, and Maori felt like prisoners in their own land (Crisford, 2005). With a declining population, their future was in doubt and their grip on the remnants of their land insecure. Their social structures of whanau, hapu and iwi were threatened and their strategies only offered short term satisfaction. The powerful influence of Christianity, the migrant's settlers and the Government, seemed unstoppable and there was no clear remedy. Tensions exist over land and cultural allowances for Maori, because land was what Maori

society was depended on. The alienation of land has ruined the traditional Maori social structures, causing Maori much pain, deprivation and grief and a rapid decline in their numbers.

Tribal and oral narrative history is important to any research concerning Maori, because it gives verification to Maori history, and is an important resource for Maori, as it gives Maori a voice that contributes to Maori history and traditions (Souter, 2000). Ballara (1991) validates this when she wrote of having read extensively the Maori Land Court records and that for the first time she was reading 'recorded thoughts of nineteenth century Maori'. Before that she explains them as being shadowy, obscure historical figures, dimly seen. But two things stood out for her, the rich multifaceted and complex Maori genealogy, inclusive of their hapu and iwi identity, and the difference of nineteenth century Maori testimony.

During the traditional times for Maori, the exchanges of whakapapa and history were verbal and repetitive and based on customs and tradition. But it was clear that following the arrival of the colonials in the nineteenth century, that research or writings on Maori were conducted by non-indigenous researchers who were generally male. Such examples were Governor George Grey, Percy Smith, John White, Elsdon Best and, Augustus Hamilton's to name a few (Tolich, 2005). They imposed their narration and interpretation of Maori history, culture, people and language through their social and cultural lens, which resulted in a false representation of Maori and their culture. Books, magazines and newspapers at that time were filled with a mishmash of romanticism, myth-making, fact and fiction, nasty natives with free-thinking, stereotyping, denigration and distortions of Maori history (Walker 1987). Such writings and thoughts disconnected and disassociated Maori from their inherent and intrinsic cultural foundations, which resulted in the near loss of Maori knowledge and language, which were rejected, discouraged and seen as not at all practical by the privileged 'white collared males' with Western knowledge and paradigms that denied the validity of Maori knowledge and history. Maori children attending Pakeha schools were not allowed to speak Maori, or as my mother told me she use to get her mouth washed out with soap quite often, or get the strap. My Dad told me that he was caned.

Nerveless Maori society was more resilient than people assumed, and continued to resist the pressures of the settlers, officials, missionaries and school masters, through their own kinship systems that revolving around whanau, hapu and iwi. But it wasn't until the turn of the Century, that health reforms for Maori began to improve, and young Maori leaders were beginning to take the initiative and a new generation was breaking through (Sinclair, 1990). One such movement was Te Roopu Te Rangatahi (The Young Maori Party), and among them were Sir Apirana Ngata, Sir Peter Buck and Maui Pomare. They with other Maori leaders influenced Maori and social policy which had a deep and lasting effect. It was not until the death of King Tawhiao in 1894, that Pomare and Ngata were able to bring about their health and land reform measures. This was because of the maemae (hurt) that Maori had suffered, and at that time, Maori still preferred to place their faith in King Tawhiao and the prophet Te Whiti.

In 1987 Tipene O'Regan, pointed out that the "Maori world view of the past is personal and tribal and rich with whakapapa, which is much more than a genealogical record. It is an oral tradition designed to bring the past alive and into the present and to be a pathway by which the spiritual force of an individual's ancestor is carried into the present" (Wright, 1994. p22). The exchange of whakapapa and history pre colonisation was verbal and the knowledge was based on customs and tradition. Buck (1926) explains that Maori historical narratives were not idle stories and they were not disseminated around without supervision, and it was transmitted from one generation to another generation in a proper course of study, by priests and teachers who had graduated in the Whare Wananga (Love 1977).

In 1899, Sir James Carroll of Ngati Kahungunu was in the Liberal Cabinet, and he became the Native Affairs Minister, where he remained as a pivotal figure in Government, tempering the settler's demands for Maori land. He was always trying to assist Maori, to keep their land, explaining it as being for the betterment of their people. He was an ardent supporter of the Maori Party, using them to devise and administer legislation to the Government. Inevitably Ngata, Buck and Pomare moved from locally based reform to national politics (Sinclair, 1990).



During the traditional times for Maori, the exchanges of whakapapa and history were verbal and repetitive and based on customs and tradition. But it was clear that following the arrival of the colonials in the nineteenth century, that research or writings on Maori were conducted by non-indigenous researchers who were generally male. Such examples were Governor George Grey, Percy Smith, John White, Elsdon Best and, Augustus Hamilton's to name a few (Tolich, 2005). They imposed their narration and interpretation of Maori history, culture, people and language through their social and cultural lens, which resulted in a false representation of Maori and their culture. Books, magazines and newspapers at that time were filled with a mishmash of romanticism, myth-making, fact and fiction, nasty natives with free-thinking, stereotyping, denigration and distortions of Maori history (Walker 1987). Such writings and thoughts disconnected and disassociated Maori from their inherent and intrinsic cultural foundations, which resulted in the near loss of Maori knowledge and language, which were rejected, discouraged and seen as not at all practical by the privileged 'white collared males' with Western knowledge and paradigms that denied the validity of Maori knowledge and history. Maori children attending Pakeha schools were not allowed to speak Maori or as my mother told me she use to get her mouth washed out with soap quite often, or get the strap. My Dad tells me boys would get caned.

With the continual and steady stream of the colonial settlers, there was an eventual interaction of the two cultures. At the beginning Maori were in control (tino rangatiratanga) of their own land and destiny, and they managed their own economic, political and social systems. They were innovative, creative, and enthusiastic and they even adapted well to colonial technology and became rapidly successful (Department of Social Welfare, 1988). In 1840, when Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed between some Maori and the British Crown (Orange, 1987), Maori then began to rapidly lose land at the hands of the 'responsible' Government and colonial land sharks and settlers which eventually brought about armed conflict. The arrival of the colonial migrants, dominated the world view of Maori with their "worldly concept of land as a commodity, to be bought and sold" (Walker 1987: pg 18), but this separated Maori from their whenua and their cultural roots and "they

began to think that the new God of the Pakeha was more alluring because it seemed that his Pakeha followers were blessed with greater power, wealth and riches in forms of ships, weapons and an amazing quantity of goods” (Walker 1990. pg 86). But it was very clear that following the arrival of the colonial in the nineteenth century, that research or writings on Maori were conducted by non-indigenous researchers who were generally male. Examples of this were Governor George Grey, Percy Smith, John White, Elsdon Best and, Augustus Hamilton’s to name a few (Tolich, 2005). They imposed their narration and interpretation of Maori history, culture, people and language through their social and cultural lens, which resulted in a false representation of Maori and their culture. Books, magazines and newspapers at that time were filled with a mishmash of romanticism, myth-making, fact and fiction, nasty natives with free-thinking, stereotyping, denigration and distortions of Maori history (Walker 1987), which for a time disconnected and disassociated Maori from their inherent and intrinsic cultural foundations, which resulted in the near loss of Maori knowledge and language. These things were not seen as practical by the privileged ‘white collared males’ with Western knowledge and paradigms that denied the validity of Maori knowledge and history.

### **Tribal History (Traditional Thoughts)**

Maori are conceived from Papatuanuku, the mother earth, and from that same bosom has comes the plants, the birds, the animals and the fish for our sustenance. The eternal nature of mother earth in relation to a person’s brief life span is summarised in the following whakatauki:

*“Toitu he kainga, whatu ngarongaro he tangata:*

*The land still remains when the people have disappeared.”*

The inclusion of history in this research enables my whanau and hapu to look back to the past, so as to see the future and be guided by it. Royal (1993. pg.10) says that “in order for Maori to gain tino rangatiratanga (power over their own history), it is important for them to learn their history of their tipuna, because it teaches

us much about ourselves". This makes research of Maori by Maori and for Maori critical; as it encapsulates the way Maori thinking and Maori doing. Maori view of the past is personal and tribal and rich with whakapapa which is much more than a genealogical record. It is an oral tradition designed to bring the past alive and into the present, to be a pathway by which the spiritual force of an individual's ancestor is carried into the present and future (Wright, 1994. p22).

Prior to the arrival of the colonial powers; Maori had occupied Aotearoa New Zealand for well over a thousand years and during that time they have held fast to their values and principles. Such an example of their relationship was with the whenua, where the earth is deemed as 'Papatuanuku, earth mother, where all life comes from and in return she should receive continuous nourishment and sustenance by the people'.

In former days Maori inherited shares of land in different blocks which were tribally owned, separated by varying boundaries. It was here that Maori were able to move about within their tribal territory and cultivate their land as designated. However, with the arrival of the British settlers, land became 'a commodity of need for them. How they got the land often didn't matter, and inherited tribal blocks began to be separated by colonial law and boundaries. This was supported by the Crown of the day, who established laws appropriate to them. Maori land alienation were the results of the land wars and the unscrupulous settlers illegally procuring land. Such illicit purchase of land through land wars established political hegemony and colonialism for Maori (Smith, 2001). One such law was the creation of a law that only 10 people (Maori) could own land, rather than several owners (Tairawhiti Maori Land Court Minute 1892). The reasoning being that it was made easier for the settlers and the illegal land sharks to buy up land by obtaining permission of the 10 owners rather than the 100's of owners.

Furthermore the land that was left was often of little use and could not be effectively farmed or used by its Maori owners, and because of the non-use of such lands, they were also confiscated under a further common law. While whanau increased in numbers, the land remained the same in size and value with each generation inheriting from the previous generation, the size and value of individual shares decrease to infinitesimal (Buck,

1977). The whenua of Aotearoa has seen many centuries of occupation and attachment to the land as Maori as they were the Kaitiaki (guardians) of that land. The whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand is rooted in discovery, generations of possession and settlement, and a history of tribal wars. The sentiment of attachment to the whenua is further amplified by the tilling of the soil for the gardens, hunting, and fishing to sustain us, “despite popular belief that hapu spent more time fighting than gathering food” (Walker, 1996:1). Tribal wars were to determine territorial boundaries along with bloodshed and the bones of buried ancestors to honour the land as a gift from the ancestors to future generations, plus the making of peace through union and marriage plus the traditional burying of the pito (afterbirth) in the whenua, also reinforces the connection with the whenua (Walker, 1996).

### **Social Structures:**

The social structures for Maori broke down and again Ngamotu and Kihitu were no different, but some have managed to survive. Given the 1940s and 50s, no one at Ngamotu and Kihitu would have believed that Ngamotu and Kihitu would be so desolate. Pre 1945/50s Maori were not as widely afflicted by social structures and social problems that Maori are experiencing today, despite their population growth, becoming better educated and living longer. Social problems for Maori are continuing to rise, criminal and gang activity, welfare issues, gambling, smoking, alcohol and drug addictions, and youth suicide to name a few. Statistics for Maori today present a rather dismal picture of such activity (Mitchell, 2009). We may well ask why this is happening.

Maori structural breakdowns began the day the Colonial and Christianity arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand, when Maori health was ignored, when Maori had no rights and in totality when Maori were ‘natives’. Maori were excluded from financial benefits, because they didn’t pay rates and the official attitude to problems of Maori health and welfare were ignored. Up to the 1940s most Maori lived rurally and communally, and whanau groups were made up of two generations and sometimes more, but this all changed when colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation subtly took over.

*Te oranga o te tangata, he whenua,  
Te marie o te tangata, he ngahere,  
Ngamotu or Kihitu*

Ngamotu and Kihitu are situated at the mouth of the Wairoa River, across the township of Wairoa near the river mouth. Lambert in his book *Old Wairoa*, illustrates the abundance of community by his writings about Ngamotu and Kihitu, “As we proceed, aided by an increasing breeze... on our left hand a small wooded island, with several huts... on the eastern side of the river there curls up skywards wreaths of smoke from the Native settlement by the water side showing an abundance of life existing there” (1977, p.4).

Ngamotu and Kihitu had such ‘material prosperity’ in its early days, but these were different to western thinking. Its fundamental base was on which its society was organised, its locality and its access to resources, natural and manmade. Ngamotu/Kihitu and their people had access to the Pacific Ocean where there was an abundance of fish, access to the Wairoa River where the flounder, kahawai, eels and whitebait running and access to a sea filled lagoon where the whitikoe and pupu played and the flounder thrived, and just beyond Te Poti, an area to hunt.

### **Colonisation, Assimilation and Urbanisation**

Maori to begin with, were not as widely afflicted by social problems that are experienced today. Social problems for Maori were not as widely experienced pre 1950, as they are today in criminal activity, gangs culture, on welfare, gambling, smoking, alcohol and drug addiction, and youth suicide to name a few. Statistics for Maori today present a rather dismal picture of such activity (Te Ao Marama 2002). An example explained by Mitchell (2009) was when Maori were excluded from financial benefits, because they did not pay rates and the official attitude to problems of Maori health and welfare were ignored because it was felt Maori could take care of their own. Until the 1940s most Maori lived rurally and communally and whanau groups were made up of

two generations and sometimes more, but this all changed when colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation subtly took over.

### **Economy:**

The people at Ngamotu had large gardens and supplied Napier with all their vegetables. Economic lore would probably be best described that the people of Ngamotu and their approach to economics and their economy, was wholesome and community minded. Tikanga suggests that Ngamotu and Kihitu were a sharing community in order to survive, and because that was 'tikanga'. I remember Matua Bill in his interview saying, that my Uncle Ruddy was white baiting in his usual spot by the cliffs this day, when he called him to come and get some whitebait for his Nan. When he got there he noted that Uncle had about six kerosene cans full of whitebait. There was no doubt that Uncle would share some out to the rest of the community before he took them to the local fish shop to earn a pound or two. This picture suggests therefore that Uncle Ruddy had a relationship with the community that applied Maori economic solutions to sharing.

Pakeha colonial values and attitudes with their individualistic attitudes towards economics and social wealth became a problem for Maori, because it was quite a different concept and system. And for Pakeha in trying to discover how Maori economics fitted into their system of co-operation, would have been difficult as well. For Maori the complexity of social relations and economic lore were based on the Maori principle of 'tatau, tatau' (together). Unfortunately such a principal receive little attention or respect from Pakeha.

### **Data Collection**

Data comes with many names, but for research it is simply the information gathered in answer to questions and its collection is an important part of research and research action; because the information gathered reveals answers to questions proposed by the researcher, within the research. For the most part, research of Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand has been carried out by the non-indigenous and the dominant culture of Aotearoa New Zealand, who have misconstrued Maori culture, concepts, beliefs, values, attitudes and ideas. These have become problematic for Maori; because the lenses they look through are different to the dominant

culture of New Zealand Aotearoa thinking. As result information collected and gathered and disseminated has resulted in a misleading and deceptive portrayal of Maori and their culture (Smith, 1999). An example of this is evidence by Joan Metge, a noted anthropologist who gave the word 'whanau' eight different meanings, which framed the word whanau in a position that it did not belong (Milne, 1999). It is therefore important that Maori and indigenous peoples explore the notion of decolonisation and re-construction of their own kaupapa so as to allow them to tell their own stories within their own environment and within their own research paradigms. Kaupapa and Tikanga Maori as research bodies of knowledge are 'culturally safe' for Maori because it involves the guidance of elders; it is culturally relevant and is undertaken by a Maori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Maori. It is important therefore that when choosing a theory, it is congruent to the 'worldview' of the participants and researcher because it allows the researcher to ask questions that are culturally significant, relevant and enlightening (Smith 1992; Bishop 1997), and that both parties are comfortable about being involved in the research.

The techniques and design was an important part of this research, because it explains the overall plan of the research. It clarifies the stance that the researcher takes, their choice of methodology, the theoretical base of the research and the pathway that the research follows, and explains any concerns the researcher might have. In addition, the choice of participants, the approach to the data collected, how it is collected and the analysis of the material gathered is important. Once collected it is then for the researcher to make sense of the information from the interviews, collate it and find common threads and (Webber-Dreadon, 2003)

### **Timeline Extension of the Research**

Time frames for completion of this research were reached and extended a few times, because of my (the Researchers) ill health, after being bitten by a 'white tail spider' in December 2001, and it has taken some time for my health to improve. Luckily the year 2012 saw my health improved and I worked hard to complete this thesis, and am glad to do it.

## **Moments of Reflections**

There were many appealing and reflective moments that occurred before, during and when writing up this research. Appealing, because it was so humbling to hear the participant's korero (speak) of Ngamotu and Kihitu with affection and fond memories. Whilst I have not written a lot about any reflections, it was a humbling experience, and one I shall not forget. I learned many things and I hope this thesis might gift the same to others who read it.

I remember when I first approached one of the Kuia and the Kaumatua, who both said to me, they didn't know much about Ngamotu/Kihitu, which I felt was very interesting. Their love for this whenua was shining. Smiling I knew they had a lot to offer and I was not surprise when I received the transcription back just how long they were how memorable they were.

The second reflection was by Cousin Bill who said at the conclusion of the interview "I thought it was going to be so boring and uninteresting Em, I only said yes because it was you who asked, but it was amazing and I loved it. It bought back a whole lot of memories. I so enjoyed it". I enjoyed it because of Bill's memory centred on the pinching of Bunny's watermelon. We had a lot of laughs. I had with me some photo of the Marae and among them was a photo of the cabbage tree that was at that time by the

old Dining Room. When Bill saw it he said "Wow, there are a lot of 'pito' (after birth) under that tree". When I said the tree was no longer there, it was sad moment.

Thirdly I enjoyed Matua Bill's stories, especially about his life as a youngster and going to Ngamotu/Kihitu to help his Nanny and how he had to ride without a blanket or saddle all the way from Ngamotu to Mahia. But I think his story as a six year old, and having to walk from Mahunga to Muriwai is a very long way, so to say that when they got to Muriwai and into the Wharenuui, he curled up by his Nanny and went to sleep. I could well imagine that, because the distance he had to walk was such a long way, especially for someone as young as he was at that time. Matua Bill of all the participants was directly linked to Kihitu.



Fourthly, an interesting story about three people who were selected by the Hapu to get rid of someone who they all thought was putting a 'maketu' (curse) on them. And who ever drew the short straw had the task of getting rid of him. Three of the participants knew this story, but in discussion with others from Ngamotu who were not participants told the same story, and it seems that many from Ngamotu knew this story. My Aunt seemed to think that the selected person shot him, because the Police arrived the next day and again the 'person' was hiding down at the lagoon in the 'bull rushers'.

There are so many reflections, with little time to write, because as I re-read the interviews, I want to keep on reading.

*I am eternally grateful for the memories*

The question now arises 'to whom does the information belong?' It would be presumptuous of me to consider that the data collected would be for my own personal use, particularly under the rule of Maori lore. And as such all the data collected by me belongs not to me alone but to the Hapu of Ngamotu inclusive of Kihitu, as I am accountable and responsible to them.

It is my moemoea that these writings will assist us as a hapu to flourish and grow and more importantly for our mokopuna to know who they are, who they belong to, and who and what belongs to them.

## CHAPTER 3 PARTICIPANTS PERSPECTIVES

### Introduction

*The approach to this study is not only to reveal participant's from Ngamotu experiences, but to show that we are all inheritors of a rich tradition, not only to hear the stories, but to know our history, because to know it and understand our past, is to know how we can apply positivity to the present.*

In this chapter, the participants inform us how they are connected to Ngamotu and Kihitu, and tell their stories, about the whenua, whanau and whakapapa, so we might learn from them.

### Participants

Following gaining permission from the Marae Committee, and the selection of the Participants, time was spent with them discussing the interview process, the recording of the interviews and explaining that two of us would be present at the interviews, myself as the Interviewer and Tui (mokopuna of Ngamotu), who will be looking after the recording apparatus and transcribing the tapes. I also spent time explaining and the Information Sheet, the Massey University Human Ethics Proposal and the Research Questions. In all, this took about three weeks to organise. I then contacted the participants by phone to verify their participation, and the signing of the permission sheets and checking they understood the questions. A day, time and place were arranged.

### Questioner

The following is the schedule of the Questions, asked of the Participants

#### Section One: HISTORY

1. What is the proper name of this whenua? Is it Ngamotu or Kihitu?
2. How did it get the name?
3. What do you know about Ngamotu?
4. Who are the hapu of Ngamotu? How do you know this?

5. What is its meaning of Ngamotu?
6. What is the proper name of the river and what does it mean
7. How many pa where there on Ngamotu?
8. Do you know of any 'yester-year' kaumatua of Ngamotu?
9. If yes, who and what do you know of them?
10. Can you recall any of the battles that occurred in and around Ngamotu?
11. What role did those from Ngamotu play?
12. Do you recall any stories about Ngamotu, told to you by your matua, koro or kuia?
13. Do you know of any recorded history or stories about Ngamotu? Published or unpublished)

## **Section Two: LEADING UP TO THE CURRENT DAY**

14. How would you describe Ngamotu and Kihitu as a community, in the past and today?
15. What do you know about the Urupa and how did it get its name?
16. What do you know about the Wharenui and how did it get its name?
17. What do you know about the Dining Room and how did it get its name?
18. Ngamotu and Kihitu are now barren of its people? Do you know why and where do you think that they have gone?
19. What are your thoughts about colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation? Do you think it has had any effect on the whanau of Ngamotu?
20. What do you think are the current social issues around the whanau of Ngamotu?
21. Do you think that history has impacted on such issues?
22. Where do you think Ngamotu fits within the wider development of Wairoa?
23. How important is Ngamotu to you today?
24. What do you see for Ngamotu in the future and do you see yourself as being part of Ngamotu's future? If yes, How! If no why not!
25. Do you think you will ever reside on Ngamotu and if not why not and if yes, why?

## **Interviews**

There are a wide range of interview approaches that could have been used for this study, but the most appropriate approach was based on kaupapa Maori notion as 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (face to face) that Pohatu (2006) describes as being the karanga (call – a ritual of encounter'), a formal Maori process that applies 'tino rangatiratanga' (sovereignty) for and with the participants. This also allowed the participant to choose the time, the date, and the place where they were most comfortable in to be interviewed, and allow the participants to answer the questions in whatever order they wanted to and within their time frames.

## **Whanau**

It is not unusual for participant(s) to have whanau with them during interviews, and nor is it unusual that the whanau support could become involved in the interview process (Souter, 1996). This was exemplified by Matua Bill Blake (participant) who arrived for his interview with three pakeke (adults), who I was to later learn were linked to Ngamotu by whakapapa, through their Dad, and I am sure they learnt a lot. Tikanga Maori as a principle, allow this whanau the same opportunity and rights as the other participants. In a whanau discussion, it was decided that they would contribute if they anything to offer, following Matua Bill's contribution, so I asked them to read over the Questioner and see what they could contribute. Following Matua Bill's interview, there was a very informal korero. They were excited because they were able to learn a lot about Ngamotu/Kihitu, historically and currently, and make the whakapapa link of their Dad, to the whenua. They were seeking out their own whakapapa, and felt that rather than taking part in answering or discussing the questions that they were more happy to listen and learn.

## **Recruitment and Selection of Participants**

The selection of the participants was a difficult task, because there were so many to select from, but after some consultation with the Chairman of the Marae Committee, I selected three participants and the Committee chose four. In all seven participants were selected and took part in this study, but only six were formally

interviewed. I as the researcher chose to enact an autoethnography approach that allowed me to have a voice in this study as an 'insider' (participant) and as an 'outsider' the Researcher.

## Their Stories

### KO WAI AU



#### 1. Aunty Gran, Te Paea O'Keefe (nee Henare)

Aunty Gran was the first voice to be heard in this research. She told me that her proper name is Te Paea. She is not sure where her name came from because there were two Paea's in her whanau and they both came from Iwitea and Whakaki, two villages on the coast, along the main east coast road towards Turanganui (Gisborne), and are connected to Kihitu through whakapapa.

Aunty Gran is one of the Kuia from Ngamotu, who was born to and raised there. She married my Uncle, the late Rudolph O'Keefe aka Ruddy, who also belong to Ngamotu/Kihitu, but she is quite able to whakapapa to Ngamotu in her own right. Aunty Gran and Uncle Ruddy were the stalwarts of the Marae, and were very committed to the Marae and the Okaka Urupa

Aunty said "I don't know much about Kihitu, but it is the name I have always known it by. I don't know what it means. I know Ngamotu is a name that exists, but I'm not sure why or what it means. I remember Teddy Peka, telling me that Kihitu was across the road from the Marae, on the corner of Te Rauhina Road and Ngamotu Road, and it belongs to the Peka/Blake whanau". She thought 'nga' might mean 'a lot of' and 'motu' means island, so she thought it might mean big island in the middle of river, which could fit to Te Rauhina and her island. She reiterated that she has always known Ngamotu as 'Kihitu', but didn't know where the name Kihitu

came from either or what it meant. Interestingly she went on to say that our Marae is registered as Kihitu Pa, but didn't know how that came to be or what it means.

Aunty continued to reflect on the aspects of her life at Kihitu. She said, she remembered when she was growing up at Kihitu; "there was no television or any such things like that. " If you had nothing to do, you would catch a horse, hook it up to the sledge and go down to the beach and collect wood, because you never did things just for the sake of doing, there was always a reason. Like if you want a swim, it is more likely you would go and get kaimoana (seafood). Play was work!"



**Te Awaawa Henare - Ngati Otane - 1952**

Te Hapu Te Uri o Te-O-Tane

Sourced from his Granddaughter Paea O'Keefe nee Henare

[www.flickr.com/photos/67437334@N00/295154315/Cached](http://www.flickr.com/photos/67437334@N00/295154315/Cached)

12 Nov 2006 – Laugesen Carl T.

At this point, Aunty spoke of her grandparents, but more in particular of her grandfather who was very significant to her. She said "he had built three whanau homes at Kihitu, and as well he also built the first Wharenui, Te Rauhinu". She said "I don't know how he did it, because he couldn't read or write. He was the 'main keeper' of the Marae in his time, and a staunch Ringatu, and had whakapapa links to Te Kooti. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of each month, he used to take me to the Ringatu Hui in Gisborne, which was their church day, and we would go on a bus or on the rail car. Every trip was always an experience, [and] I loved it".

Aunty Gran remembers when she was small; she would go over to her grandfather and Nanny Waikohai place. “Their doors were never locked”, she said “I would just walk in and stay as long as I wanted. He was such a fussy old man though. Everything has its place, even our shoes. He never liked anyone combing their hair or putting anything like a hat, combs or brushes on the table. He was such a smart dresser”.

“Tini was just a baby when my grandfather passed. I saw him the day before he died. I was visiting at his house, and went to kiss him goodbye because Tini and I had to catch the school bus back to ‘Hauareki’ (a whanau home by Taihoa). He kind of moved, and Nanny Waikohai said to me, he doesn’t want you to go”. I said “I have to go and catch the bus” which I did and “he died not long after that. It was sad for me because he was such a special person in my life. They were both very good to me and I have fond memories of them both”.

Aunty told me, her grandfather’s name is Te Awaawa Te Huki Henare and he was born at Mohaka, eventually moving to Kihitu. She said “his mother had gone off somewhere and she came back with this chap Taitu, who we assumed came from Waikato. Anyway there was this guy Porihiho at Kihitu, who the people believed was putting a maketu (curse) on them. They were so scared of him they didn’t want anything to do with him; in fact they wanted him gone. Three men were selected to find a way of getting ‘rid’ of him and it was this fella Taitu who drew the ‘short straw’. Many of the people at Kihitu, never knew what Taitu did with him, but I think he was shot, because not long after there was a price on his head. I remember hearing that the police came to Kihitu looking for him and he was hiding down in the raupo’s by the lagoon. You know Em”, she said, “I have heard this story told so many times from others, in our whanau. We had a laugh, but we also knew it was a serious matter. Just looking after our own I think”, my Aunty said.

### **Hapu, Pa and Urupa**

Aunty Gran was not sure about the hapu on the whenua, but she recounted that Bill Blake told her, that there were a lot of hawks at Ngamotu at one time, and that is how our hapu came to be called Ngati Kahu. Aunty added “I think there is another hapu called Te-O-Tane. My grandfather had it written in his book, and he



always classed himself as Te-Uri-o Te-O-Tane (The Hapu of Te-O-Tane), but I don't know much more, about that. I haven't really bothered about hapu, until more recently because the young people are beginning to ask and look at their hapu".

Aunty Gran told me that the only Pa, she knew of was on the Okaka hill, above the urupa (cemetery), adding that "it was one of the strongholds of Ngamotu... because it was a place where some battles took place, and the dead were buried on top of the hill", as far as she knew".

"I don't know how the urupa got its name Okaka, but I am sure Bill Blake can tell you." She then referred to all the fences that used to be inside the main fence, as being gone, saying that "each whanau and hapu can still looked after their own area, but now it is one big urupa, and while each whanau or hapu can take care of their own, a caretaker can mow the whole lot," whereas in the past this was difficult. She thought pulling down the fences was a good idea, because "we all belong", she said.

### **Te Rauhina** our Wharenuui, **Teaio** Our Wharekai

Aunty Gran and I sat for a moment in silence, before I ask Aunty the name and meanings of the Wharenuui (Meeting House) and the Wharekai (Dining Room). She told me "the Wharenuui is called Te Rauhina, named after one of our tipuna, who was the peaceful wife of Tapuwae, and the older sister of Te Huki.



**Te Rauhinā** [Wharenui] & **Teaio** [Wharekai] - to honour Te Rauhinā and her peaceful nature.



The 'tahuhu' (ridge beam) represents the Wairoa Hopupu Matangi Rau Awa and the Marae up the river.

Artist **Sandy Adsett**  
(Ngāti Kahungunu, Pahauwera)



### Inside the Wharenui

Te Rauhinā has no carving on the outside of the whare. She was a woman who did not show her beauty by adorning herself with carvings but it is said she was beautiful on the inside, and these, but was often mentioned that she was beautiful on the inside. This is demonstrated by the artwork inside of the whare. The Wharekai is known as Teaio, named after Te Rauhinā's nature, calming and peaceful". She told me that she remembers how they raised money to renovate the Wharekai back in the 1950's. "We never got any government or lottery grants like they can now. We raised money by asking whanau for a contribution, holding cake stalls, housie, selling rewena bread and card nights". It seems she said, that "fund raising for the now Dining Room which was opened 1997, was quite different to the fund raising they did for the Dining Room in the 1950s".

Aunty proceeded to tell me about Te Rauhina, who lived on an island in the middle of the Wairoa River, just off of Ngamotu. “The fishermen used to stop there on their way out fishing or on the way back from fishing and she always offered them hot drinks and food”. She said “I heard that she used to look after anyone, at any time, even if they were in trouble with the law. She sheltered the people from Kihitu, Whakaki, Iwitea and Wairoa, when Ngapuhi raided the east coast in the 1800’s and during the Hauhau raids”. Aunty said “Te Rauhina’s island is underwater now”. She reminisced about the island, saying, “I remember Teddy Peka and your Uncle Ruddy saying, that when you could see the island just under the water, you could go on it and gather pipi... these pipi’s were so different to other pipi, they were very white and called Te Rauhina’s pipi’s”.

### **Water/Springs and the Wairoa River**

I asked Aunty what she knew anything about the ‘springs and wells’ that were on Ngamotu. She replied that she knew “there were some springs and wells, and nearly everyone had a tank of some sort to catch the rain water, but we still had to conserve water”. She was unable to recall the names of the springs and the hills, despite knowing that someone had previously told her about them, but she clearly recalls the name of our river Wairoa Hopupu Honengenege Matangi Rau. Having stated the rivers name, I asked her if she could tell me what it meant. She told me that it would be better if I spoke to Bill Blake, “he would better at explaining it”. She then went on to say that her understanding of the river’s name is “the meeting of two rivers where they become turbulent, as they mixed in with each other and go over the Te Ringa Falls, crashing, bubbling, swirling and flowing on down to Frasertown, past Turiroa, then calmly through the township of Wairoa and out to sea”.

### **Fishing**

A recollection, Aunty Gran had about fishing in the river and or out at sea, was when her Dad told her about Aunty Jane White, who was formerly Jane Peka. Aunty described how Jane used to go out with the men on a day’s fishing. In those days all fishing was done by men. According to Aunty, Aunty Jane used to take a tin with her and if she wanted a mimi (pass water), she would do it in the tin and tip it over the side. The men only

had to stand up, but it didn't worry her or them apparently. Another recollection Aunty concerned her father telling her that "you should never go out to sea or in the river with cooked food on the boat, otherwise you wouldn't catch anything". He also told her that "if you got hungry, all you had to do was cut a bit off a fish you had caught and, dip it in water and eat it raw.

Aunty then spoke of my Uncle Ruddy, saying "Your Uncle was a good provider of food, and in general it was a good life". She described how he used to do "a lot of fishing and white baiting in seasons", and how "he always gave some to whanau at Ngamotu, and then he would sell the rest for a couple of extra dollars; well it was pounds, shilling and pence then, and then a dollar or two, which helped our budget". According to Aunty Gran, this changed when the 'Vegetable Market' at Napier began to slow down. This is where the people of Ngamotu/Kihitu use to send their vegetables for sale. Aunty Gran commented that "Market gardening was the main source of income for a lot of our whanau at Ngamotu, but then bartering faded and money became gold, bartering was no longer an option". "Then the Freezing Works opened and a lot of the men from Ngamotu went to work there, including your Uncle", she said. "The modes of transport in those days were mainly bikes and horses for the people of Ngamotu, and if one was really lucky and had a car. But the cost of petrol was so high, and not many of the whanau owned a car. Most of our men who worked in town or at the Freezing Works, would bike into town on that awful gravel road. Your Uncle biked into town for work too, and if someone had a car like your Uncle Harry, he would maybe catch a ride, but then your Uncle got his boat and with his bike he would row across to Spooners Point, and ride to work from there. He said it was much easier. After a while he would leave his bike with someone down along Kopu Road, and just row back and forth. Sometimes he would even pick up groceries for us, on his way home.

## **Schooling**

Aunty Gran attended North Clyde Primary School, which she told me was closed now. Her recollections of her time at school were mainly about the journey to and from school. Regarding this she said "we use to go in and back on one of Jimmy Lawrence's buses, and after school if you didn't hurry you would miss the bus, so you would just walk all the way back to Kihitu. The funny thing is that you never cried or anything, you just walked.

We use to walk along Mahia Avenue, past Taihoa, through Te Uhi, up the hill to the top and then cut over the hill to Ngamotu/Kihitu. It was quicker”.

The next school Aunty attended was St Joseph’s Convent School on the town side. She stayed there until secondary school. After a couple of years at secondary school, Aunty left school and got married, and not long after came the babies, then she said she stayed at home, milked the cows and did farm work. Aunty Gran said they moved into town when Tini was 10 years old”.

### **Te Reo Maori**

We talked about the use of te reo Maori. Aunty Gran recalled “taking the kids to see our grandmother Matengahere, who sometimes lived at Ngamotu, and sometimes at Hauareki (peaceful wind), on Kiwi Road” a whanau whare (family home). Aunty Gran said, had fond memories of Matengahere and described her as “such a lovely old lady”. Continuing her story she said “My kids were a bit frightened of her, because she was always kind of forcing them to korero Maori. She used to say to Boy, “Kia ora Boy” and he’d say “Kia Ora Nan”, then she’d say something else in Maori and he would stand there thinking ‘what the heck was she saying’. But he got through it and she would just smile”.

According to Aunty Gran, “In those days we didn’t speak Maori, only our Kuia and Kaumatua did. We were always told that we couldn’t get a job if we couldn’t speak English, but now today we are trying to recover our language, that leaves a lot of our generation not knowing our own language”. She added that she was so glad that her mokopuna Rudolph No 3 (aka Boy) has learnt te reo Maori.

### **Colonisation, Assimilation, Urbanisation**

When asked about colonisation, Aunty Gran said, “colonisation, what the heck is that? Is that about doing things the Pakeha way?” Aunty Gran grew up in a generation where her parents and grandparents where



fluent speakers of te reo Maori, but her parents like my parents believed it wouldn't get her a job or anywhere in life.

"As time went by, there was nothing out at Ngamotu/Kihitu for us anymore, and we were concerned if our children got sick or something like that, we would be stuck. We didn't own a car and nor did many others that lived at Ngamotu. Petrol was too expensed and there were no buses except the school bus in those days. I think it is worse now because there is no community or whanau out there to help each other out like it uses to be. When we moved into town, your Uncle got a job on the railways, which was really close to where we lived". Aunty Gran said she "felt that all the other whanau who left Ngamotu were for similar reasons". No access to doctors and other necessities were becoming a problem, especially if you didn't have a car". Aunty Gran at the time she left Ngamotu, there was no power or water and what water there was had to be conserved, because the springs and wells had gone. All cooking was done in a wood or coal range, and the lighting was by kerosene lamps or candles. In addition the water for washing clothes or to have a bath was heated in a copper. "It was hard work". She then described how she would often go down to the beach with her children to collect wood for the fire. Regarding this she said that "It was okay in the summer, but not always in the winter".

## **Pakiwaitara: The Stories of our Whenua**

### **Flying Fish**

Aunty said "there's this story about a 'headless flying fish' at the reef just below Te Poti". She recalled the late Matua Teddy Peka told her that if she saw a 'headless flying fish' out of the water, it was not a good sign." Aunty said "Your uncle Ruddy and my brother Ike both saw the fish, and nothing happened to them, luckily".

### **The Cave**

There is also a tapu cave is in the same area of the flying fish, at the bottom of Te Poti, by the ocean. Aunty told me "these two people were trying to catch their horses over by Te Poti, and when they got home one of

the people told the whanau that she had seen 'bones and some valuables' in the cave. That night she got sick and not long after died". Aunty said that other people had been there and nothing had happened to them, but Aunty was adamant that she will not go there. She said she had too much respect for such things.

### **Burning Down**

In discussion with my Aunty we talked briefly about the five deaths that occurred one after the other and within a week of each other, some years back. It was hard to understand why, but after further discussion with Aunty, we came to a conclusion that perhaps it had something to do with the burning down of our old homestead, without the proper rituals. Aunty recalled with sadness this event and said "I often think back and how it was such a shame to have burnt the O'Keefe old homestead down. When we moved from the homestead into town, you're Aunty and Uncle who had the run of the property leased it out. Somehow the cows got into the house, and one of them died in there. The smell was awful. She asked us if we wanted anything out of the house and then proceeded to burn it down". The possible rational for the deaths we thought was the burning of the old homestead without the proper rituals.

### **Alcohol and Abuse**

Following World War II and the return of the soldiers to Wairoa and Ngamotu/Kihitu, alcohol became prevalent. They would find a way into town, meet up with mates at the pub, then return to Ngamotu/Kihitu with their beer, laughing and singing, still drinking, and sometimes it ended up in the exchanging of blows. There were sound of domestic violence and women were being beaten up. I am so glad that those things didn't happen in our house. Your Uncle didn't agree with that sort of thing. When I look back, I think how lucky we were as a whanau.

### **Kaumatua**

I use to hear from the kaumatua (elder male) and kuia (elder women), about your Grandfather, Emma. They use to say "he was an amazing orator" on the Marae, "he was very good at looking after sick animals, and he

use to build stuff. He built a pergola, like the one in your photo you showed me Em, your mother was one of them”.

### **The Importance of Ngamotu**

Aunty said Kihitu was very important to her. She relayed a story from a few years back. “Bill Blake and I walked up the hill, at the back of the O’Keefe block. I was looking for puha. Anyway we found a place up the hill to sit, and we had a bit of a day dream and reminisced about Kihitu. It was really nice”. Kihitu is very important to me” she said “because of the time I lived there. There was always something to do and it didn’t cost anything, except hard work. You never did things for nothing, it always had a purpose. But it was a good life.”

Aunty Gran explained that the most significant things at Kihitu for her, was the Marae and Urupa and keeping them tidy. “Without the Marae, where would we go and what we do aye? For me, it is those things that keep me connected”. Aunty Gran told me that her eldest son (Rudolph 2) always wanted to go back to Kihitu, to build a bach, where the old house used to be. She said that “He was born into it and had spent a lot of time growing up there as a baby to a teenager. It was a pity he never lived to make that dream happen. But you know Mere Te Huia is still there, and if anybody wanted to go back there to build, that would be good for her.” Aunty added that she hoped one day to put a bach on the land and go back there and stay a night or two and listen to the sea roaring at night. She said “That’s what I miss the most from that place, you go to sleep with the sound of the sea and you wake up with the sound of the sea, sometimes a roaring sea. If I won a million dollars, I would definitely put something on that section. I would build a bach and stay a night or two, listening to the sound of the sea. I would go to sleep with the sea and wake up to the sea. That’s what I miss the most about Kihitu, the quietness and sound of the sea”.

Aunty Gran believed that “If people move back to Kihitu and started building, it would be really good”. She pondered on what was there that would bring them back, apart from wanting to go back and grow old gracefully. She added that “Today’s communication could mean it is not too far from anywhere, but ...it is too



far from the doctor". I think if the Council could cut off a few corners and tar sealed the road, and there was a mail van service in and out of Kihitu, people might even think of going back to Kihitu to live. I wouldn't mind, but it is difficult enough for me to go to the doctors from where I live, let alone from Kihitu. But I would like to see more whanau (people) move back to look after the land, but nothing will happen as long as the County Council doesn't support a decent road".

For Aunty Gran the future for Ngamotu might be something like forestry or cultivation. She added that some gardening out at Kihitu, a bit of squash and pumpkin but there is still a lot of land left that could be used.

She added that it was good that Arthur Blake has the lease of Ngamotu 14.1b and noted how he had cleared the section of gorse and had made a real good job of it. Arthur is also leasing the Okaka Urupa section, which he is also killing off gorse. According to Aunty Gran, despite this there were challenges in developing the whenua, due to the cost of stock.

## KO WAI AU:



### 2. Tini Tuhura nee O'Keefe

Tini is the second voice of this study; her name is Tini Tuhura (nee O'Keefe). She is the eldest daughter of Aunty Gran and Uncle Ruddy O'Keefe, and with her parents and her late husband Tom Tuhura, was committed to the whenua of Ngamotu. She was the Marae Committee's Secretary for 27 years and was part of the Committee that built the new Dining Room.

Tini was born to Kihitu, and later married the late Tom Tuhura. Both Tini and Tom, with her parents were committed to the Marae and the Urupa. Unfortunately Tom passed away in 1996, while fulfilling his dream of a building a new Dining Room for our Marae.

Tini is the second eldest of seven children, and they lived at Kihitu, in the O'Keefe homestead until she was 10 years old, when they moved into town. At the time, she said she didn't know why they moved, but it was an exciting time. "It wasn't until later in life" she said that "I realised in order to survive; it necessitated a move to be closer to our Dads work, the doctors, the schools, and hospital. Living at Kihitu was just too far away for the doctors, school, and my Dads work. But we, with our parents still associated full time with the Marae".

My Mums dad's real name was Te Huki, so Mum is not really a Henare. Our tipuna often use to take the first name which in this case was Te Awaawa Henare, but Te Awaawa father's actual name was Henare Te Huki. (This is not Te Huki, the brother of Te Rauhina).

When I asked Tini, “what do you know about Ngamotu, including their history?” She told me that Ngamotu was not a name, she grew up with, and it was always Kihitu. She said she always associated the name Ngamotu with the lagoon, and as being a bird sanctuary. But, said she didn’t know that Kihitu was 15 acres, and the rest was Ngamotu, until more recent, when she noted the road sign has been change to Ngamotu Road. “Even our Marae” she said “was registered with the Maori Land Court as Kihitu Pa, which meant we didn’t have to pay rates, but I am not sure how it came to be named Kihitu Pa.”

### **Tipuna**

Te Awaawa Henare is my mother’s grandfather, and he is mentioned in Lamberts (1977) Old Wairoa. She remembers he had put a cross on this particular page, in Lamberts book. He couldn’t read or write, so he would ask my Mum to read it to him, because in that book is a piece of recorded history in how Te Kooti went up the coast, slaying the ‘first born babies’ of those who were sympathising with the Crown. Te Awaawa knew that he was born during that time, because that’s how he got his name Te Awaawa, which means ‘a stream’. He was born at Mohaka, and his mother hid him in the stream, so that he wouldn’t be killed by Te Kooti. I’m not sure if it’s true or fabricated, but apparently that’s how he used to work out how old he was. He had put a cross by the year of Te Kooti’s raid.

Tini told me that her parents and Teddy Peka had told her that the name of our Wharenuui (Meeting House) at Ngamotu/Kihitu was called Te Rauhina, and the Wharekai (Dining Room) was Teaio, named after Te Rauhina’s nature. They were named by the old people, of those times. Tini felt that both the names were beautiful and aptly named, but said “how ironic it all is, when both whare (houses) refer to ‘peace’, and the people of Kihitu are often far from peaceable at times”.

Our Wharenuui is called Te Rauhina and if we look at the ‘tahu’ inside our Wharenuui, we will see a little island and it is called Te Rauhina. It was in the middle of the Wairoa River and had a little pipi bed on it. My Dad told that they used to just walk out into the middle of the river and get pipi’s, but it has disappeared now.

Te Rauhinā lived on an island (10 acres) in the middle of the river. She used to serve beverages to the fisherman who would often stop off going out to fish or returning from fishing. She often sheltered people when there were raids by other tribes. My grandfather used to harbour people too. But that's how I know about Te Rauhinā, and I know she is a tipuna of ours. Te Rauhinā had three children I think, and that whakapapa is on that tukutuku panel at the back of the wharenui, to the right at the back, as you go in.

## **The River**

She remembers that someone did explain the meaning of the Wairoa River to her, but that was a while ago. It joins up with another river at the Te Ringa Falls, and as they go over and hit the bottom of the falls, it boils, bubbles, swirls and crashes, eventually calming as it passes the Wairoa township and on out to the sea. She said in a metaphoric term that the river's name actually relates to the people of Kihitu, who fight, squabble and fall out with each other, but when necessary they come together".

## **Fishing**

My Grandfather told me that in his day as a youngster, the men would get into their waka (canoe), the big one, cross over the unpredictable River Bar, out to sea to fish. The younger ones, who didn't fit on the big waka, would hop in the small waka and fish mainly in the river, and sometimes at sea. The home whanau would light fires to guide them home, either at day or night, and guide them in. If the youngsters on the smaller waka had difficulties coming back in, their brothers would go out and bring them in. Even my Mum remembers that as a kid.

## **Hapu**

The only hapu I know of is Ngati Kahu. But I only just heard that in a korero I was part of. As for being any more hapu I really don't know. I didn't know anything about any battles that have taken place at Kihitu. But I heard that one of our tipuna Te-o-Tane was a warrior of strength and that he was buried upside down by the Okaka Hill. I don't know any more about that, but I know there were many stories about him as a great warrior.

## **Colonisation**

What do I know about colonisation, she asked? “We have all been affected by it in some way, but the move into pakeha ways was so cunning, we just didn’t know it aye”. Look, she said, “What it has done to our people Em, alcohol, drugs, gangs and domestic violence, fights and poverty. When I think back how we were bought up, we were so lucky. I am so grateful for my parents and their parenting of us kids. There was no violence in our home; and us kids never got hidings – so lucky aye.

## **Alcohol and Abuse**

As kids we were not bought up with alcohol or abusive situations. We must have been some of the luckiest children around at Kihitu, because there was a lot of alcohol, domestic violence and physical abuse going on at Ngamotu, but not us.

My experiences at the Marae, instead of being a ‘waster’, helped me to understand the ‘tikanga’ of our people, an experience I am forever grateful to my parents for, especially when we moved into town and realised it was a way of colonising and assimilating ‘us natives’. The shift away from our turangawaiwai (a place to stand), was a shift of our whanau roots. I remember” she said, “going to hui or tangi at the Marae was a normal part of our lives then. I remember being told there was a time to play and time to be quiet”, but she said “when we got to the age where we could wash and dry dishes, it was all work and no play, but it has stood me in good stead knowing my place on our Marae”. “We were ‘regulars’ on the Marae, even when we had shifted into town

## **Urbanisation**

Urbanisation, one could wonder what this has got to do with Kihitu. Well, she said I think it is important to show how we have been colonised and then urbanised. Such an example is the local Council bylaws she said. I didn’t give it much thought until now. When I was the Secretary of our Marae, I had to have contact with the Council, because we were hoping to build around our Papakainga. The Council said no, claiming no

sanitation, no power, and no water. All these things deemed to be health issues stopped any development of Kihitu, which forced our people to migrate to town or further afield, such as Auckland, Wellington, even to Australia. Urbanisation is a historical process that was forced on us by the Government of the day, and the local Council as the distributor of it, which further isolated us from our turangawaewae, Kihitu.

For those of us who lived at Kihitu, just going to town was an issue, not having a car or the money to buy a car, let alone petrol to run a car. No support, from the Council to maybe have a van service or to have a Papakainga. I think it was a deliberate ploy by the Council to get us and others out of Kihitu, and then they wouldn't have to maintain our roads or anything pertaining to Kihitu.

I remember we had some great views about getting into cropping and getting into planting Maori potatoes, forestry, fishing and all that, but the Council just blocked all of it. From that exercise I learnt that the local Council is a dangerous organisation that uses legislation to stop Kihitu from progressing. You can't move really, they hold the power directed via the Bee Hive.

As a child or even as a teenager I didn't understand what was occurring and the words colonisation, assimilation or urbanisation meant nothing to me or to others of Kihitu. It did not exist in our vocabulary, at that time. But I have since learnt about these words, and their actions which have isolated us from our whenua. Money, unemployment, alcohol and education were the issue of the day at that time. But in this day, the once busy community of Ngamotu and Kihitu is now bereft of her people. That is so sad when I think how it was once a thriving community, in my time. I think we were lucky that our parents instilled in us, that Ngamotu and Kihitu is where we come from and belong.

### **Do you think you'd ever go back to Kihitu to live?**

"Kihitu is very important to me, it's damn important because it where our father, my husband and other whanau are, at the Urupa. It is where all of our whanau are and that's where I'm going. Everybody knows that. Returning home at this time, my heart is saying yes, but at this point in time, no. I won't go back and live

there, but there's always a possibility that circumstances could change and maybe I will go back to live eventually. I don't feel I could be as productive there, as I am here". "My life is here in Napier at this moment in time. This is our home. Here I have got my mokopuna, my own home, my job and my security is here and that's the hard part. But I know there'll come a time when I will just put that all aside and move back home. There we still have our own beach and no one can come along and take it. You could fire a shotgun and not hit anyone and that to me is what Kihitu is all about. To go home means no hang-ups no hassles, just go fishing, do the garden, you know just do your own thing, that doesn't take money. to do all those things at the moment, but if you want to make it a lifestyle and build a home out there, you will need all the right consents, you're will need the resource consents and you have to abide by the Council bylaws and so the list goes on and on and that is what makes things harder to build at Kihitu. How many banks are going to loan money to multi-ownership and all that kind of stuff?"

"Home is the driving force, it just drives you. We don't go back there quite as frequent as we use to except to the urupa, and I feel sad about that. When I go places there is always a place to visit, but to go Wairoa it's a place you have to visit. It has becomes a bit of a struggle living here in Napier and to keep the yearning going. I think for me it is because I don't have anyone to share it with any more. We go back now and again but not like when Tom was alive, it was every other weekend. But we had a purpose, and we had each other and the Marae".

I had an interesting korero with my boy Rudolph 3, not too long ago. He said that while the Marae was our life, we did not have time to support him or his sister with the sport that they wanted to do. And he was right. Like now we're enjoying playing a lot of sport with Iri, because we've got the time to do that now, but we didn't do it with them. Sometimes we were too tired and didn't have the energy, no money cause we were always going back there home". 15 years Tom and I gave to the Marae, with the ruination of himself, but he died doing what he wanted to do.

***Tom had a dream and it eventuated....***

## KO WAI AU



Matua Bill Blake holding photograph of his Nanny holding baby, Teddy Peka

### 4 Matua Bill Blake's

Matua Bill Blake is the third voice to be heard. He is a Kaumatua on our Marae, and is connected to Ngamotu through Kihitu, through his Peka/Blake connection.

Matua Bill arrived at the organised venue for the interview, and with him were three Pakeke (adults) and a tamariki. When we did whanaungatanga (introductions), I found out that they were connected to Ngamotu/Kihitu through the whakapapa of their father. In discussion with Matua Bill, it was decided that he would do the historical parts with me, and if the Pakeke had something to contribute during that they could. I gave them a sheet with the questions on and following karakia Matua Bill and I began the interview.

The first comment Matua Bill told me was he didn't know that much about Kihitu, and while he knew the name of the whenua was Ngamotu, he had always known it as Kihitu. He then proceeded to tell me about some of the memories he had of Kihitu.

### Ngamotu v Kihitu

During our interview it appeared that his Nanny was a very significant person in his life. A place he would always go for the school holidays. He said "I would leave Mahia and go to my Nanny at Kihitu for holidays, but I knew what that meant. I was going to Kihitu to help her to weed her garden, dig the early spuds or catch the



horses for us to go to Mahia and get some paua, koura (crayfish) and pipi that she would dry in the bath, for the winter”.

He said “My Nanny and Grandfather were Ringatu, and when they had church at Kihitu, my Nanny would prepare the kai (food) for them and have it all ready by the time they arrived. The paua were pretty hard when the people arrived for church, but my Nanny would soak and steamed them and by the time church finished, they were back to their normal state and yummy”.

Matua talked about having to catch the horses for him and his Nanny, and then they would ride down the Ngamotu road towards Te Poti, passing the big vegetable gardens plots on the way. If it had been raining, it would be boggy, and if it was fine, there were pot holes in the road and lots of dust. He talked about crossing over from the road to the beach and then he and his Nanny would follow the coastline to Mahia and on to Mokatahi, or sometimes he said his Nanny would decide that she wanted to go to Waimakariri, or perhaps Taupapa or Kinikini”. Matua said, “on their way where ever they were going, she used to do these little karakia, and there was I with such a sore backside ... no saddle, no nothing... she wouldn't even call in at my Mum's place, to get me a blanket to sit on, because time and tide were of the essence for her. She just knew when the tides were right, and the kaimoana (sea food) was fat. I don't know how she knew these things, even if she was alive today she would just know. She knew when the rivers and stream beds would be dry, so we could ride along them. Sometimes we would stay a couple of nights at whanau (family), and then she'd say, well it's time to get back, so we would ride along the river bed and onto the beach back to Kihitu. If it rained we couldn't get out because the rivers and streams would fill, but she just knew when the time was the right to go back.

Matua Bill remembered an occasion when he and his Nanny walked from the Mahanga side of Mahia to Murawai. He was about six years old, and he said “it was such a long walk”. But what was noteworthy he said was when he went to the Ohu Kaimoana Hui at Muriwai with Tipene O'Regan and Tu Wiley, he said to Tu, “Hey I've been here before. This Wharenuī is so familiar to me, as are the carvings”. Tu Wiley said, “I must

have been away at the time". "No", he told Tu, "I was about five or six, and we came straight up from the beach and straight into this meeting house. I think it was church or something like that, but I was so tired; I just curled up by my Nanny and went to sleep". Tu said "this Whare use to be down by the beach, but it was moved up to here a few years ago". Ahh...Matua said "That make more sense to me now, but I still don't know how I walked from Mahanga, to Muriwai, in one day, as a little fella".

Matua Bill told me that the roads at Kihitu could get pretty boggy when it rained, because there was no metal on it and in the summer it had lots of potholes and was very dusty. In those days, he said everybody had big vegetable gardens, and just about everyone had a milking shed, whether they milked one cow or ten cows. The milk and cream went to the Dairy Factory in Wairoa, the stock to the Freezing Works and the vegetables to the Market in Napier". He said that he recalled Mick Barrett, who was the agent or go between Kihitu and Napier, and the sale of vegetables saying that: "Kihitu was once the 'kai-basket' of Napier".

"My Dad use to milked 24 cows on the family block at Kihitu, but the cows weren't getting enough feed, so he tried to get his portion of shares out of the Ohuia Block, but people like Dick McGregor and Turi Carroll and others were all for the corporation staying intact. My Dad took it to Court, but was unable to break it away, because one had to get 99% of the owners to agree. As a result, my parents with us six kids move to Mahia, where my grandfather had land at Kaiwaita. My Dad acquired this land and the proceeded to buy land off the Whaanga's and Christies. This increased his holdings, and he was now able, to support all his cows. And that is where we are still today".

## **Hapu**

Matua Bill told me that the following are the hapu that he knows of: -Ngati Kahu, named after the harrier hawk, Te Uri o Te-O-Tane, the son of Te Maaha, who was a fearless warrior that protected Kihitu, and the land of Ngati Kahungunu.

### **Wharenui & Wharekai (Te Rauhinā & Teāio)**

“Kihitu is our Marae; Whakapunaki is our Maunga (because it overlooks the Wairoa area). Te Rauhinā is our Wharenui. She was the sister of Te Huki, and the first and peaceful wife of Tapuwae, and although she lived on her island, they would meet at the library Rose garden in Wairoa, which is still the whenua of Te Rauhinā. The Wharekai is named Teāio to honour her nature. She was a very peaceful and tranquil person and she gave refuge to many people from many different situations”. Matua Bill told me that he was going to propose a change of name, for the new Dining Room, but because it was the old people who named the Wharekai, Who am I do do this, so it stays”. There was another wharenui on Kihitu. It was called the Wharenui of Tiakiwai. It was floated from Kihitu to Te Uhi, where it remains today. It was moved to provide a resting place for those who were catching a bus to either Turanganui (Gisborne) or Ahuriri (Napier), when it passed through. The carvings from this the Whare are in the Wairoa Museum.

### **Karanga:**

Matua said, he wanted to tell me about this karanga he heard. He said he went to this tangi at Taihoa. They were waiting for the arrival of the Raumore the deceased. When he arrived his wife did this karanga, I think she was learning it, because I'd never heard it before or since. It went like this “Haere mai, haere mai, haere mai ke kite, ke kite, ke kite, te rooma, te rooma, te rooma” and then she would repeat it again. So when we got back to Kihitu, in the early hours of the morning, my Nanny told me to go and get a basin of water to wash my face and then go to bed. I went round the back where we had this 44 gallon drum to get the water and I began “haere mai, haere mai, haere mai ke kite, ke kite, ke kite”. I just got to te roomo and I got a kick in the backside. My Nanny explained that if I do that, I'm calling for one of us to pass away.

### **Wahinekino**

Another story: “One of our tipuna Kakawahine, who came from Muriwai married John Stapleton, which is the line that Ray Paku, and all of them come down through. Her Marae is Hinemihi down Rauataniwha Road. Anyway she got the name 'Wahinekino' from her relations at Rauataniwha. When I heard the name, I thought

what had she done to deserve such a name like that. When I saw Bunty Rangi I asked him what she had done that she got that name. It must have been done something she had done at Muriwai, for her to have ended up at Rauataniwha. Apparently, she took Kwarerepo's eye out, and then ended up marrying him. There is this photo of Kwarerepo, with a gun and a bandage over his eye. It also seemed that whatever she touched dies. Some examples are like, she had these peach trees that she tried to grow at Hinemihi, but they never bore any fruit. She had this milking cow and when she milked it, it dried up and nothing grew in her garden. That's how she got the name Wahinekino. John Scott who lived at Ruataniwha confirmed this for us, by telling me about the trees. He said Derek May has managed to pluck enough courage to knock one of the trees over. It had rotted, but the stump was still there, but he wouldn't touch it, in case he got 'kino'.

## **Urupa**

Our Urupa (Cemetery) is called Okaka. I never really bothered about the name until I met Tipene O'Regan, who told me that Okaka is a place where the tide meets with the land, and there is a place down the bottom of the south island, in the Takitimu Ranges, named Okaka. I told Tipene, that we have an urupa called Okaka. He said, is it by the river and I said yes. He said does the river flood, I said yes, when there has been a big storm. He said well, Okaka would be the flooding of the river, but stops when it meets certain places of the land, like a ledge. I thought, yes I have never known our Urupa to have been flooded, nor had our Marae and Teddy Peka's place. There has been water and wood around both of these, but neither has been flooded.

## **Fishing**

The river and the ocean were very significant to the people of Kihitu, because they both fed the people of Kihitu. I think there is a future for fishing there, not only in the river, but also out at sea. The mudflats at Mahia and Nuhaka have the flounder and sole, Mohaka has the mussels, snapper and kahawai, and Wairoa which is more or less central to those places, bring the best of those. Yes, I think there's a future there for fishing here in Wairoa.

Fishing was a very prominent part of Kihitu. I think nearly every house had a long line and had a wreckie. At Kihitu they used to go to the mouth and use their wreckie boards. Some of the more skilful ones from Kihitu used to go to Mahia to get the paua shell and make them look like bait under water and attracted the fish because they danced in the water. Then came the Pakeha with their nets and then just about everybody had a net. These created a lot of arguments between the people of Kihitu, because when you went down to pull the flounder net up, somebody had beaten you to it. I remember this time going down to the river with Uncle Teddy Peka to pull up the flounder net. There were only two in it. He said "someone has pulled the net up before us; they must have wanted them more than us. Its ok son, that's enough for us, we'll go home now. Don't worry about it, there's still some more in the river for tomorrow. He looked at things that way.

Your Uncle Ruddy was a very prominent white-baiter on the cliff there with his net. I remember going to the urupa and he signalled us to go down by him to get some whitebait for my Nanny. When I got there he had five kerosene tins of whitebait. Anyway he gave us quite a lot of whitebait to take home to my Nanny. I think he used to sell the whitebait to the fish shop owned by Zacras and Co, and I think they were buying it for a shilling a pound.

I've not heard of the boys or men going out fishing on logs. I only know that our people use to go out in their waka (canoe) to the river or the sea. The big waka was for big catches and the smaller waka for smaller catches.

### **The 12 Apostles**

I want to mention the twelve apostles (logs) that all end up at Korito - Iwitea. "Following the death of Te Kooti in 1894, a new prophet arose from the Wairoa people. He was called Te Matenga a quiet and humble man who the people believed he was the successor to Te Kooti. He told the people he had received a revelation that told him to erect a tabernacle of 12 pillars at Korito-Iwitea. Like Te Kooti his teachings were based on the Old Testament (Whaanga 2003, pg 214- 210)". The logs chosen were totara specially chosen to build a temple at Korito. When the trees were cut the people had to wait for a storm, to take the logs down the river,

which happened in 1904. My grandfather was one of those who guided the logs down the river, but as they got closer to the 'river bar' they were going so fast my grandfather jumped off the log and swam ashore. He said he always believed that those logs were destined for Kihitu, and while some of the logs landed at Kihitu, it didn't take much to push them out again, where they went out to sea and on to Korito, but one landed at Mahia. At that particular time Jack Ormond was making waves about joining the Ratana movement and to become a Member of Parliament. Some thought that the temple was to be built at Mahia, but Jack told them no, the log had to go to Korito so they got a launch and towed it back to Iwitea, and then a big wave came and knocked it right to where the logs are today. It's quite astounding Bella Tomaroa was quite adamant that the logs settled where the temple was to be built. While there is no temple built, these logs are still on the beach at Iwitea and are still significant, in that they hold the people of Iwitea together.

### **Colonisation,**

I think of colonisation like when we were young, we were allowed to eat with our fingers, but today our children have to eat with a knife and forks, like we are being absorbed into another culture.

While we had our own gardens, our own cows to milk and our own meat supply things were good at Kihitu. We could exchange kaimoana for wild pork. We could barter a portion of a cow for pork bones and watercress. But, then money arrived and eventually there no more swapping kai (food), you had to buy the stuff. If you didn't have enough money, or didn't know how to budget it was harder to survive. This I think was a time when our whanau began to move from to Wairoa, to Napier or to other cities and even overseas to look for work. Money was the only way to survive back then, and there weren't many options left. "Colonisation has had a terrible effect on us as Maori"; Matua said "which came close to the near loss of our Maori structures, whanau, hapu, iwi and te reo Maori".

### **Urbanisation**

"Somehow the people of Kihitu managed to survive by remaining as a community and working together for a time. They continued to send stock to the Works, and vegetables to Napier, and then there was the flax trade

which was big in its time. While some stayed and worked in their gardens, others went to work at cutting flax or in the flax mills. There was plenty of work then, but when the flax trade eventually died, times became harder and money was hard to come by. Then Freezing Works at Wairoa opened and became the biggest employer of the people of Kihitu and Wairoa”, Uncle said “I think this was the greatest movement of the people from Kihitu to town. Whanau moved into town for economic reasons and a few used their incomes to build or buy a house. Your Uncle Ruddy was one of those, Em. Also about this time, the Dairy Factory was expanding, so those at Kihitu who had stock or were milking cows were economically safe in the meantime.

With the urban drift to towns and cities, made a lot of our people ‘town or city wise’, so when they came home, they come home as ‘city slickers’ and found it hard to cope because there was no longer access to the ‘One Stop Hub’, like they have in the cities. How then, can we keep our children or the mokopuna of Kihitu here?

I myself and my wife had fourteen children and we managed to survive, because we had our own vegetable gardens and our own meat (on a hoof), so we didn’t have to spend much money, and the garden provided a little extra money to pay for the power bill or school fees. Unfortunately education necessitated our children to move away to attend tertiary institutions and universities, and as a result we had to work harder to earn more money to pay for their education, but we always found a way.

Kihitu no longer has that supportive community drive, where everybody would work in their gardens, and helped out in other whanau gardens. Maybe even form a ‘corporation’, similar to Ohuia maybe, and thereby supply the viable product for the Farmers Market at Wairoa, Gisborne and Napier.

Kihitu could fit into the wider development of Wairoa. It could be in such a way, that it becomes a ‘tourist spot’. Wairoa has a lot to offer, and ‘high rise or back packers accommodation’ at Kihitu could be a positive for Wairoa, but our home people need to stay at Kihitu or Wairoa. If Wairoa could supply the industries for workers, then Kihitu would be the place to stay, away from the hustle and bustle of town life. However consideration must also be given to building a bridge across from Kihitu to Spooners Point.

I myself have no intention of building or moving back to Kihitu. My children are all over the place now, but Mahia will always be our home. They were bought up at Mahia, which is theirs, mine and my wife's home and we are all very familiar with Mahia. I think if I had of been mainly bought up at Kihitu, than Mahia would be probably be a holiday venue.

But there are those 'big joker's like Brown Riggs, Forestry and Watties. They could take over the whole of Kihitu, and have one big farm of pumpkins or other products. They have done that at Ohuia and now at Tahanui. If we could get a viable product that could sustain a marketable commodity long term, then I think some of our people will come back. But we have to find the commodity first.

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Kihitu is so different to Mahia. At Mahia, one has to go a long way across the paddocks to talk to the neighbour, whereas at Kihitu you could almost talk through the kitchen window or pop over for a feed of puha and dough boys. By knowing this, I still see myself as being part of Kihitu's future, with what little bit of life is left in me. It is still part of me and I am part of her.



The best memory I can recall at Kihitu was when I came face to face with Jack Mitchell, the writer of Takitimu. It happened when my Nanny sent me to telephone for a taxi. Jack was the only one who had a telephone at Kihitu. I knocked on the door and he came out, he had this korowai on, with a tiaha in one hand and a pen in the other. “Yes boy”, he said. Well I just about collapsed; I was shaking so much in awe of this man. He said “Come on in and see what I’m doing”. He had all these papers on the table, which I now understand were part of his book ‘Takitimu’. It is a memory I will never forget.

### **The Development and Future for Ngamotu**

There is talk by the old people saying that Kihitu will come back to how it used to be or even better. But, I think things have to happen first. We have to make Kihitu more companionable with the Wairoa side. A bridge across from Kopu Road or Spooners Point to Kihitu I think would be beneficial to both parties and make Kihitu a more workable commodity. Otherwise they could go back to using a waka. I am sure they would appreciate crossing the river on the waka, especially in summer. I used to crossover in a waka, to go and get a bag of flour or sugar. I really enjoyed it, but weather will dictate this.

Matua Bill said he thought “the development of a’ tourist centre’ in Wairoa could be a way to bring people to ‘Wairoa’ and then to Kihitu. We could build a bridge across from Spooners Point or Koopu Road and Kihitu could have Community Convention Centre which would have accommodation, a sports bar, a restaurant, a takeaway food place, and accommodation which would be a ‘central point’ for tour operators to take people to Mahia to fish, collect kaimoana (seafood) or just to relax on the beach, a tour to Waikaremoana sightseeing, fishing or hunting. And Wairoa could have a “hub”, a one stop place with a garage, car wash, and repairs, Warehouse, Warehouse Stationary, Dick Smiths, a Beauty Salon, a chemist, a Coffee place, and a couple of restaurants plus a McDonalds, but they would have to be on a smaller scale, to begin. This could invite the return of some Kihitu mokopuna back to build at Kihitu and work at this Centre. Another idea might be if Wairoa supplies the industries for workers, then Kihitu could be the place to stay, away from the hustle and bustle of the town. The old people are saying that Kihitu will come back to how it used to be or even better.

But, I think things have to happen first. We have to make Kihitu more companionable with the Wairoa side. A bridge across from Kopu Road or Spooners Point to Kihitu would help. I think and it could be workable idea and beneficial for both parties, and it could make Kihitu a more workable commodity. Otherwise, there could be a launch across or go back to using a waka. I am sure they would appreciate crossing the river on the waka, especially in summer. I used to crossover in a waka, to go and get a bag of flour or sugar. I really enjoyed it, but weather will dictate this.

Kihitu no longer has that supportive community drive, where everybody would work in their gardens, and helped out in other whanau gardens. Another thought might be to form a 'corporation', similar to Ohuia and in growing viable product for a Farmer Market at Wairoa, Gisborne and Napier. There are these 'big joker's like Brown Riggs, Forestry and Watties. They could take over the whole of Kihitu, and have one big farm of pumpkins or other products. They have done that at Ohuia and now at Tahanui. If we could get a viable product that could sustain a marketable commodity long term, then I think some of our people will come back. But we have to find the commodity first.

Ngamotu is important to me as I am part of it as it is part of it.

## KO WAI AU



### 3. Pita Robinson-Walker

Pita Robinson-Walker (aka Hukinga – named after Mere Te Huia's father) is a Historian connected to Ngamotu through whakapapa, and is committed to local history, including Ngamotu/Kihitu.

Pita told me his name was Pita Robinson, but I also know him as Pita Hukinga, after his Matua from Rongowhakata and the father of Mere Te Huia Apatari buried on Ngamotu 14.1b. I met with Pita at his home in Iwitea, where he explains his linked to Kihitu as being through both his parents, but more particularly through his great, great grandmother who was from Kihitu. "It is known he said that she had two sons, who were raised at Kihitu. One was called Maturuaho, and the second son's name I can't remember. Maturuaho was one of the sons involved in a group of three, who were selected by the hapu to shoot Porihiko, a man who was being accused (by the people of Kihitu) of putting a makutu (witchcraft) on them. Three people drew straws, and whoever drew the short straw was the one who was responsible for killing Porihiko. It was Taitu who drew the short straw and was the one who was responsible for killing of Porihiko. Porihiko's descendants were the last holders of Kahunganu's tiki, which is now in the Wanganui museum.

### **What is the proper name of this whenua, is it Ngamotu or Kihitu?**

Ngamotu are 'blocks' but I have always known it as Kihitu. When I asked him if knew of any 'yester-year' kaumatua of Ngamotu. Pita named Te Rauhina who he said was the peaceful wife of our Tapuwae, and was an 'Ariki' (eldest born into a family of note) and was known for her peaceable nature. The Dining Room he said is named after her nature and is called 'Teaio'. But what was funny he said is that he didn't see Kihitu as being much of a peaceful haven, because they have had a lot of disputes and skirmish's there.

## Tapuwae

Pita said that Mitchell (1972, pg 127) writes that Tapuwae was laid to rest in a historical urupa named Tahuna-mai-Hawaiki (sandbank from Hawaiki), situated on the shore of the river, ten chains from the western side of the mouth of the Wairoa River". Further Mitchell writes that... " Ruawharo, the priest of the Takitimu had bought sand from Hawaiki and deposited it at certain places. Mahia was one and at the mouth of the Wairoa River was one, because it was usually the desire of 'high born people' to be interred at one of those places. Beaches were often chosen as Maori burial grounds, owing to the ease of digging, and the concealment once the wind had blown over the spot, and that the sand would not set permanently"

He also named his Uncle Teddy Peka, as a 'yester-yea' kaumatua of Ngamotu' who was in his early nineties, when he past. His proper name was Peka Ngahau, but everybody knew him as Uncle Teddy Peka. He had dropped his Ngahau name and made Peka his surname. He went to school at Iwitea, along with other kids from Iwitea, Kihitu, and Waitai Valley. He told Pita that they used walk to school from Kihitu, through Ohuia and through a place called the Willows, but sometime they would just dodge school and hang out there until it was time to go home.

## Urupa

Pita said to me, you know where the urupa is, well if you head towards the hill there and see the pine trees, Uncle Teddy told me not to go there, because there's a bad man buried there. He is buried upside down. As a punishment I assumed, to which he agreed. Now, he said there are those people who are buried outside the urupa (cemetery) fence. I am not sure why, but my grandmother's oldest sister is buried outside the urupa fence and she is coming close to the surface now, so when the time is right, we are going take her back to Iwitea. She was brought up in Kihitu, by an old korua there, I am told. .

“I want to tell you” he said, “a lady, from Hastings one of Tiakiwai’s people, wanted to go to Kihitu to visit Mere Te Huia’s grave. I took her out there but told her I wanted to show you her where the Wharenui of Tiakiwai use to be, before being transported to Te Uhi. There are some graves down by the river near where his whare was. We parked and began to walk there. As we got nearer, we came up on one of the tombs that had caved in. When I looked there was a skeleton lying there. This wahine (women) got so scared she wanted to be taken back to Wairoa. She didn’t want to go back to Kihitu, because she was so scared. Anyway the next day I got my neighbour up at 5am and told him we went to the urupa. When we got there, he helped me clear the blackberries that were over the tomb, then gathered the bits and pieces of concrete and put them inside the tomb with the skeleton, and then we bricked it closed. The opening was caused by the cows rubbing against it over the years.

## **Hapu**

Pita said that the only hapu he knows of is Ngati Kahu, because he said “I am of Ngati Kahu, which is the Maori name for a hawk. I don’t know of any others” he said.

## **What is the proper name of the river and what does it mean?**

The Wairoa River is broken up into three sections, one part is Wairoa, one part is Hopupu and the other is Honenge Matangirau. It means the meeting of three rivers, and where they meet they create turbulences of water, that whirl, twirl and as it heads out to sea it calms at Spooners Point. And my Aunties tell me the people of Kihitu are like the river turbulent and often in turmoil.

## **Pa**

I only know about one Pa, Uncle Teddy told me that there was one on top of Okaka hill, overlooking the Wairoa and Ngamotu/Kihitu and it was called Pa-Tuatini and it had palisades and earthworks.

## **Fishing**

Pita said that his Uncle Teddy told him when he was young he used to fish at Kihitu, in the river and had a 'long line' like a lot of other whanau at Kihitu, and he loved to do this. He also told me that he had his own crayfish spot down at Kihitu, but he wouldn't tell me or anybody where it was. I think it was out by the reef at Te Poti. I remember he said that one Christmas he with his whanau were camping down the end of Iwitea Beach and his Mum used to catch crayfish on the beach, so there must be a bed of crayfish somewhere out here.

## **Restoration**

I think Kihitu it's a dry place, and it needs revamping. It needs new blood to come into the place and breathe a bit of life into it. It needs a good overhaul. I actually walked there from Iwitea beach not too long ago he said and I wondering why it had such a big Marae that hardly gets patronised, and houses that are left need a good overhaul as well.

I think he said if the Council straightened and tar sealed the road, it would be a good start. But I like Matua Bill Blake's idea of a bridge across from Koopu Road to Kihitu. That would be good, but I can't see it happening, but I still think it would be a neat idea. It would encourage whanau to come back to Kihitu to build; especially now they have two phase power and the water connected. But I think finance to build and employment might be a problem. But again I would still like to see, even if it was two or three families, to start. However employment would be a big factor for those who return. There is no work really in Wairoa and certainly none at Kihitu. Whanau are not as close as they used to be like the old days, he said and he felt that is one of the reasons why a lot of people won't come back to the Marae or Kihitu. It is so sad; they don't come back and bring their children and grandchildren back.

All the Marae in Wairoa have had wananga, whakapapa wananga he said, but I think it takes a bit more than a wananga to know the whenua, but I think he said it would be good for us to hui together and find solutions to

try and bring whanau back to Kihitu, but where would the money come from. Pita said, I think the development of the land and leasing it out could be another idea, you know he said like agriculture, orchards, growing pine trees or something like that. There's a lot of land out there, one person can't do everything with it. I have seen the results of some of the peaches being grown at Ohuia. My cousin runs the orchard there and he told me that he has Asians picking the squash. Yes, he said I think that the future of Kihitu is in agriculture.

There is the lagoon out there it would be good a good idea to follow Whakaki's example of planting native trees around the lagoon. It could be a start for short term employment maybe.

Pita said he would never go to live at Kihitu, and explains that his commitment is at Iwitea. He tells me that his grandfather Johnny Robinson is buried at Kihitu, with his mother Hannah Stapleton who was married to George Robinson and whose mother was Aunty Jane White.

I'd like to see people build there, back on their whanau lands. Where the old homes used to be but then I suppose that's an issue for the whanau to sort out aye. Cause knowing our people when it comes to land they don't want the next one to have it and I suppose that's the first barrier that each one has to come across to accept it and just let one have it, the one that's prepared to go back there instead of making them family properties, where you all fight over it. But you look at a lot of the Maori homes around Wairoa, the reason why they haven't been maintained and they're empty is because they are family homes and every man and his dog is in it, whereas it should have just been left to one person.

See they say why we should do it up; we're not the only ones here why should we do it up for the next one. So I think when our old people leave, and make their rules instead of buying and letting all their fifteen kids have a piece of it just leave it to one because their shares become economical too and then the land gets bigger and bigger, otherwise there's too many people for the land, leave it to the ones who are prepared to come back.

Although we have a connection there, the feeling for Kihitu isn't there like it is for here at Iwitea. Although I take an interest in what is happening out there, I'm not prepared to live there. I'd rather put as I said before into Iwitea. I think if we were born there, it would be different. The only time that we use to go out to Kihitu as to stay with Aunty Maggie and Uncle Ted, who would take us out eeling.

Because the roads are Council property, I think the roads should be maintained better. I think they could cut out a few corners and tar sealed it. There is no rural delivery out there Pita said, I am not sure why. Here I asked how Aunty Maggie went to town, when she needed to, when was alive. He said all nieces would pick her up or her mail up. I think that was very disappointing like there is no mode of development at Kihitu, I'm sure there could be some create development thought. "Build a bridge", Uncle Bill said, "I think it's a good idea Em, but I think it's just a dream, but I like his thinking.

Hapu, you know that whare (house) that sits at Te Uhi that was built for Hamana Taiapa Taikiwiwai at Kihitu. Well, it got floated down the river to where it is now at Te Uhi. They have their own maunga (mountain). I thought that was interesting because most hapu from our district use Whakapunaki, as their maunga (mountain) I don't use it he said, whereby I told him I say Huanui is my maunga, the hill behind where Nanny Mere Te Huia is buried.

## **Colonisation**

I try not to think of colonisation now, because it is not my origins. I survive because when talking whakapapa, I am not only talking names, or history, or even taonga (gifts). I am talking whakapapa, for the people, the trees, the birds and every other living thing, but mostly whakapapa speaks of shedding our skin onto the land, as it is this that binds us to the land.



## KO WAI AU



### 5. The late Bill Andrews

Cousin Bill is the fourth voice to be heard. He tells me he arrived at Ngamotu/Kihitu as a three years old and left as an eighteen year old, going to live in Taupo.

Following karakia, Bill explained that he was not born to Kihitu, but that he was a mokopuna of Kihitu, through his biological mother Polly Anaru nee Thompson, and father Neke Anaru. His great grandfather was Anaru Penni from Kihitu, but he had taken his first name Anaru for his second name, hence we were called Anaru's, (Andrews).

His siblings were Mere, Aileen, Rosie, Nepia, and Blondie. When Blondie was born their mother had an internal haemorrhage and suffered brain damage and spent the rest of her life in an Institutional facility. My Dad's family were going to split us up, but my stepfather said no, I'm keeping them together, and took us back to Te Uhi, just over the hill on the way to Turanganui (Gisborne), there's a gate on the left, and there was a house there. It was the Christie's, that where we went. At age three my Nanny Tangiapatu came and took me to Kihitu. I don't know how that transpired, but it was roughly about 1935. I was three years old at the time. There was no house for us at Kihitu at the time, but my Nanny Rangi Christie was building us a house. In the meantime we stayed in a 'rua' that consisted of four posts in the ground with a tin around it and a grapevine growing over it. That was where we slept. I lived with my Nanny until she died. Prior to her dying, my Mum and our stepfather moved to Kihitu to look after my Nanny until she died, and then they lived there ever since. I left Kihitu at the age 18 years, and arrived in Taupo June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1953, where I have been ever since. Bill said he had only known Ngamotu as Kihitu. It was not until he got my invitation and questioner sheet that he found

out that most of that whenua was Ngamotu. He said the last time he went home “the road sign was Kihitu road, I’m sure that’s right”. Bill explained that “life at Kihitu was hard for me and my brothers and sisters. We use to have to get up at three o’clock every morning to milk cows, and have the milk and cream ready when the truck came by for ‘pick up’ to deliver it to the Dairy Factory in Wairoa”.

“Any stories about Kihitu, like the flying fish, I never saw it but my brother said he did, and he’s ok. The burial cave at Te Poti, I’ve never been in that area and had no need to go there. We use to go along the beach, but not the hill itself. The problem for me was that I had no depth of understanding about such things in what I saw or know about Kihitu, even though I lived there for eighteen years. That sounds sad aye and like I said before I had no idea that Kihitu was not its proper name and that I only found out when you rung me to do this interview that I heard that name, and I was telling my family about it and someone showed me a map. I can’t remember who that was, but the name of the road was Ngamotu. I’m sure when I went back some time ago I saw the sign as Kihitu Road. But no, I didn’t know that was her name.

I explained to Bill that Kihitu is 15 acres across the road from the Marae, is owned by the Blake/Peka whanau and the rest are blocks called Ngamotu. Our Marae is registered and known as Kihitu Pa, and like most other people Ngamotu is called Kihitu.

We talked for a short while about his knowledge of his hapu and what it might be. He informed me that he didn’t have any knowledge of hapu, but then said he had a vague memory about an Ngati Kahu. “Is that such a hapu he asked?” When I said yes, he got excited. He said he just wasn’t sure, but that was what he could remember. I gave him a very brief explanation of what I knew about Ngati Kahu explaining it as being named after the ‘harrier hawk’, which is a native of New Zealand and is a protected species in 1985. I also informed him that another hapu is Te Uri o Te-Maaha, telling him the story of Te Maaha and Tapuwae. “Wow” he said, “such a lot of history at once cousin, aye”

Bill then asked me “you know all the springs you have in your sketch, I think there are some more. There is one on the left coming down the hill in to Kihitu, another to the right by the hill, another one a bit further on the same side, one at Johnny Keefe’s, by the cow shed and there was a well by Jack Mitchell’s place, opposite the Marae. I understood it was very deep and there is another spring by a Ngaio tree somewhere, but I can’t remember where and there was another one by Whatu Henry’s cow shed.

Bill began telling me about yester year Kuia and Koroa. He said he was on the school bus going to town one day and Nanny Matengahere got on. We’re going a long and I just happen to look over and saw Nanny take her teeth out. I was so fascinated. I sat back in my seat and tried and tried to yank my teeth out. I tried it for days, but I just couldn’t get them out. I just didn’t understand”. Nanny lived up the road from us at the O’Keefe homestead. We use to go up there for church (Ratana). I recollect that Nanny John and Nanny Matengahere had this ‘earth soil kitchen floor’; it was so clean and tidy” I showed him this photo, “yea that’s her and Nanny John. Wow, what a picture. This research is much more interesting than I thought it would be. “How did you get this photo?” he asked. “These are my Grandparents” I said. “true!” he said. She was such a beautiful lady, and there is Nanny John. They were both very good to me. He was such a ‘snappy’ dresser. Always smartly dressed”



Matengahere and John O’Keefe

Yea, "that's them. Wow, what a picture. This research is much more interesting than I thought it would be. How did you get this photo?" he asked. These are my Grandparents I said. "true!" he said. She was such a beautiful lady, and that's Nanny John O'Keefe. They were both so good to me. As a young fella, I thought that Nanny John was a neat looking fella, always immaculately dressed. I remember his face well and I remember their lovely house and flower garden. They had a huge vegetable garden as well. It went right up the hill at the back of the house.



Grandfather John O'Keefe and  
Aunt Neta Ormond nee O'Keefe in  
the garden – note vegetable garden  
at back

There was always plenty to eat there. We use to go up there quite a bit, for church (Ratanga). It was a big house you know, you could walk straight through from the front to the back. In the kitchen you had to step down, on to this dirt floor. It was a big kitchen and so very clean, neat and tidy kept by Nanny Matengahere.



"Wow, this is a photo of the cabbage tree at the  
Marae. It has a lot of 'pito' beneath it.

Bill Andrews

I told Bill that the cabbage tree didn't exist anymore; it came down when they built the new Wharekai, because they needed more room for the Dining Room and its boundaries, bit sad for the 'pito' (After birth) that rest there aye. I don't know much more about Kihitu, but I'll tell you this story okay.

It's a 'watermelon story, he said with a twinkling in his eyes. Often at home "my brother and I use to sit around and plan how we were going to get some of Bunny Kaikau's watermelons when they were ripe. We would go for walks up the road and spy out the places we could get in and out of without anyone seeing us.

As time went on and the melons began to ripen, we got wooden planks and laid them across the blackberry bushes in the drain, and walked on them to flatten them. When the melons were ripe, we would climb down into the drain, go along and get us some watermelon and go home and have a good feed. Fortunately my brother and I slept in a bach out the back of the house.

A week would go by, when Bunny would come over to our place and told the old man, "Eddy", he would say, "some bugger is stealing my watermelons. I'm gonna sit in the middle of my patch tonight with my shot gun". That night, we went along the drain and saw Bunny sitting in his chair in the middle of the crop with his gun. My brother said to me, "I'm gonna to get us some melons. When you see Bunny look up the hill way, whistle, ok, and away he went. As soon as Bunny looked the other way I would whistle, and away my brother would go, grab a water melon and back in the drain. We did this about four times. Once my brother nearly got caught, he heard Bunny saying who's that, so he laid flat on his tummy, until he heard Bunny say "It must have been a cat or something". We only got two that night".

A week or so later Bunny came over and told my old man, someone is still stealing my bloody watermelons. I had my eye on these three water melons and now two of them have gone. I'm gonna fix them, come and see Eddy, so my brother and I followed them. We got to the melons. Bunny lifted a melon and there were was this clanking of cans. The strings with the tins on ran all the way up to the house. "You see" he said 'if they try we will hear.

Anyway my bro and I went back to our place and talked about how we might get a watermelon. My bro came back from the house with two spoons, and began to file the spoon handle and told me to do it as well. The following night we went to the watermelon patch again. We then crawled under the string, found a watermelon, turn them over gently, cut the bottoms out and had a good feed. When we were finished we would put the lid back on and turn them back over. A few days later when Bunny came over, he was all smiles because no one had stolen his watermelons. A month or so later he came over to our place and said to our Dad, I don't know what's happened to the watermelons, but they are all rotting. My brother and I looked at each other and had to go behind the truck to have a good laugh

I had to smile, because I remember Bill being mischief anyway, when we were young. He said, looking at questions that he felt he could not contribute much more; because he said I have been away so long, I have found it hard to remember the name of the river proper. It was just Wairoa River to me. As for the Pa, he said I don't have a clue. "Life at Kihitu was hard for us, me my brothers and sisters when we were younger. We would have to be up at 3am in the morning. Get the cows in, milked and have the cans of milk and cream ready for the Milk Truck to take it into town. While it was a hard life, I thought it was a good life.

"When I was living at Kihitu as a youngster, it was a very busy and lively place. People were busy in their garden, milking cows, going fishing and hunting and there was always a lot to do, even for us kids. There was this time when these workmen were timbered the river bar, to try and stop the river bar changing all the time. It was ok for a week, but was gone a few weeks later. They will never tame that river bar. We use to go there to get the seagull eggs or do some fishing with long lines. It was so much fun. My Nanny told me that when she was a young woman it was even busier. I liked it there, but there was no work for me".

## **Alcohol**

"I remember Kihitu as a kid, as a teenager and as an eighteen year old" Bill said. "Kihitu was not rife with booze that I remember as a child, but as I got older and before I left Ngamotu/Kihitu alcohol was becoming

more common, and so was domestic violence. It was only happening in a couple of houses, but my old man and lady were tea totaller's absolute, that I can remember. There was one of the Whaea, who was a heavy drinker, but she was a happy drunk, no one seemed to mind. Johnny O'Keefe as I had heard like a beer or two, but Nanny Matengahere didn't, nor were anybody else really at the time I lived there. Heta Kaukau, he used to make apple cider, but you would never saw him drunk. My old papa used to go into town to do his shopping once a month, and sometimes he would come home a little tipsy, but that was about all I ever saw of booze. The Marae at the time was very strict about alcohol. Minimal alcohol could be had when there was a wedding, or a fund raising for the Hockey team or the Marae, but alcohol was limited".

"When you got hold of me to see if you could interview me about Kihitu, I thought 'boring' but it was surprising good. It was so much better then I thought. I thought I would get these dumb questions, but it was so good cousin, thank you. It bought back so many memories for me, and it also made me realize, just how important Kihitu was to me. Those who have never lived on that land would not know its importance, aye. Its home!

You know Em, I can't make any comment about why the people have left the land. I left because there was no future for me there or in Wairoa. The only thing I would say was the fact that we couldn't play sport or go to the movies. We just couldn't afford the petrol let alone money to go to the pictures or the gear to play sports.

## KO WAI AU



### 6. The late Maggie Peka

The late Maggie Peka: married Uncle Teddy Peka of the Blake/Peka whanau, and lived on Ngamotu/Kihitu for 60 years or more. She is able to whakapapa to Ngamotu through Rongomai Wahine.

### Whaea Maggie and our Connection

Today is our last day, with my deaf sister Polly, before we take her to Okaka, to be wrapped in the arms of Paptuanuku, by her whanau. I was sitting with my sister on the Paepae, in the early morning. Everyone else has gone to breakfast, and I was sat by her watching the swallows dance out the front of the Wharenui. A dance I have seen many times, but today there seemed to be many more than usual. Flittering, flying, diving and chirping, as if talking and saying their final farewell. They were so beautiful to watch.

Then Aunty Maggie Peka came round the corner and sat on the other side of my sister Polly. After a while she began to tell me some stories about Ngamotu, which confirmed the many gifts that, my Aunty Nora and Grandmother had left me.

Aunty Maggie said she remembered me doing a research a few years ago on Mere Te Huia. I was very surprised that she remembered me, so at the closure of the Marae Committee; I asked her if she would be one of my participants. She said yes, so I set up a time and date, and place. I was delighted. However, on our arrival two weeks later, she asked me a couple of questions, which I answered and she closed down. I was later to find that there has been some rarurau (argument) over the boundaries of the new Dining Room and her whare (house). However as time went on, I still called on her to see how she was, as I had done over the



years, and on one of those visits she began to talk about Ngamotu and her puraaka (stories). I asked her if I could write down what she was telling me, and told her I would let her read them or I would read it back to her when we finished. She agreed.

She told me about:-

- The flying fish at the reef by Te Pooti – and if you see one, there is misfortune. But I learnt from her that the fish was headless
- The patuparire (fairies) use to run from Te Pooti Point to the Urupa, and back. She thought they must be keeping the link between those at the Urupa and those at Te Poti.
- The names of the hills that provided shelter of Ngamotu and Kihitu: Nga Pukutura (two hills), Te Poti, Huia- A-Nui and Okaka.
- The names of the springs that located on the whenua of Ngamotu were Nga Pukutura, Hui-a-nui, Te Waipuna and Te Waitaha which were the water source for Ngamotu and Kihitu at one time.

## **Urupa**

On one occasion I asked if she knew about the man buried upside down at the Okaka Hill, and did she know why. She said yes, but did not know who it was or why. She seemed to think he was a bad man.

My korero (talk) with Aunty Maggie confirms the stories that my Aunty Nora told me. I was delighted, but was still disappointed because I was sure there were more stories she could have told us, but I was lucky and glad to have had that time with her.

**KO WAI AU****7: Emma Webber-Dreadon**

I am the last voice to be heard. I am the Researcher and a Participant of this study, and a mokopuna of Ngamotu.

I am the youngest child of my mother's 21 children and my Dads 12. My name is Emma Webber-Dreadon and I am a mokopuna of Ngamotu through whakapapa.

My mother is Te Paea Ahuriri O'Keefe aka Sophie, my father was David Webber, whose mother is Makareta Kamara (aka Gemmell), his Dad was John Webber a linesman who lived and worked at Turiroa, but later he and my Grandmother moved to lived on Mitchell Road, in a large house by the river, where my Dad and his siblings were brought up. Both my parents were fluent in te reo Maori. My Mum was a kaikaranga and my Dad did whaikorero (spoke) on many Marae.

My maternal Grandparents, Matengahere and Hone O'Keefe, my maternal Great Grandparents Te Paea Apatari and Hemi O'Keefe, and my maternal Great, Great Grandparents Mere Te Huia Hukinga and Henare Apatari. Mere Te Huia Apatari nee Hukinga rest on 141b, the O'Keefe land. My mother, my Great Grand Aunts, Aunties, Uncles, brothers, sisters, and cousins all rest in the Okaka Urupa. My Dad, went to both world Wars, WW I and WW 2 and rests at the RSA plot at the Wairoa Cemetery



This is my maternal Aunty Nora who started me on this journey of research. She was my tohunga. She often uses to sit with me and tell me stories about Kihitu, and as a result prior to this research I completed one on our kuia Mere Te Huia Apatari and this research just seemed to follow.

### **Ngamotu or Kihitu**

I never knew Ngamotu as the name for this whenua before 1995/96; I only knew it as Kihitu. In 1995/96, I completed a research on Mere Te Huia Apatari, our kuia who rests on 14.1b, two paddocks over from the Okaka Urupa. This was when I found out that Ngamotu was the actual name of the blocks, and that Kihitu was across the road [see red shed] from the Marae and the Marae site was called Kihitu Pa. (Webber-Dreadon 1995/96).



Kihitu, across the road from the Marae



Bouquets of Blackberries and Gorse



Nga Pukutura, (two hills),

Ngamotu from Te Poti

Huianui

Interestingly, all participants, except one, knew this whenua was Ngamotu, but preferred to call her Kihitu, because that is what they grew up with. Ngamotu is 472 acres of land (Te Uri o Te-Maaha), on the eastern

side of the Wairoa River and is affectionally known as Kihitu. But in actual fact Kihitu is 15 acres across the road from the Marae where the red shed sits, and belongs to the Peka/Blakes.

Ngamotu was once a part of a larger block called Ohuia No 2, and was separated from it in 1892, by a Tairawhiti Native Land Court decision, (Ngamotu Judgment, p135); and set in blocks as a place where the people who worked on Ohuia, could have a place to live.

Like my cousin Tini, I always thought the name Ngamotu, belong to the lagoon, and the rest was Kihitu, until 1995/6 when I found out that except for 15 acres, the rest were blocks under the name of Ngamotu, with the exception of Kihitu.

There are three notions about what Ngamotu might mean. One such notion is that 'nga is plural and motu is island' and that it meant the island that broke away or separated from, possibly it was Te Rauhina's Island. The second notion was that the area of Ngamotu was made up of islands and water, and the third was told to



me by my Aunty Nora, whereby she thought it might indicate the separation of two 'high born' brothers Tapuwae and Te Maaha.



**Tapuwae** (Whakamahia) to the left: **Te Maaha** (Ngamotu & Kihitu) to the right

The following is the story of Tapuwae and his younger brother Te Maaha.

*“Tapuwae* was the first born child of Te Okuratawhiti and second wife of Hine-pehinga (his wife), and *Te Maaha* was the second son of this union. Both were born at Taumata-o-Hine-pehinga, in a Pa on the western side of the Wairoa River, called Te Whata-koau, next to the old homestead of Whakamahia. While Tapuwae and his younger brother Te Maaha were high born males, Tapuwae from the time of his birth was looked upon as *Upoko Arik* (Head Lord). As they grew up to their manhood, their father Te Okuratawhiti noticed their intense dislike of each other and came to the conclusion that they would not combine in defence of themselves and the people. One day, he lead them along the beach and on reaching Rangi-houa pa at the western side of the mouth of the Wairoa River, he turned to Te Maaha and said *“Na ko koe e Te Maaha me whakawhiti koe ki tera taha o te awa, a, oti atu, a, kei noho koe a ka ari mai ki tenei taha”* (You, Te Maaha, shall cross to the other side of the river and remain there and never show your shadow on this side”). He then turned to Tapuwae and said *“Na ko koe Tapuwae, me noho koe I tenei taha, a, noho koe ka ari atu ki te taha kia te Maaha”* (You, Tapuwae, will remain on this side of the river, and never show your shadow on Te Maaha’s side of the river). After the separation the names of Te Ari a Te Maaha and Te Ari a Tapuwae were bestowed

respectively on the eastern and western sides of the mouth of the Wairoa River. The brothers remained separated until the intermarriage of their descendants bought them together again. To the present day, the above names are still used when speaking of the respective sides of the river (Mitchell, 1972)

Unfortunately, there is very limited literature that specifically relates to Ngamotu. Ballara (1991, p1) supports this notion, as does Wright (1994), when they make it clear that “little attention was paid to Maori when writing about Hawkes Bay’s history”. It was not until 1925 that Thomas Lambert’s book ‘The Story of Old Wairoa’ was first published and republished in 1936 and again in 1977, with the latter having additional information to the 1936 book. While this book holds valuable information, it is written from a ‘colonial’ perspective. Lambert gathered his information from conversations with people, but did not identify who the people were, which gives me a cause to be apprehensive, particularly as it is unknown whether his sources are Maori or non-Maori. In 1944 the book Takitimu emerged and then again in 1972. The Author, Tiaki Hikawere Mitira, better known as Jack Mitchell, is a mokopuna of Ngamotu, but he has only written very small segments that refer to Kihitu or Ngamotu by those names, instead he refers to them the east and west side of the river, and he has mainly concentrated on the exploits Te-O-Tane (Mitchell 1972, p128) the son of Te Maaha.



In Maori mythology and the story of Maui, we are told that the colour of the Kahu’s plumage is the result of it having been scorched by the fire of Mahuika, when she tried to destroy Maui.

The Kahu is a native to Aotearoa New Zealand and became a protected species in 1985.

The Kahu drifts and soars over the countryside, in wide circles it goes, with a slow steady flight, remaining on the wing for hours without apparent fatigue. They fly slowly into the wind, alternately gliding and waving their wings, always looking as if they do not have a care in the world (Buller, Walter Lawry 1888)

## HAPU – NGAMOTU/KIHITU

I and other participants only knew of the following 5:-

1. Ngati Kahu,

2. Ngai Tiakiwai,
3. Ngati Kurupakiaka,
4. Te Uri-o-Te-O-Tane,
5. Ngati Apatari,
6. Te Uri-o-Te Maaha.

And the following are the hapu (in no particular order) that were known to have existed on Ngamotu.

7. Ngati Hikakawa,
8. Ngati Patupuku,
9. Ngati Ngahau,
10. Ngai Te Koropi,
11. Ngati Rangituanui,
12. Ngai Te Atiwai,
13. Ngai Te Mumuku,
14. Ngati Wharehaunga,
15. Ngati Kiato,
16. Ngati Taitauri,
17. Ngati Puata,
18. Ngai Te Ikaharaki,
19. Ngati Koroheke,
20. Ngati Rangi (Ballara, 1991 pg 601),
21. Ngati Puketurua,
22. Ngati Taura,

The hapu named 7 to 22 were located in Enrolment Registers and from the Maori Land Court Minutes RECNO 38173. REELNO 281 and 97-252. BOOK NAME Wairoa MB No.05 DATE 28 Jul, 1892. BLOCK Ngamotu. Page No: 1-3, 14, 20-27, 28-36, 37-47, 52-112, 117, 118-128, 129, 131, 140, 141-151, 153, 120

KAIKORERO (Informers): Kaihue Riria, Tewe Heke, Kaimoana Wiremu, Karihuka Waata, Whakahoro Petera, Haman Rongo, Kaukau Reti, Te Rito ? Winiata, Rahurahu Toha, Kaukau Reti, Toromata Ohi, Karari Mihaere.

It is not known what years, or when the hapu above actually resided on Ngamotu, but most of these hapu can be dated back to 1882 and before, top five hapu were located in an old Maori Enrolment Register and along with the following people: - Matengahere O'Keefe, Te Paea Ahuriri O'Keefe, Peter O'Keefe and John O'Keefe.

I also located Ngati or Ngai Taurira, who were at Ngamotu and Te Uhi, prior to the arrival of any other hapu, but following an invasion by Nga Puhi, they were either killed or scattered to Turiroa, Huramau and Awamate.

My Aunty Nora O'Keefe aka Greening (my mother's sister) and who is mentioned frequently thorough out this study, gifted me with many gifts about our whanau and hapu, but it was not until 1995/6, when I realised just how important those pakewaitara (narratives) and puraaka (storytelling) were, and like so many other people wished I had listen to her properly. But there are some of the pakewaitara (narratives), that I remembered.

One that stood out for me was the proper name of the Wairoa River, Wairoa Hopupu Honengenenge Matangi Rau, which she said it meant a river of turbulence, mayhem and undercurrents. With tongue in cheek she said it was like the people of Kihitu. The Wairoa River is approximately 65 kilometres long, and begins at the Te Reinga Falls, where the Hangaroa and Ruakituri, Rivers joins with it to go over the Te Reinga Falls, and as it goes the following tributaries join the Wairoa River, Mangapoike, Mangaaruhe, Waiau and the Waikaretaheke. It eventually flows through the township of Wairoa, to the Ocean.

Te Wairoa Hopupu Honengenenge Matangi Rau River is divided into three parts:-

- (1) Wairoa Hopupu - from Te Reinga via Frasertown to Turiroa,
- (2) Wairoa Honengenenge from Turiroa to Kaimango (Spooners Point),
- (3) Wairoa Matangi Rau from Kaimango (Spooners Point) to the sea.

In traditional times there were fishing boundaries along the Wairoa River, and one could only fish within their respected boundaries, and as one goes up the river, the boundaries get larger, because further up the river the fish population gets thinner, so they needed more river room to fish, in comparison to those who lived closer to the sea (Source unknown).

### **Fishing:**

When the people from Ngamotu needed or wanted to go fishing and after some discussion, they would go out to sea on the bigger waka, and on the river with the smaller waka, but there was not a lot of room on either waka, so the young ones would go out in the river, on a log. While some would stay in the river, there were a



few who allowed their log to go out to sea. If they got stuck out there a big brother or someone would go out and bring them in. Often, when they went fishing, the old people would go up to Te Poti and sit on the hill and wait. When they saw them start to come home, they'd go back down to the Marae and light the fires to get the hot water was ready when the fish came in, and as well they would light fires on the beach to guide them in.

## **Pa**

According to Lambert (1997), there were three Pa on Ngamotu, but in fact there were four and it would not be a surprise if there were more. However the Pa located at Ngamotu,

1. Pa Whare-o-kore, a strong palisade pa on the beach at Kihitu Point where Hinerara's Pa was,
2. Pa Taumata-a-tuna, a double pa, one end held by Tiakiwai, Tangi-mateo, Maihi-Kai-moana and Manu-tautahango, and the other end, was held by Henare Apatari (the end closest to the river),
3. Pa-Tuatini, which was situated on the hill, above the Okaka urupa and
4. Pa-Pohue, the Pa of Te Maaha and then Te-O-Tane down towards the lagoon.

## **Impressive 'yester-year individuals' relevant to Ngamotu/Kihitu**

Ngamotu/Kihitu, as small as they are in size, they are connected to impressive 'yester-year individuals' and while there are many I could discuss, I have selected four, Te Rauhina, Te Huki, Mere Te Huia Apatari and Te-O-Tane son of Te Maaha to discuss:-

## **Te Rauhina**

Te Rauhina was known as 'te wahine korero aio a Tapuwae' (the peace talking wife of Tapuwae), She always did her utmost for peace, serenity and harmony. Her Pa, Rangi-houa, Mere Whaanga (2004) explains as being on the western side of the mouth of the Wairoa River, but with the server flooding of the Wairoa River, Rangihoua became an island of approximately 11 acres and was named Motu-o-Te Rauhina. It was, situated in the middle of the Wairoa River about 60 chains from its mouth. It has now been washed away, but its foundation strata can be still seen under water. Motu-o-Te Rauhina was also where fishermen would stop off either on their way out to fish or on their way back in from fishing, and she would always serve them with hot drinks and a meal if necessary (Lambert, 1997).

During the Hauhau and Ngapuhi raids, she sheltered the people from Kihitu, Whakaki and Iwitea and anyone else that needed it. Aunty Gran told me, as told by Uncle Teddy Peka and my Uncle Ruddy O'Keefe, that for some years after the island had gone under water, one was still able to go on her and collect pipi, and they were very white, but Te Rauhinā's island, has long since disappeared now.

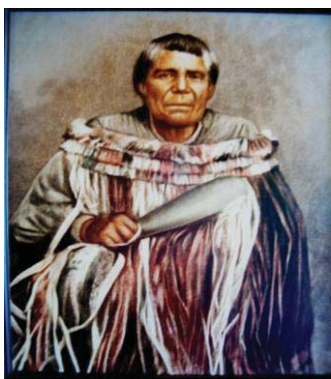
### **Te Huki**

Te Huki was the brother of Te Rauhinā, a most celebrated ancestor of the Wairoa district. Like his sister he was more interested in peace, harmony and creating true and sound relationships. With diplomacy, foresight and dedication he created a wide area of networks by intermarrying himself, his sons, daughters and grandsons into the many tribes covering the now area of Ngāti Kahungunu, so as to create unity between the hapu and tribes. This became known as 'the net of Te Huki'. However in order to maintain these networks, Te Huki did not take his wives to his home or settle himself permanently with any particular wife; instead he attended his wives by visiting each in turn. This purposely maintained his networks over the then vast area from the Wharerata's to the Wairapa. Te Huki personally created these network over three generations, which was possibly his life's work, and now twelve generations later, it still serves to unite the people as Kahungunu ki Wairoa, Kahungunu ki Heretaunga and Kahungunu ki Wairapa. Te Huki met his death while journeying to visit one of his wife and family at Titirangi Pa, while crossing Te Arai River. His death was later avenged by Te-O-Tane, son of Te Maaha (Mitchell, 1972).

## Mere Te Huia Apatari



Hareta Apatari, Great Grandmother of Henare Whakatope. Sister to Te Paea



Mere Te Huia Apatari, Great Great Grandmother of Emma Webber-Dreadon (Researcher)



Te Paea Apatari, Great Grandmother of Emma Webber-Dreadon

The original oil painting of Mere Te Huia and Te Paea, are held by Maraea (aka Josie) Morrell, Frasertown (Please be advised, Mere Te Huia Apatari was painted with a 'cigar' in her mouth, it has been electronically removed)

Mere Te Huia was the daughter of Pita Hukinga and Whareke, from Rongowhakata and was born into this world about 1822. Her age when she died was thought to be about 85 years old (Maori Land Court Records, Gisborne 1907). It is not known how this union came to be, or where she met and married Henare Apatari, but it is assumed that it was an arranged or a marriage of alliance because both Mere Te Huia and Henare Apatari were strong advocates of the 'retention of land and the Kingitanga Movement'. Of this union, they had eight children.

1. Harata Rumatiki Apatari born about 1852. (f),
- 2 Ropitini Apatari, born about 1854.(m),
- 3 Harete Apatari, born about 1856. (f);
- 4 Ema Apatari, born about 1858. (f),
- 5 Henare Hohatana Apatari, (m) born about 1860 and died 1918 and it is thought he is buried in Palmerston North Cemetery, Main Road, Palmerston North.
- 6 Harakeke Apatari, born about 1862,
- 7 Te Paea Apatari, born about 1864 (f) and both rests at Okaka Urupa, Ngamotu and
- 8 Nani Te Kerehi Apatari, born about 1866, died Manutuke January 1909. (f)

Following the birth of her eight children Mere-Te-Huia had a union with Tareha-Te-Moana-Nui, and as a result of that a boy child was born, his name was Te Roera



Tareha-Te-Moana-Nui

When Tareha-Te-Moana-Nui heard, he messaged Mere Te Huia asking if the child had a crooked finger, and Mere-te-Huia replied yes, he knew it was his child, and asked for her to bring him, to him, but instead she sent her eldest daughter Harata, who remained with Tareha-Te-Moana-Nui, and of that union had a child Kurupo.

Not much is known why and how this union occurred, given that Tareaha-Te-Moananui was a supporter of the constabulary, and Mere Te Huia was a supporter of Te Kooti, and the retention of land. Of the union, one could consider it was a union of passion, but it is my notion that, it was to bring about peace between two tribal factions.

These are gifts handed down through my Aunty Nora. Webber-Dreadon (1996) writes that Mere Te Huia Apitara was a sub-lieutenant of Te Kooti, and her role was to guard the entrance to the Wairoa River, so as to stop marauding tribes from going up the river to raid and plunder. Webber-Dreadon also writes that Mere Te Huia would go hunting without dogs, kill a pig and carry it back on her shoulders. She was known as a woman of height and strength. My Aunty Nora told me that when she died, they did not bury her until three months later, as she was a woman of mana. This was supported by my cousin Maraia Morrell.

Mere Te Huia now rests on Ngamotu 14:1 by a lone totara tree, planted by her mokopuna Hone Wainohu O'Keefe approximately 76 years ago. She was buried at the back door of the O'Keefe Homestead at that time, wanting to be there for her mokopuna to play, eat or just to rest on, not realizing she would eventually be alone there. There is a windbreak of willow trees in front of her now. A pipe protector is around her now to stop the cows from rubbing themselves on her, and in March 1985, a plaque was commissioned by her great granddaughter Ahenata (Neta) Ormond. It is noted that the date of her passing was dated August 1907, but the date from the Maori Land Court records dated her death as 3rd July 1907, then the Register, of the Native Land Court, Gisborne, Henry Carr, (Licensed Interpreter first grade), indicates that Mere Te Huia died on the 21st January 1907 and a further date located in the Maori Land Court Record Minutes is dated Friday March 19th 1909. It is thereby difficult to decide an actual date, but we know it must have been between 1907 and 1909.

It is also my opinion that Mere Te Huia migrated from Manatuke or Muriwai to Ngamotu, as Mere Te Huia has strong links to Ngati Porou and Rongowhakata. Her parents Pita Hukinga and Whareke Makitau are of Rongowhakata and connected by whakapapa to Te Kooti (Binney,1995). Her link to Rongowhakata and connection to Turanganui is also supported by her name appearing in the Maori Land Court at Tairawhiti, where she was nominated as being one of the 10 people to be Kaitiaki (Guardian) of two properties in Turanganui. However, I am still trying to make the connection proper of Henare Apatari, the husband of Mere Te Huia Apatari and the Henare Apatari who is buried in the Pakeha Cemetery, Main Street, Palmerston North.

The following is a picture of Tiopira Apatari Kaukau, but it is uncertain where he fits within the Apatari lineage connected to Mere Te Huia. There is a link of sort that records the following "due to ill health, Tiopira Apatari Kaukau returned to Kihitu in 1887, and lived with Pango Kaimoana, Pere-atara Pauku, Hamiona Hokopu, Harete Apatari (my great grand aunt) and Te Paea Apatari (my great grandmother). He is of Ngati Kahungunu and the hapu of Ngati Apatari me Ngati Kahu (Ngati Kahungunu Iwi Inc. National Library Of New Zealand – Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa 2003).

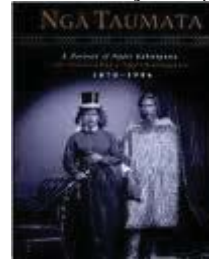


**Tiopira Kaukau Apatari**  
 Ko Ngāti Apatari, ko Ngāti Kahu ngā hapū  
 Photographer: Samuel Carnell  
 Alexander Turnbull Library  
 Negative number 1/4-022123-G

### **Tiopira Apatari Kaukau**

Ngati Kahungunu te Iwi,  
 Ngati Apatari me Ngati Kahu nga Hapu

Wairoa Star, Thursday 14 April 2005



More can be located in the book Nga  
 Taumata.

A portrait of Ngati Kahungunu 1870 –  
 1906, National Library of New

As well, more recently I have found a Henare Apatari buried in the Palmerston North Cemetery, which is on the Main Street into Palmerston North, (which is actually the No 1 Highway into Palmerston North from Napier). I am presently following this up.

Further proof that Mere Te Huia is from Rongowhakaata, is noted that in the 1840's, following the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the government of the day created legislation that only allowed 10 (Maori) people to own particular shares of land, instead of several. Land sharks, the English settlers and Government would then only have to meet with ten Maori, to buy up land. The people of that land had to nominate their choice of the ten, and Mere Te Huia was one of the 10, who was selected to have the care of such properties in Turanga-a-kiwa (Gisborne).

### **Rebels**

Webber-Dreadon (1996) explains that the people of Ngamotu were seen as rebels, because they were staunch to the Kingitanga Movement and the retention of land. Lambert (1977, pg480) verifies this when he reports that "Henare Apatari in 1863, gave a fierily speech at Turanganui (Gisborne), openingly showing his support to the Kingitanga movement and the retention of land. It was during this time that he was gifted a mill

by the then Maori King, but the expense of conveying it to Wairoa, and then the expense of erecting, it was financially difficult, so it was left in a shed where it eventually rusted (Lambert 1877, pg 480).

### **Te-O-Tane & Ngamotu**

Te-O-Tane, the second son of Te Maaha, was one of the most 'famous fighting men' of the Wairoa District, he has been recognised by the people of Kahungunu ki Wairoa, in the house of Takitimu at Wairoa, where there is a carving specially to represent him with his 'taiaha', He was so important to the protection and security of Kahungunu as a tribe (Victoria University, 2008). "Teo-O-Tane had a massive build, and was extraordinarily tall with tremendous strength and was a 'foundation' of greatness, as a warrior of Ngati Kahungunu. He didn't have a huge following, but his men were carefully chosen, and he was well supported by his brothers. They were always there when he needed them, particularly when he had encounters with his cousins, the sons and grandsons of Tapuwae. Most of these were about land and sources of supply. Teo-O-Tane did not claim any particular territory, or any boundaries, he just took it on himself to go where he wanted to hunt and gather food, when and where he wanted to. Unfortunately, this did not endear him to the people in the Wairoa district. He was not blood thirsty or deceitfully, and at no time did he kill any of his cousins and cousins children, but when there was fighting to be done Te-O-Tane could do justice to that (Michell 1972)

Unfortunately, Te-O-Tane had his enemies, and one such enemy was Kahu-o-te-Rangi. Hearing that Te-O-Tane was at his Pa-Pohue at Ngamotu when Kahu-o-te-Rangi decided to attack him there, knowing that Pa Pohue was unfortified. Kahu-o-te-Rangi and his people made their way down the river and on reaching Okaka, at the foot of the hill at Ngamotu they landed and began preparations to attack Te-O-Tane. However, Te-O-Tane after being warning by this wife's brother gathered his warriors and charged Kahu-o-te Rangi and his men and was defeated. Mitchell (1972, p129) writes that; Te-O-Tane was undefeated throughout his life time and died of old age and was interred in a secret cave on Ohuia No 1 Block (Mitchell 1997, p142), but some say he was buried face down at Okaka Hill. This raises a further question as to where Te-O-Tane actually rests.

In addition I am beginning to wonder where Te Maaha and Tapuwae are buried. According to Maori Land Court Minutes, Tapuwae is buried at Ohuia Block 1, at Te Poti, but Mitchell (1972, pg 127) claims “Tapuwae was laid to rest in a historical urupa named Tahuna-mai-Hawaiki (sandbank from Hawaiki), situated on the shore ten chains on the western side, at the mouth of the Wairoa River”. Further Mitchell writes that... “Ruawharo, the priest of the Takitimu had bought sand from Hawaiki and deposited it at certain places. Mahia was one and another at the mouth of the Wairoa River because it was usually the desire of ‘high born people’ to be interred at one of those places. Beaches were often chosen as Maori burial grounds, owing to the ease of digging, and the concealment once the wind had blown over the spot, and that the sand would not set permanently”

The following pencilled sketch of Ngamotu/Kihitu is as I saw it in 1995. It names the springs and the hills.

### **Wharenui**

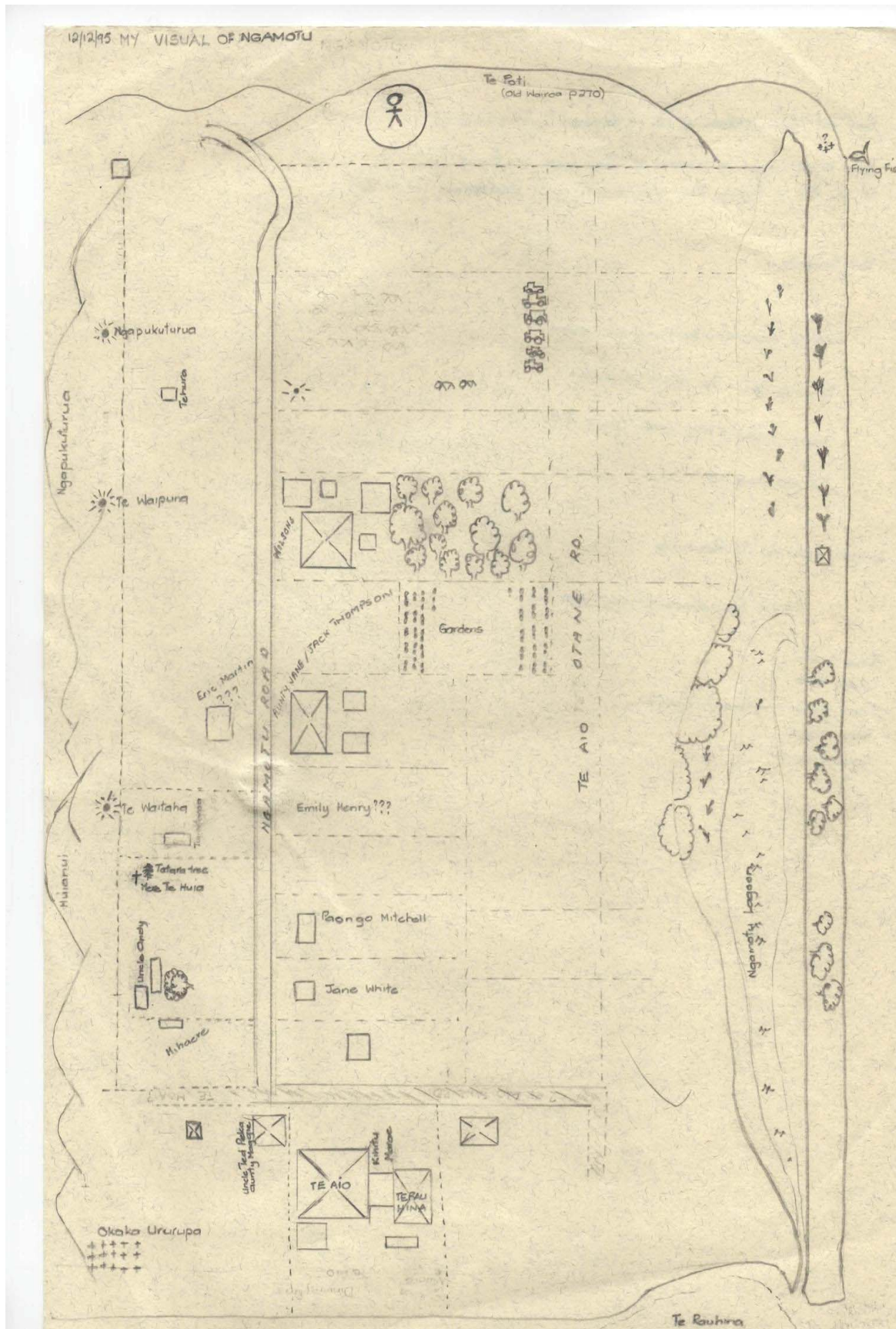
The Wharenui of Ngamotu is called Te Rauhinu, whom my Aunt Nora told me, was a woman of ‘beauty’, both inside and outside. She did not adorn herself with beautiful things, and that is the reason why our Wharenui Te Rauhinu, has no carvings, but it is beautiful inside. Our Wharekai is Teiao, which she said was chosen by the old people because it represents Te Rauhinu’s nature and qualities. Matua Bill told me she was kind, considerate and caring, and she gave refuge to many people from many different situations.

### **Springs:**

There were four springs on Ngamotu back in time, and they were extremely valuable to the people of Ngamotu. The first spring was on the left coming down Te Poti into Ngamotu. What looked like a small mud hole, or damp ground on the left was actually a spring, where one could get water from, in the later years it became a place where our old people dyed their pūpū. Almost immediate to the right are two hills, their name Nga Pukutura, (two hills), and historically there was a spring by the same name. Travelling along the road, about half way down on the right was another spring called Te Waipuna, and about two thirds down off



Ngamotu road, on the right was another spring called Te Waitaha. The latter spring was just below Huianui, the maunga (mountain) above where my/our Kuia rests. It is not known when the springs dried up.



This hand drawn map, indicates where the springs were , the names of the maunga and urupa, and a general layout of Ngamotu/Kihitu.

### Wharenui-O-Tiakiwai



Wharenui o Tiakiwai

The Wharenui o Tiakiwai, was floated from Ngamotu to Te Uhi where it remains today. It was moved to provide a resting place for those who were catching the bus to either Turanganui (Gisborne) or Ahuriri (Napier), as it passed through. An interesting fact relating to this whare came to light, when I visited the Wairoa Museum, and in discussion with the Curator of the Museum. He told me how the Museum came by the carvings of Wharenui o Tiakiwai. He said he was following this car with a trailer, and he noticed some carvings on the trailer, so decided to follow the car, which took him to the Wairoa dump. On arrival, he asks the guy about the carvings, and once clarified, he asked if he could have them. The carvings came from this tired Wharenui o Tiakiwai, are now in the Wairoa Museum, but the whare (house) still stands.

The Marae Committee and 'mana whenua' work hard to raise money to build the Dining Room, which began when I began my research on Mere Te Huia Apatari, and was near finishing when I finished my research.



Tom Tuhura was the 'mountain' of that Committee. It was his dream.

### **A Reflection: Building of the new Wharekai 1995/6**

When I began my research on Mere Te Huia in 1995/96, the old Dining Room was gone and it was almost to the day, when the new Dining Room began. It was so exciting.



The Old Dining Room



**New Beginnings:** Andy O'Keefe and Uncle Ruddy O'Keefe



**Growing Up**



**The New Dining Room**

So many things happened on my journey when researching Mere Te Huia Apatari, and it brought to life, my ancestry and I knew why I wanted to do this research project. I recall on one of my trips home to Ngamotu, that I had to go into town for something. When I arrived back to the Marae, there was a truck load of sand by where the new Dining Room was to be built. I was spellbound by the sand glistening in the sun, it was so beautiful. I thought the sand was wet, but when I touching the sand it was almost dry. I asked my Uncle Ruddy “where did the sand come from, I didn’t see any trucks on the road”. He gave me one of his lovely smiles, and told me “one of my mates had a digger and another mate had a truck. We went down to the mouth of the river, and got it”. He said “we weren’t allowed to take it from there, so when they had got enough

the digger pulled the branches over the hole, to hide the fact". I was so in awe of this sand and over my time left there, I kept going back to it several times through the day. I thought why not, it looks like ours, it feels like ours, it is so beautiful, so it must be ours. The new dining room was near completion, when I completed that research in 1996.

## **Okaka**

Okaka is not the only urupa on this whenua, my Auntie Nora said. There is one on the top of the Okaka Hill above the urupa, and there is one around the base of Te Poti. This was verified by Auntie Maggie Peka in our koreroa together. In his interview Matua Bill told me that in a conversation with Tipene O'Regan, that somehow the name Okaka came up. I told Tipene that our urupa is named that, as well as the hill by it. Tipene told Matua Bill that the Takitimu Waka is found to be at the bottom of the South Island, and where it stopped is called the Takitimu Ranges. Tipene asked, "Is it where the tide meets the land?" Matua Bill said yes. "Does the river flood?", Matua said yes, "when there has been a big storm". "Does the water stop when it meets a certain place on the land, like a ledge? Matua said yes, and Tipene said that is why it has the name Okaka. On reflection Matua Bill told me that he had never known our Urupa, our Marae and or Teddy Peka's place to be flooded. There had been a lot of wood left around them, but it has never ever flooded.

## **Colonisation, Assimilation and Urbanisation**

When I was young, Ngamotu was a busy community and when talking with Kuia or Matua, they tell me it was even busier in their young days. Everyone knew each other, and whilst there were ups and downs, it was a community of whanau support. But unknowingly colonisation, assimilation and then eventually urbanisation quietly wormed their ways into the Maori population, and once again the people of Ngamotu/Kihitu. Men from Ngamotu/Kihitu joined the WW2 effort and became known as the Maori Pioneer Battalion. However In doing this, the economic base for their whanau and hapu weakened. The sharing or exchanging of food was gone, as was the good will of Maori collectively. Gone also were the Maori social structures of whanau and hapu, and money became the precious commodity which meant whanau had to go out and look for work. Not in the gardens, but to the towns and cities, to earn money. Between the 1940's to 1960's, there was a move from



rural communities to the towns and the cities to look for jobs, but they were unskilled and the same was similar for those from Ngamotu/Kihitu, they got the menial jobs in the factories, as labours, working in the Freezing Works. The move by Maori from rural to urbanisation basically began in 1926, but the most rapid move was following the end of the Second World War. Again this was inclusive of the men who joined the Services, from Ngamotu/Kihitu.

For the whanau left behind, their priority was to be close to the doctors, hospital and schools “. It was a reality in those days” my Aunty Gran says.

Colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation affected Maori unquestionably and Ngamotu/Kihitu was no different. It's isolated location, its smallness in size, and its rebellious links to Te Kooti and the Kingitanga movement, isolated them even further. But by not understanding what colonisation, assimilation or urbanisation meant, an almost eradication of the social structures in Ngamotu/Kihitu. Those that were left there tried hard to resist the influential and domineering cultural philosophies of the colonisers and in the face of diversity those left somehow managed to survive. However, by 2001, there was almost nobody living at Ngamotu/Kihitu.

*Ko te kairapu, ko ia te Kite*

*Ka kohi te toi, ka whai te maramatanga*

*Those who seek will find*

*If knowledge is gathered, enlightenment will follow*

Our social structures that once existed, pre-colonisation waned, and we did not understand how it came to be, because it was such a subtle process of colonisation, urbanisation and assimilation which we didn't understand. To example this, we could liken it to a sponge, where instead of absorbing water it absorbed people to live in its controlled world environment which was so different to what we know. The realisation, came when I, as participant recalled my parents being hit for speaking te reo Maori at school. My mother told

me that she and the other Maori kids got their mouths washed out with soap, if they were caught, and the boys got such a good caning, they could hardly sit down. My dad suffered similar. My mother said they had to line up, lift their skirts to make sure they had undies on. Their nails and hands were inspected, they had to show a clean hankie on their person and their heads were inspected for head lice. In the meantime the Pakeha kids in the classrooms were watching this going on, and laughing. My Mum told me that Maori was her first language and it was hard to not speak it. It was not until she grew up and she realised that to get a decent job you had to know English.

I am not sure what years my mother was at school, but most interestingly in my generation I was seen as a half cast, and some of the same happened for me. We had to line up a check on finger nails, and a hankie attached by a safety pin to our pinafore, which often left me wondering why the Pakeha kids were in the class room laughing. As a result at playtime for some of us kids, got into fights with the Pakeha kid because they were giving us cheek and telling us how dirty we were and then we would get the strap from the teacher for fighting. It didn't matter that we were provoked. Now, as I look back and write, it makes me feel that Maori and half caste kids were second class citizen.

I remember asking my parents, who were both fluent in te reo Maori to teach me to koreo te reo, but neither would because they believed deeply that it was not going to get me a job. I now realise that such actions have impacted on me in such a way, that at the age of 65 years, and trying to complete a Masters, has reminded me that some of my own work peers and acquaintances have belittled me, for not being fluent in te reo Maori, which sometimes made me feel at times 'depressed'.. But my 'life saver' my whangai Mum (Ritihia Wilson-Bean), who not only tried to keep me safe from domestic violence, and who told me "your heart is Maori Emma, and that is what is important". 'I hold on to those words'.

### **Current Issues**

Colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation have had a deadly effect on the mokopuna of Ngamotu. Listen! Can you hear anything? What can you hear? No laughter, no children, no yelling, no merriments, no smoke

from the fires, no gardens, only the roar of the ocean as it hits the black pebbled beach. Ngamotu, with four tired houses, three derelict batches, and the Marae is no different to many other rural tribal lands, but who is going to look after Ngamotu/Kihitu? Why would anyone want to return there?

Wairoa issues are Ngamotu and Kihitu's issues. Gangs, alcohol, drugs, crime, domestic violence and child abuse, financial difficulties, no transport, no whanau and hapu social structures, everything becoming financially burdensome, and slowly we drifted one by one we move.

### **Alcohol**

Prior to contact with Pakeha, Maori were one of the few indigenous cultures who never developed a taste for alcohol beverages, they only drank water. It was not until the 1820s, when alcohol was first introduced on a large scale at Kororareka (Russell), that the history of Maori and alcohol began. By this time the colonials had already acquired a reputation of being harden drinkers and lawless. (Hutt, M.1999).

Alcohol was not readily available to Maori and in 1847, and there was a significant legislative measure to prohibit the sale of alcohol to Maori, but consumption of alcohol varied greatly in the varying tribes and regions. The East Coast had a large Maori drinking population, and despite the restraints set by Maori themselves, there were signs of increasing consumption of alcohol during in the 1850s, and there was a more noticeable problem among urban Maori. Maori themselves tried to ban the introduction of spirits into Maori-owned areas, and Maori from the Wairoa district actually banned spirits altogether and successfully opposed a public-house licensed by the Provincial Government at one time.

Eventually following World War II, alcohol became available to Maori men, but not Maori women. I remember my mother telling me this because with it came shades of violence. Following World War II, the Maori

Battalion, like some soldiers that came home relieved their stress of battle with alcohol, and on their return alcohol and domestic violence began to happen . Prior, there was little violence against the women, but that



changed. It was thought by the Army that the problems that arose on their return was because many of the Maori soldiers came from isolated rural areas and had not a lot of experience with alcohol, which seemed to make sense to them, as to why there were drinking problems (Hutt, 2003).

When exploring the use of alcohol and any domestic violence at Ngamotu, three participants felt there was no abuse of alcohol, but four disagreed. I, as a child recalled an incident, where one of my Uncles who had been drinking, beat my mother up and threw her out the door of the Dining Room, onto the concrete path where she received a huge gash in her head, and no one would come out to help her or me. It was alcohol fuelled. I was just 6 years old. There were many other occasions that I witnessed such violence, all alcohol fuelled.

To write on such a subject particularly about violence occurring at Ngamotu/Kihitu as Maori can be controversial, because it is difficult to be fair to the past, true to the present and give attention to the needs of Maori for the future and Ngamotu (Webber-Dreadon, 2012). In all, alcohol has had a huge impacted on Maori, not only around Aotearoa New Zealand, but Ngamotu/Kihitu also. Whilst it arrived a little later to Ngamotu, with her small land mass, rebellious nature, and isolation, alcohol and violence, further dislocated and fragmented whanau at Ngamotu. Gardens got smaller and a socio-economic environment became problematic. Then the next generation arrived, and with them came not only alcohol, but marijuana and further violence which can be demonstrated and linked to the film 'Once were Warriors', an epic film.

## **Today**

Colonisation and its effect on Maori have unquestionably and unjustly bought with it a process of near eradication but Maori have shown their resilience and 'a want to survive'. Even in the face of diversity, Maori simply survived because they are communal people, where they share communal and common interests. Maori are embedded within a cultural ethos that evidences the notion of difference to Pakeha, but Maori have had to work hard to be Maori as a cultural norm and to resist influential and domineering cultural philosophies.

Today, fuelled by such people as Don Brash, who tells us that we are one people, but Maori generating separatism, but wanting their own schools, own health resources and many more other things. But when people are of the same thinking as Brash, what has to be realised that we (Maori) are only asking what is rightfully ours, so that we are able to regain our 'tino rangatiratanga (rights) and mauri-ora (wellbeing). Maori do things differently to Pakeha, but unfortunately 'the Maori culture' has been abused for such a long time, it has prevents Maori from speaking out loud and clear. As we are aware Maori have begun to create their

Whare Wananga, Kohunga Reo, Kohanga Reo and Kura Papa, and Wananga nga reo, around Aotearoa New Zealand, which must chilled the hearts of the Colonisers.

**Ko te kairapu, ko ia te Kite**

**Ka kahi te toi, ka whai te maramatanga**

Those who seek will find

If knowledge is gathered, enlightenment will follow

The use of tikanga and kaupapa Maori as theories linked to whenua, whanau and whakapapa because they are proportioned to the purpose of this study and they set the scene for it. This model of approach for this are situated within the 'awhiowhio', a construct that is located on the whenua of Ngamotu and invites and embraces the use of Maori worldviews, and principled practice connected to 'te awhiowhio' by the wairua (spirituality) of the process.

## The Interview Process

All researchers have a bias, which is informed by predetermined notions on the topic, and this is usually reflected in some way by a researcher's choice of methodology and selection of interviewing techniques. This study chose a 'tikanga Maori' approach embraced by kaupapa Maori as the 'ritual of encounter' by the use of 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (face to face) interview process. Inclusively, was 'nga takepu' (Pohatu, 2004) principled approaches, that provided a process that was not only culturally appropriate, but also ethically appropriate.

It was also not uncommon for participant(s) to have whanau (extended family) with them and nor is it unusual for the whanau to become involved in the interview process, so it is important that the Researcher allows them as whanau to be able to hold and claim their own tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) during the interview, and that their pakiwaitara (narratives) and puraaka (story telling) are treated with respect also.

As previously said, to do this research, I firstly sought the permission of the Kihitu Marae Committee, which was well received. I then sought from them a selection of participants, which they obliged me with. I then sought permission of the two participants to take part and to be videoed and audio recorded, explaining that I will be in touch to explain the process. Following my selection of the seven participants, I sent a schedule of questions before the interview so as to allow them to prepare their thoughts for when I came to interview them. If they had any question(s) I was happy to rearticulate until the participant was able to understand the question being asked. An example of this was when I interviewed my Aunty and the word 'colonisation' was mentioned. She raised an eyebrow and said, "What the heck, does it mean?" After a while she said "is that like the Pakeha way of doing things"

While this study has used tikanga Maori as the theoretical pou (post), and kaupapa Maori as the theoretical methodology pou, it create its own uniquely fashioned signposts that support Maori thinking, knowledge and culture, which has a distinct rhythm. Companioning 'nga takepu' (Maori principles) with qualitative research helps to make room for Maori voices, actions and realities to be heard and considered (Cram, Smith &

Johnstone, 2003). As such it is the researcher's responsibility to take the role ethically and earnestly, when exploring the realities of Maori, by the use of the awhiowhio framework that is both honourable and ethically appropriate for the participants.

"We don't see things as they are; we see things as we are."

(Anais Nin)

I can see a future for Ngamotu, but it will take all of us to make that successful. How to do this is the question. When I met with Matua Bill for his interview and we discussed the future for Ngamotu. His ideas seemed rather 'extreme', to build a bridge across Koopu Road to Ngamotu, built a Warehouse on Te Rauhina's land by the library and then build 'high rises' on Ngamotu to accommodate people from Wairoa and Ngamotu, which could mean a few more jobs. Mmm... he certainly gave me something to think about. But as time went on his ideas began to invade my mind and thoughts. I began to think maybe we could build a central hub within that complex, a restaurant, a games room, and a central hub for bookings excursions to Mahia, Waikaremoana, and Morere hot springs and many more delights. In addition a shopping cove to include Warehouse Stationary, Dick Smith, Noel Lemming, Leader and Watt, Farmers, Bakery, Rebel Sport, Brisco's, a Haircut, Beauty Salon and Chemist but on a much smaller scale, maybe on Ngamotu. Yes, he certainly gave me something to think about. But what was most interesting, the three pakeke that came with Matua Bill were of a different thinking. They want the road into Ngamotu straighten just a little a bit and perhaps tar seal from the hill down to the Marae, and maybe an orchard. I thought what an interesting koreroa in particular the differences between the young ones and the kaumatua. One would think the ideas would be the opposite, Matua to leave the land as it is, and the young ones wanting a complex built. Food for thought!

### **Burning down the O'Keefe Homestead**

It was sad to go home and see the O'Keefe Homestead gone. I have given a lot of thought to the burning down of the homestead, without the proper rituals, but it is my opinion that colonisation impinged on such a decision.

With the burning down of the homestead in 1974, it also brought with it the loss of six of our whanau, including my mother, my grandmother, a brother, cousin and uncles.

How important is Ngamotu to me? It is very important. She has a beauty all of her own. I think this began to happen when we bought our deaf sister Polly home from Christchurch to Kihitu when she passed and was where she wanted to be. She made me promise to do that. Knowing that the old Dining Room had just been pulled down I rung my Uncle Ruddy (Rudolph) and he said bring her home. When we got home to Ngamotu, my Uncle and his apprentices had prepared a 'wharekai' under tarpaulins, with many barbeques to cook on. This was an occasion that made me realised just how fragile our lives are and how Ngamotu is a part of it. I've always loved Ngamotu, but sitting out with my sister in the early morning I began to realise just how important this whenua was to me. I saw her with new eyes.

When I go home, I always go out to the Urupa and some times when I am on my own, I try to take time to walk part way up Te Poti and take some time sitting there looking over her. Just to think and see the beauty of an almost desolate whenua, knowing it was where my tipuna once lived and wondered if they had ever thought about those of us, who were to come, and what it might be like for us, and I think about the mokopuna to come, and what will they see.





## CHAPTER 4:

## CONCLUSION

This section summarises the data collected, with some additional thoughts that are decisively fixed within ones relationship with Ngamotu/Kihitu. The questions asked of the participants, related specifically to Ngamotu/Kihitu, and all but one participant were direct mokopuna of Ngamotu/Kihitu.

As the researcher I have gathered material that relates to Ngamotu/Kihitu, but also inclusive is our kuia Mere Te Huia Apatari, (Webber-Dreadon, 1996), who I researched in 1995 – 1996. It was a research that led me on to this research. I understand this is not an unusual practice. The research practice used in this research is companioned with the pukaaka and pakiwaitara, which anchors this research so as to provide pathways from the past to guide the future of Ngamotu and Kihitu.

Often research is built on a bias, which is different to most academic writing because it is built on objectivity, fairness and open-mindedness, rather than subjectively, which is built on biased, prejudiced and one-sided, and it took me a while to consider writing the participants stories. By exploring difference and similarities with the participants has been an interesting journey, given that I also have included myself as a participant in this research. To support this notion of a theoretical context of autoethnography has allowed me to use material and experiences from my own lived personal background, just as the other participants have communicated through their own personal narratives that are deep-seated in everyday life, past, present and future.

Interestingly, the majority of participants prefer the name Kihitu, and it is a supposition that the names Ngamotu and Kihitu have been passed down through varying generations, but there is a consideration that both Ngamotu and Kihitu have a place in history, now and the future, because it is a place where our mokopuna have the right to stand.

While asking some of the participants, what they knew about Ngamotu, it brought some concerning comments '*domestic violence and child abuse*'. In consultation with those who disclosed the abuse, they said they felt it should be mentioned because it did happen and it needs to be heard and named. The participants who

disclosed the abuse are not named, but they felt that it was important to include it in the interview write up. This showed that not everything at Ngamotu is and was a 'bed of roses'.

How important is Ngamotu to me? It is very important to me. I think for me Kihitu has this beauty; all of its own, it just means so much to me. I think this began to happen when we bought Polly home to Kihitu and I really realised how fragile our lives were. I've always loved Kihitu, but sitting out with her one early morning I began to realise just how important this whenua was to me. I saw it with new eyes I think. As I've got older when I come home, I usually try to take time to walk part way up Te Poti and sit, looking over it. You know, just to think and see the beauty of an almost desolate whenua, knowing it was where my tipuna once lived and wondered if they had ever thought about those of us who were to come and what it might be like for us, and I think about the mokopuna to come and will they see it with the same eyes as us.

*Our experiences were diverse, but there were some similarities.*

## **FINDINGS**

### **1. What is the proper name of this whenua? Is it Ngamotu or Kihitu? How did it get the name?**

5 x knew the name was Ngamotu, but preferred to called her Kihitu

1 x did not know her as Ngamotu, only as Kihitu,

1 x did not know that Ngamotu and Kihitu were 2 separate identities.

2 x knew Kihitu as a portion of land, across the road from the Marae – red shed and that Ngamotu where blocks, that made up 472 acres

Some came to know her as Ngamotu, but had got into the habit of calling her Kihitu.

It is unknown how Ngamotu or Kihitu got their names and what their meanings are

### **2. What do you know about Ngamotu?**

5 x participants saw their Nannies that lived at Ngamotu, as being a significant person in their lives



2 x said their parents were role models in their lives – no violence in their home or lives

1 x spoke of her Nanny and how he built three houses and the first Te Rauhinu, and he could not read or write.

Further this same participant as a child said could and would just walk into their Nanny's place and stay as long as she wanted.

1 x knew what the school holidays were for. It meant he would be going to his Nan at Ngamotu/Kihitu to help Nan in the garden and get the horses in so they could ride to Mahia for kaimoana. He remembered a time when had to walk from Te Mahanga (Mahia) to Muriwai at the age of 6 years

1 x said he was 3yrs old when his Nanny picked him up and took him to live at Kihitu, where he remained until he was 18 years old. This same participant told how he and his brother learnt to pinch Bunny Kaukau's watermelons😊

3 x learnt that once it was known you could wash and dry the dishes, you would remain there. And as you got older it meant make the beds in the wharehau.

### 3 What are the hapu of Ngamotu & Kihitu?

The hapu at Ngamotu were identified by the participants, as they knew them:-

Ngati Kahu, Ngati Apatari, Ngati Kurupakiaka, Te Uri o Te Maaha,, Te Uri o Teo-O-Tane

The follow hapu were found in the Tairāwhiti Māori Land Court Minutes and the Enrolment Documents

1 Ngati Kahu	2 Te-Uri-O-Te Maaha	3 Te Uri-O-Te-o-Tane
4 Ngati Apatari	5 Ngati Kurupakiaka	6 Ngati Hikakawa
7 Ngati Patupuku	8 Ngati Ngahau	9 Ngai Te Koropi
10 Ngati Rangituanui	11. Ngai Te Atiwai	12 Ngai Te Mumuku
13 Ngati Wharehaunga	14 Ngati Kiato	15.Ngati Taitauri
16 Ngati Puata	17 Ngai Te Ikaharaki	18 Ngati Koroheke
19 Ngati Rangi Ballara, 1991 pg 601	20 Ngati Puketurua	21 Ngati Tauri
22 Ngai Tiakiwai	23 Ngati Ranginui	

There have been 23 Hapu in residency on Ngamotu at some time, but unfortunately I was unable to locate the actual years they were in residence on Ngamotu and Kihitu.

During the period of 1769 to 1840, the major hapu of Te Mahia–Wairoa region were Hinemanuhiri and Rakaipaaka

The people known as Ngati Kahu occupied an intermediate position at the mouth of the Wairoa, between Rakaipaaka and Ngati Hinemanuhiri to the east and north, and Ngati Pahauwera and its associated hapu also to the south. Ballara (1991) maintains that they were descendants of Hinemanuhiri and Tapuwae inclusively and according to Gudgeon they were also the remnants of Ngai Tauri, along with the Kurupakiaka hapu at Te Uhi (Ballara, 1991)

#### **4. What is the proper name of the river and what does it mean? What do you know about the Wairoa River?**

Its name is Wairoa-Hopupu-Honenge-Matangirau. All but one participants had knowledge about the name of the Wairoa River and how it was broken up into three sections, 1 one part is called 1 Wairoa, 2. Hopupu 3 'Honenge Matangi Rau'. In all It means the meeting of two rivers and where they meet at the Te Reinga Falls, they create turbulences of waters that whirl, twirl and on the way other tributaries flow into it as it flows eventually into the Pacific Ocean. It is said that this river can be like the people of Kihitu turbulent and often in turmoil.

#### **5 How many Pa where there on Ngamotu?**

1 x participant didn't know anything about the Pa at Ngamotu,

5 x participants knew the Pa at Okaka that was called Pa Tuatini, and one knew Pa Taumata-a-tuna, a double pa and Pa-Pohue, the Pa of Te Maaha and then Te-O-Tane, which is down towards the lagoon

The following Pa at Ngamotu

(a) Pa Whare-o-kore (1820), a strong palisade pa on the beach at Kihitu Point where Hinerara's Pa was,  
(Lambert, p323)

(b) Pa Taumata-a-tuna, a double pa, one end held by Tiakiwai, Tangi-mateo, Maihi-Kai-moana and Manu-tautahango, and the other end, was held by Henare Apatari (the end closest to the river),

(c) Pa-Tuatini, was situated on the hill, above the Okaka urupa and

(d) Pa-Pohue, the Pa of Te Maaha and then Te-O-Tane down towards the lagoon.

## 6. Springs

There were five known 'springs' and one 'water well, on Ngamotu, back in time and they were extremely valuable to the people of Ngamotu/Kihitu, because they were a source of drinkable water.

The first spring was on the left just coming down off Te Poti on the left. It is a small mud hole or damp ground down, which was a spring once up on a time. I understand it can be used to dye puipui. Also almost directly to the right behind where the Te Hurua whanau lived, are two hills called Nga Pukutura, (two hills)



Nga Pukutura

and a spring by the same name was there. Travelling on down the road, about half way along, on the right was another spring called Te Waipuna, and then two thirds down Ngamotu road, on the right was another spring called Te Waitaha.



Te Waitaha

This spring was just below Huianui, the hill slightly to the right behind where Mere Te Huia rests; and where the homestead of O'Keefe's, once stood. I understand there were 'wells', but I don't know where they were, with the exception of the one at Jack Mitchells. It is said that when the springs dried up, it was the time when the people of Ngamotu began to leave Ngamotu. It now has water, which the people from Ngamotu/Kihitu put in them and it has three phase power, which had to be put in when the new Dining Room was being built.

**7. Do you know any of the battles that might have occurred in and around Ngamotu and what role did Ngamotu play?**

Only one Participant spoke to this section. Kahu-o-te-Rangi was planning an attack on Te-o-Tane at his unfortified Pa-Pohue, at Ngamotu. But Te-O-Tane was fore warned, he and he and his Warriors quietly and quickly rushed Kahu-te-rangi, who were quickly defeated

**8. Do you recall any stories about Ngamotu, told to you by your Matua, Koro or Kuia?**

Just about all participants contributed to this section and similar names and stories were told. Te Rauhina, Tapuwae, Parents, Jack Mitchell, 12 Apostles and the logs for a temple at Iwitea, Okaka Urupa, Bill Blake. Patupaire – Te Poti to Urupa Okaka Urupa and another Urupa down by lagoon (Pita Walker)

## 9. What do you know about the Okaka Urupa and how did it get its name?

Okaka is the not only the name of the hill near the urupa, it is also the name of our now urupa. It is said that there is also another urupa on the top of the Okaka Hill, which was verified by Aunty Maggie, and also there is further talk of someone being buried upside in the same location. It is not known exactly where.

Matua Bill Blake speaks: I am not sure where the name originates from, but in a conversation with had with Tipene O'Regan, when he spoke of Okaka as being down in the Takitimu Ranges, and is where the tide meets the land. Matua Bill told Tipene, we have an urupa called Okaka. Tipene asked, is it by the river and Matua said yes. Does the river flood, Matua said yes, when there has been a big storm. Tipene said, Okaka, is the flooding of the river, but stops when it meets a certain place of land, like a ledge. Matua told me that he has never known our Urupa, our Marae and or Teddy Peka's place to be flood. There has been water and wood around them, but have never ever been flooded, as there is a ledge behind the Marae.

There are the four Urupa at Ngamotu/Kihitu

1. Our now urupa Okaka
2. A urupa on the top of Okaka Hill [by the now Urupa]
3. One down past the by Marae, at the end of the road
4. One at the base of Te Poti nearest to the ocean.

I felt compelled to write this: I asked Pita Robinson-Walker his thoughts about colonisation. He said "I try not to think about colonisation, because it is neither in my ancestry and nor my origins. I survive because when I am talking whakapapa, it is not only about one person or people, it is the whakapapa of the people, the trees, the birds and every other living thing, but mostly 'whakapapa speaks of shedding our skin onto the land, and that is what binds us to the land'.

## 10. Te Reo Maori

Our Grandmother Matengahere use to korero Maori to us, not just to me, but to my cousins as well. Sometimes I understood her, but sometimes I didn't. Aunty Gran was telling me that she uses to do that to my cousin Rudolph (2) to. She said Grandma would say kia ora Boy, he would say kia ora back and then she would say something else in te reo, and like me would just stand there not understanding it, but then he would just smile. Aunty said I am so proud of Rudolph (No 3) learning te reo Maori. I (Emma) Both my parents were fluent in te reo, but unfortunately people like me and my cousin was born into an era that Maori was not spoken or taught at home, because it was not going to get any of us a job.

Many of us, as a whanau are unable to korero Maori, even though our Grandmother uses to try and encourage us, by speaking te reo, but none of us took it seriously. However Aunty Grans moko Rudolph (No 3) has learnt te reo and we are so proud of him.

## 11. Schools

Most of the children from Ngamotu/Kihitu went to school at North Clyde Primary, St Joseph's Catholic School, and Wairoa College. But one went to North Clyde School, Manurewa Primary School, St Hillers Primary School, and Tuia Primary School and then Wairoa College.

Seek out and you will find gifts left by your tipuna. All will be reveled when the time is right  
and you will know who you belong to and who belongs to you

## 13. Do you recall any stories about Ngamotu, told to you by your matua, koro or kuia?

Just about all participants contributed to this section and similar names and stories were told. Te Rauhina, Tapuwae, Parents, Jack Mitchell, 12 Apostles and the logs for a temple at Iwitea, Okaka Urupa, Bill Blake. Patupaire – Te Poti to Urupa Okaka Urupa and another Urupa down by lagoon (Pita Walker)

#### **14. What do you know about the Wharenui and the Wharekai? How did they get their name?**

Everyone knew the name of the Wharenui as Te Rauhinu, but only three knew the name of the Dining Room Teio.

The Wharenui is called Te Rauhinu, who as I was told by my Aunt Nora that she was a woman of 'beauty', both inside and out. She did not adorn herself with beautiful things, and that is the reason why she has no carvings, but when you step in it is beautiful also. The Wharekai is named Teio after Te Rauhinu nature.

#### **15. Ngamotu is now barren of its people? Do you know why and where do you think that they have gone?**

Colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation have had deadly consequences on the people of Ngamotu/Kihitu.

Such examples of this: - Wairoa had power and Ngamotu/Kihitu didn't. Wairoa had doctors, a hospital and schools and Ngamotu didn't. Wairoa had services such as buses, railway services, taxi, work ie Freezing Works, Dairy Factory, Timber Yards, Railways, Road Maintenance (MOW), 4 Square (like New World) and lots of other amenities that Ngamotu did not. Thus the urbanisation of our people began, and the people from Ngamotu slowly left and moved into town, or further afield to the cities and even overseas. Now Ngamotu has running water and three phase power it shouldn't be a problem, but no one is moving home. And now there only a few tired houses and derelict cottages.

#### **16 Do you think colonisation, assimilation, and urbanisation has had any effect on the whanau of Ngamotu?**

Four knew what colonisation and urbanisation meant. But assimilation was not a word three of them didn't understand. I liked assimilation by the use of a metaphor. The colonial sponge absorbed Maori into their world of Pakehatanga which eventually lead to us living as Pakeha.

Colonisation, assimilation, and urbanisation were not recognised by my Aunty, who said 'what the hell is that?' Every day as I writing, it makes smile, but she already knew, it was just by a different name. But every time I reach this point I have to smile

We have all been affected by it in one way or another by colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation but the move was so subtle we just didn't know. It had a horrific effect on rural Maori, and a near loss of te reo Maori, and whanau, hapu and iwi structures. Such an example is Ngamotu and her emptiness!

### **I felt compelled to write this because it made a whole lot of sense**

I asked Pita Robinson-Walker his thoughts about colonisation. He said

“I try not to think about colonisation, because it is neither in my ancestry, nor my origins. I survive because when I am talking whakapapa, it is not only about one person or people, it is also the whakapapa of the people, the whakapapa of the trees, the birds and every other living thing, but most of all it speaks of shedding our skin onto the land, and that is what binds us to the land.

### **17 Do you think history has impacted on Ngamotu/Kihitu in relation to any social issues?**

Social issues that the participants spoke of - alcohol, drugs, P, marijuana, domestic violence, a gang culture, physical and sexual abuse of children and women, and poverty. Readers will note that these comments have been erased from the interviews, but they wanted it named. Two participants spoke about, their being from Kihitu; they were seen as inferior to Pakeha, and everything was about money, no whanau concepts as it once was.

### **18 How would you describe Ngamotu as a community - in the past and now present.**

#### **Past**

When I was young, Ngamotu/Kihitu was a very busy community, and everyone knew everybody, so it was a relatively safe place for us kids to roam. There were plenty of gardens and cows to milk, but when speaking with the kuia and kaumatua, it seems that it was even busier in their time. The gardens were even bigger and Ngamotu/Kihitu came to be known as the ‘kai basket’ of Napier. Access to the beach at Ngamotu/Kihitu to fish was rewarding for whanau, but access for others to the beach was difficult, unless you were acquainted with someone from there, or they crossed on a dingy from the other side of the river.

#### **Present**

Ngamotu was once a busy community, and even busier pre my birth. When the war was over and the soldiers arrived home, they came home more colonised than when they left. The taste of alcohol (not all), domestic violence, gambling and child abuse added to the already occurring violence that was happening on Ngamotu/Kihitu.

Now as I write this – there is almost nothing



This research is a written contribution to the mokopuna of Ngamotu/Kihitu, so they can learn about their whenua and with anticipation and optimism they will continue to pursue our history, and to make contributions to it, so as to uphold the status and mana of the people of Ngamotu and Kihitu, and to be proud of such a validation. To know and understand our history, our culture, and our contemporary realities, as mokopuna of Ngamotu and Kihitu is important, but we need to find our way through the many meridians of decolonisation to regain ones social wellness so as to again uphold the mana of the whenua, the mana of our whanau and the mana of our whakapapa. We need to consider how can we apply to our contemporary realities and biases in order to value ourselves, our whenua and our whakapapa, so we will know who we are, who we belong to and who belongs to us.

Nga pakiwaitara and puraaka indicate that Maori and rangahau (research) have existed from time in memorial, which has allowed knowledge to be orally passed down through the generations, and is valid. However, there have been changes within our society today, from oral to written history, so that the generations following will have the visual 'gifts' that are accessible in various levels of activity within our own Maori communities. The pakiwaitara and puraaka, have creates knowledge for us to expand on, because it represented and preserves our heritage, of belonging.

The urban drift of Maori from rural communities to the towns and cities all over Aotearoa New Zealand and now to overseas have had a profound effect on Maori socially and nationally, and Ngamotu/Kihitu was no different. World War II and the urban environment bought knowledge of an urban culture with its systems of power and political control, and in the 1960's, and there came a new generation of radical Maori leaders Joe Hawkes, Peter Sharples, Titiwhai Harawera, Mereana Pitman and Nga Tamatoa to mention a few, who engaged in a counter hegemonic struggle by deconstructing the historical narratives of the coloniser, and by mounting protest actions against the social injustices.

Whilst I sit and re-reading this section of my thesis, it reminds me of my own ignorance I had at one time about the protest movement, when the South African team visited in the 1981, and when the All Blacks were to South Africa to play rugby, and the protest actions that were taken. It was also a time when I did not understand what Te Tiriti o Waitangi meant for us as Maori. So as I reflect on such actions, I remember reading a newspaper some years back how my sister Mereana Pitman was acclaimed to be a professional protester. I didn't smile then, but now I applaud her and others to have such an insight to see what was happening for us as Maori, and the indigenous peoples around the world. I am ever grateful to her, because if she and others had not protested, then I would not be sitting within this thesis.

As a researcher and a participant, it was important to anchor this research within a knowing of the Kahungunu tauparapara of Ranginui and Papatuanuku that sanctions and sees kaupapa Maori research as legitimate. These and other stories indicate that Maori and research existed from time in memorial, by orally sharing. But Maori knowledge in some hapu, are being passed down through the generations in a written form. Such an example of this is Monty Souters book 'Nga Tama Toa, The Price of Citizenship C Company 28 (Maori) Battalion 1939-45', validates and contributes to the status of Maori as a culture, as a tribally based social and economic entity. It also assists us to learn, develop, protect and preserve our taonga status of Ngamotu and Kihitu as it contributes to Maori knowledge. It pulls together the shattered pieces of our people and more over what facilitates Maori to understand the nature of research and thereby is able to provide some guidance as to what the responsibilities are for Maori and Maori researchers (Mead, 1997).

Whilst this research is minute, it is also significant and pertinent to Ngamotu and Kihitu, as a written contribution following the interviewing of seven mokopuna of Ngamotu and Kihitu. We are all inheritors of a rich tradition, and being a mokopuna of Ngamotu and Kihitu is no different. However we have to firstly understand and appreciate the diversity of the participants who took part in this research, with their historic and contemporary realities, to provide a culturally proficient interview. In such a study as this, there are similarities to other researches that are centred on Maori, colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation,

however what is different about this research is that it is about 'our people, our whenua, and our whakapapa and our belonging to Ngamotu/Kihitu'.

With so many our Kuia and Kaumatua, passing on, we need to hold on to the pakiwaitara and puraaka, so as to pass it on to our mokopuna, so they might know and assist with the restoration of Ngamotu and Kihitu and their stories. It is with optimism and anticipation that the outcome of this research will encourage more interaction between the people of Ngamotu/Kihitu, to bring Ngamotu and Kihitu back to some of their former glory.

Using the parables of Ranginui, Papatuanuku and Tane-nui-a-rangi legitimises rangahau (research), as it identifies the cultural context that sanctioned this research and they legitimise tikanga and kaupapa Maori concepts to embrace and enhanced the research for Maori by Maori. In addition, the Kahungunu tauparapara speaks of a 'traditional base' for social research by Maori, because it permits us as Maori to research in a way that is appropriate for ourselves as researchers, as participants and as mokopuna. They also offer a culturally safe pathway to engage in rangahau (research). Kaupapa Maori research however, remains complex and requires a careful and sensitive approach, as it has existed from time in memorial and has allowed knowledge to be passed down through the generations, and it is valid. As such, it is important to understand the many concepts that have been handed down through the generations, so as to facilitate one's accessibility to various levels of activity within Maori communities, is a way that upholds the 'mana' (status) of our people as a culture. Kaupapa Maori concepts contribute to the status of Maori, as a culture and as a tribally based social and economic entity because it assists us to develop, protect and preserve our taonga status of Ngamotu and Kihitu, and all that belongs to them. This same tauparapara constitutes Maori knowledge, so that as Maori we can be comfortable and competent within our own 'mohiotanga' (knowing, as it also represents and preserves the heritage of Ngamotu/Kihitu.

## **RESULTS OF THE RESEACH**

Eighteen 'rich descriptions and themes' have evolved out of the transcripts gifted by the participants, and the following are the top layer of the analysis which provides the context in which individual themes can be explored in the future. Thus, it is with optimism and anticipation that the outcome of this research will encourage more contact and interaction between the people of Ngamotu/Kihitu and bring about some positive changes. The following is suggested as considerations.

### **Considerations:-**

1. Cropping
2. Planting Maori potatoes,
3. Forestry,
4. Fishing
5. Leasing the land
6. Orchard (peaches) as Ohuia is doing
7. Grapes for wine
8. The growing of Squash and Pumpkin

### **Recommendations**

1. Hui with all owners of Ngamotu and make some decisions about it how Ngamotu can become more productive.
2. Planting flax and native trees around the lagoon (the flax acts as a filter of water)
3. Consider Back Packers Accommodation
4. A van service (passenger & mail) to go in and out to town
5. Lease 99 year lease to someone like Arthur?
6. Papakainga: Kaumatua and Kuia Flats –
7. Build Batches to rent, to buy, what!

8. Shall we lease it to Watties, Forestry, Wine Producers
9. Develop a hub in such a way it becomes a tourist spot
10. Perhaps form a 'corporation', similar to Ohuia maybe, and thereby supply the viable product for the Farmers Market at Wairoa, Gisborne and Napier.
11. Perhaps a two stored buildings. The main road would be the shopping area of five or six big shops like a one stop hub, a garage & petrol, oil, repairs, beauty salon, haircuts, chemist and the all in one area but you need the people to stay there.
12. If Wairoa supplies the industries for workers to be able to work, then Kihitu would be the place to stay at, away from the hustle and bustle of the town life but to go to work and come home.
13. Lease to 'big joker's like Brown Riggs, Forestry and Watties. They could take over the whole of Kihitu, and have one big farm of pumpkins or other products. They have done that at Ohuia and now at Tahanui. If we could get a viable product that could sustain a marketable commodity long term, then I think some of our people will come back. But we have to find the commodity first.

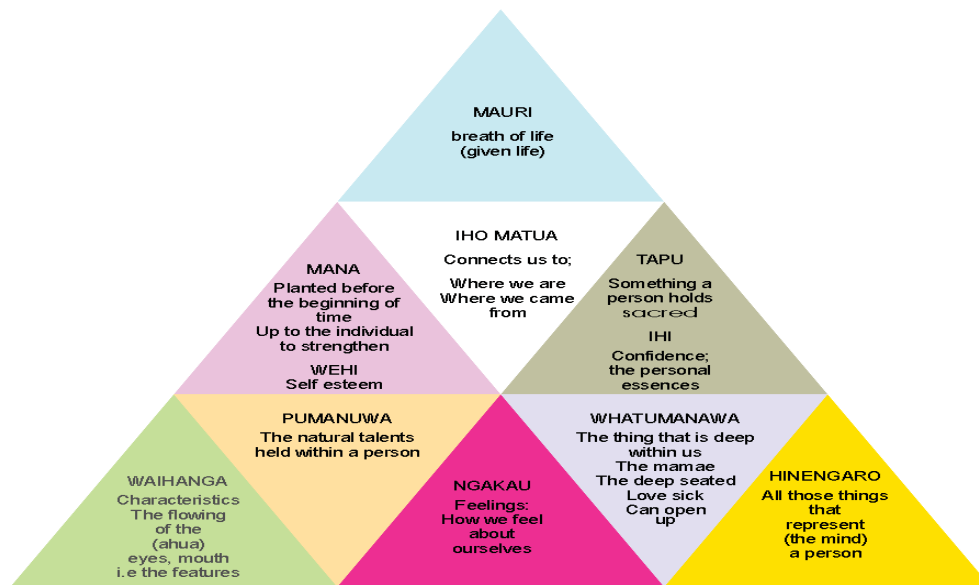
Ngamotu and Kihitu no longer have a supportive community, where everybody would work together in their gardens, and helped out in other whanau gardens. If we could get a viable product that could sustain a marketable commodity long term, then I think some of our people will return, but firstly we have to find the commodity.

### **Tuakiri O Te Tangata'**

There is still a way to go on this journey, before we can rightly say 'the mauri of the whenua has been returned'. To decide, we have to determine how we might do that.

In 1996, Aroha Terry provided a workshop that I was lucky to have attended. She gifted through her organisation 'Tuakiri O Te Tangata', a model of assessment that I have used over time as a Social Worker,

to assess and determine the abuse of children. Today, I am applying this framework in a similar context to the 'mauri ora' of Ngamotu/Kihitu, so as to determine 'the mauri' (wellbeing) of our whenua.



Te Tuakiri O Te Tangata  
(Aroha Terry 1996: Workshop Training)

**Once we have ticked all the boxes of this model, then we will know the mauri has returned.**

## A POIGNANT JOURNEY

It has been a poignant and touching journey for me, with a number of narratives that have connected 'some dots' for me, but it has also created more questions to ask that were not determined in this research.

1. How did the Marae get its name - Kihitu Pa?
2. What does Kihitu mean? Who named it?
3. What does Ngamotu mean and where did it get its name?
4. Who is buried upside down at Okaka?
5. Are we migrants from Rongowhakata or Ngati Porou?

This research for me has been an interesting journey, particularly as there are similarities to other researches, that are centred on the colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation of Maori and of the whenua,

but what is different about this research is that it is about my and our whenua.

*Our people, our whenua, our whakapapa and our belonging to Ngamotu and Kihitu'.*

This research was purposely to explore why the whenua of Ngamotu and Kihitu are almost desolate of their people, and why there is so little use of her agriculturally or horticulturally.

By using tikanga and kaupapa Maori as the 'pou' the Awhiowhio as a structural model of approach and Te Tuakiri O Te Tangata as an assessment tool, have all assisted to determine the mauri (well being) of the whenua for me, as the researcher. Further by naming Ngamotu and Kihitu, as our turangawaewae, it acknowledges that both these whenua are 'chiefly' places for us all to stand, and while it has been a long and arduous journey for me, it has answered the question that I really wanted to know - why is Ngamotu so alluring and captivating for me.

**It is because I know now, where I belong!**



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**Tena koutou, Tena koutou, Tena katoa**