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*Tradition, Invention, and Innovation: Multiple
Reflections of an Urban Marae*

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the requirements for the degree of

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in
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Lily (L. M.) George
Te Kapotai, Ngāpuhi, Pākehā

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ABSTRACT

Marae have a place in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand that is vital to Māori culture, as well as for all peoples of this land. Māori cultural precepts intrinsically abound with notions of the importance of marae for the transmission of that culture. Maraе are places of refuge and learning where the active expression of Māori culture is most obvious. Tendrils of tradition incorporated with contemporary nuances reach out to enfold those whom these places and spaces nurture and embrace. While these ideals may not always find articulation in reality, their presence at the least provides a foundation centuries old on which to build pathways in the present and into the future.

Awataha Maraе is an urban marae based on Auckland's North Shore. The history of Awataha is situated within the latest of three Renaissance Periods in which there was an upsurge in Māori culture. These Renaissance Periods were about resistance to the impositions of another culture, reclamation of part of what had been lost through colonisation, and rejuvenation of people and culture. Renaissance Period Three, in which Awataha arose, also has connections to the efforts of indigenous peoples worldwide in their endeavours to forge self determining processes for themselves, including those of conducting research that was for their benefit and purposes, rather than for those of others.

Following the development of marae from pre-contact to the present day also illuminates the context within which Awataha was formed. From its beginnings as the space in front of the chief's house where the village members gathered and where relationships were negotiated, marae today are complexes of buildings that reflect the necessities of the society that surrounds them, as well as the desire of the people to retain Māori culture in its most fundamental form. Urban marae have arisen to fulfil those desires for Māori in urban contexts, often separated from their rural homelands and for many, from their cultural heritage. Following changes in the ways in which wharehau were decorated and embellished also provides evidence of the ways in which Māori consciously innovated culture in order to endure in the new world.

PREFACE

The great Rope of Man, Te Taura Tangata, stretches from the beginning of the universe to the universe's end. The rope comes roaring from out of Te Kore, the Void, through Te Po, the Night, and the first time we see it is when light flashes on it at the First Dawning. As it comes, the gods of the Māori weave their kaleidoscopic power into it. When they create man and woman, the rope sparkles and gleams with breathless excitement.

Ever-changing, the rope is a magnificent icon spiralling from one aeon to the next, charting the history of humankind. At the beginning of its life, it was strong, tightly bound by Māori strands. Some Māori believe that with the coming of the Pākehā it became frayed, and almost snapped during the Land Wars. Perhaps there were only a few strands holding it together. But the songs of the people can still be sung through one or two strands as they are through many.

When we see the rope again, after the wars, it is a different rope. It is different because the Pākehā became added to it, the strands of Pākehā culture entwining with ours, adding different textures and colours. It's also fiercely twisted and soldered together by many different histories, as Māori and Pākehā began not only to live together but to fall in love, marry and have children with each other. Some people think that diminished our strength. Others think it strengthened us.

The rope continues its journey, spinning, singing, weaving, sparkling, chanting its way through time. It charts the changing nature of the human odyssey. All our successes and failures as a people are woven into it, all our lapses from divinity and our triumphs over inhumanity.

The energy of the rope is awesome and awe-inspiring. As it continues into the future, parts of it split off through space, crackling and thundering, heading for other suns, ever, ever spinning, ever, ever singing, ever, ever glowing, onward and onward, ever, ever, forever.¹

It seems appropriate to begin with this beautiful passage by esteemed Māori writer, Witi Ihimaera. For many years Ihimaera has written of the conflicts and challenges of Māori society in its space as part of Aotearoa New Zealand society, as well as the strengths and beauty of our culture that sustains and nurtures our people through 'the changing nature of the human odyssey'. He has inspired and uplifted me, drawing me ever onwards to seek deeper and reach higher, as he has done for many others I'm sure.

¹ Ihimaera, 2005, pp.30-31.

And he is but one of many Māori who through uncountable generations remind us that we are descended from gods, part of the universe, a vital strand of the collective rope of man. He and others remind us of our responsibility to the world, and the strength of our contribution from the depths of our cultural heritage to furnish grace to the present, and bestow hope to the future. Many of our people do not know of these heroes; these ordinary men and women who through the faith of their acts, the vitality of their words, and the immensity of their hearts, inspire and show us that it is possible to create a heroes journey of our own.

I want to celebrate those heroes in this dissertation, to name and claim some of them so that perhaps a few of those who read this will know to a greater extent the treasures our ancestral and current heroes' gift to us. They are many, they are multiple, they are myriad. They flow aeon by aeon, generation by generation, person by person, along the unfolding everlasting energy of *Te Taura Tangata*. They surround us in the current times, lending their spiritual and intellectual potency, forming part of the genealogical and historical matrix that pushes us ever onwards.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to those whānau and friends who travelled the journey through Te Rerenga Wairua to the World of Spirit, while I travelled mine through the PhD.

To supervisor, friend and mentor – Raewyn Good – you gave so generously of your time and aroha to many people from many different walks of life. Although you were taken from us far too soon, your legacy will live on in those of us who were fortunate enough to know you and learn from you.

Most significantly, this dissertation is dedicated to baby Moana-nui-a-Kiwa Harmony Holyoake Taiapa, whose passing reaffirmed the preciousness of life and love, and showed us how to build bridges over gulfs of misunderstanding in order to bring cultures, families, and people closer together. Shine brightly little star, so we may all shine brighter under your light.

<i>Rimu rimu tere tere</i>	<i>Seaweed drifting, drifting</i>
<i>E tere ra i te moana</i>	<i>floating out to sea</i>
<i>E abu ana ki te ripo</i>	<i>Flowing with the currents</i>
<i>I raro ra e.</i>	<i>the whirlpool below.</i>
<i>Ka kati, ka puare</i>	<i>It opens and closes</i>
<i>Mo wairua e -</i>	<i>for the spirit –</i>
<i>Te huringa i Murimotu</i>	<i>flowing around Murimotu</i>
<i>Te huringa i Te Reinga</i>	<i>around Reinga</i>
<i>Te moana i kauria</i>	<i>the seas swum</i>
<i>Te wairua e -</i>	<i>by the spirit –</i>
<i>Ohau i waho ra</i>	<i>Behold Ohau out yonder</i>
<i>Te puke whakamutunga</i>	<i>the last summit</i>
<i>Haere whakangaro atu te wairua e.</i>	<i>Farewell o spirit.²</i>

² A waiata of the pathway of spirits – te ara wairua – that includes Ohau and the waters of Murimotu near Te Reinga, where spirits of the dead leave the land of Aotearoa. In Kawharu, 2008, p.122.

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Ko Ngaatokimatawhaorua te waka; Ko Kapowai te maunga; Ko Waikare te awa; Ko Ngāpuhi te iwi; Ko Te Kapotai te hapū; Ko Whiti te tupunanui; Ko Waikare te tūrangawaewae; Ko Te Turuki te marae.

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CHAPTER ONE : MULTIPLE REFLECTIONS

Ka kōhi te toi, ka whai te māramatanga.

If knowledge is gathered, enlightenment will follow.

1.1 Introductory Reflections:

Marae have a place in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand that is entrenched, traditional, innovative, but above all – vital – to Māori culture for Māori, as well as for all peoples of this land. Māori cultural precepts intrinsically abound with notions of the importance of marae for the transmission of that culture. Marae are places of refuge, places of learning; spaces of rest and respite where the active expression of Māori culture is most obvious. Tendrils of tradition incorporated with contemporary nuances reach out to enfold those whom these places and spaces – tangible and intangible, spiritual and physical – nurture and embrace. While these ideals may not always find articulation in reality, their presence at the least provides a foundation centuries old on which to build pathways in the present and into the future.

Using Awataha Marae as a casestudy, this dissertation shows how multiple reflections can be garnered by looking intensely at Awataha and its place in the historical fabric of Aotearoa New Zealand. This chapter provides a general overview of the dissertation, outlining the main debates such as those around innovation of tradition and cultural renaissance. It was contended in the late 20th century that changes of tradition were being ‘invented’ by indigenous peoples for political and fiscal opportunities. This dissertation argues however, for innovation of tradition as conscious Māori agency in dealing with changes thrust upon the tribal societies since the beginnings of colonisation. Whether sited in the individual tribal groupings or Māori society as a whole, our culture has exhibited an enduring resilience in adapting to transformations engendered by incorporations of new cultures and new peoples.

Three Renaissance Periods can be noted when detailing the development of marae in Aotearoa New Zealand. These periods contain instances of innovation of traditional ideas, the first Renaissance being preceded by Raharuhi Rukupo’s *Te Hau-ki-Turanga*, built in 1842 as a

statement of his resistance to the changes being enforced upon Māori society, and as a “symbol of mana Māori Motuhake”³. This noted wharenuī is now considered to be the ‘prototype’ of the modern meeting house, as it was consciously used as such by Apirana Ngata in Renaissance Period Two. The building and decorating of wharenuī reflect in graphic detail, changes being incorporated in Māori society post-contact with Europeans, and therefore reflect also changing traditions as evidenced by transformations in art forms and mediums.

From the first articulations of the desire for a marae on the North Shore in the early 1960s, threads of dreaming wove many people into the development of what would eventually become Awataha Marae. Despite the prejudices encountered, financial and other difficulties plaguing the set-up of a marae, the dream was kept alive through the North Shore Māori Tribal Committees, Te Uruwao Trust, and finally the Awataha Marae Incorporated Society. There is a whakapapa to the development of Awataha Marae that incorporates those people who were associated with it from 1961 and their own whakapapa (genealogy/history) journeys that brought them there. Conceptualised primarily as a place in which Māori from all tribes could find a tūrangawaewae (standing place) in an urban setting, Awataha Marae is also consciously a place where people from all cultures could go to learn of the culture and people who are a fundamental part of Aotearoa New Zealand, and the heritage that therefore belongs to all who call this land home.

1.2 Methodological Reflections:

My relationships with the Awataha Marae community began in November 1997 when I joined the healing group based there – Te Ohanga Ake Ki Te Puaotanga Hou. This group, led by Rangitiinia and Arnold Wilson, sought to teach members to develop their healing gifts while providing healing to all that came there. In April the following year, Rangitiinia approached me regarding writing of the history of the Marae. As President of Waiwharariki (branch of the Māori Women’s Welfare League), Rangitiinia stated the aims of Waiwharariki for this research project as primarily to provide a historical document in an easily accessible form. In that way the history of the development of Awataha Marae would not be lost and would be available to present and future generations, and the contribution of many would be honoured. As noted by Mead, “There is an urgent need for research which focuses upon discovery, rediscovery and

³ R. Walker, 1990, p.188.

reconstruction of the heritage. The people want this information and are hungry for it”⁴. Details of the efforts of a group of urban Māori to adjust and innovate their culture to new settings are part of that heritage.

Rangitiinia Wilson also considered it appropriate that this PhD research (which officially began in 2002) was to be undertaken by a Māori woman. Many Māori and non-Māori women have been and remain deeply involved and committed to the development and day-to-day administration of Awataha Marae. Thus, a document written from a woman’s perspective honours their creative and dedicated efforts. Of course, the efforts of the men involved are also acknowledged and honoured. Additionally, it is also fitting that I as a Māori woman on a journey of cultural reclamation should be involved in this, as my experiences reflect those of many Māori urbanites in the area. Providing a haven through which the passing on of cultural taonga is enabled, is one of the visions held for Awataha Marae.

As a Māori woman on a journey of cultural reclamation, while the stories I tell belong to others, the ways in which I interpreted those stories reflect in some ways the personal experiences that have brought me to this point. Conducting ‘insider’ research with my own people ensured a layer of involvement that was deeply personal as well as professional. Sasha Roseneil explains research as “an exercise in reflexive, unalienated labour, [which] involve[s] the ‘unity of hand, brain and heart’”⁵. With the hand you greet and interact with people, as well as writing about your shared endeavours. The brain provides a tool for thinking about and analyzing ideas and situations you are working with. The heart though – arguably this gives a deeper meaning to what you as a researcher are involved with. It provides part of that sense of connection that can make your work more than just labour, and enriches the whole tapestry of the research experience. Through whakapapa I am connected as an individual, a tribal member and researcher to the people, lands and gods of Awataha and of Aotearoa New Zealand.

For me, this project entails more than the successful completion of a doctorate in social anthropology. While academia provides the framework through which this can be done, of importance also is how this community can gain benefits through this research. At this stage, despite the efforts of a dedicated group, the Awataha Marae complex is incomplete. The process of carrying out this research as well as the possible publishing of the material could help to raise the public profile of Awataha Marae. Therefore resources and support may be

⁴ S. Mead, 1990, p.34.

⁵ 1993, p.205.

more readily available. The objectives of this research project as agreed upon by myself and the Awataha community were therefore:

- to provide a written history of Awataha marae for future and present generations of the community;
- to raise the public profile of Awataha marae in order to help secure resources and support;
- to connect the formation and development of Awataha marae to wider social, political and cultural processes.

For the time that I participated in the community life of Awataha Marae, observing and sometimes recording impressions and events, there was a sense of involvement in the matrix of history that stretched backwards in time, as well as forwards to the future. My commitment to this project grew, as did my commitment to the vision of Awataha Marae as a *tūrangawaewae* (a place to stand) for the Māori people of Te Raki Pae Whenua (the North Shore). Awataha was conceived as a center for the delivery of education in its many forms; for health and social services; for the promotion of cross-cultural understanding; and a place where young and old may participate in the spiritual richness of their cultural heritage⁶.

As there are many possible research areas at Awataha Marae, for the first year of the doctorate I spent many hours with Rangitiinia and Arnold Wilson talking about the Marae development, the highs and lows, the dreams and realities that faced them and others over three or four decades. Within these conversations we developed the themes that this dissertation would focus on, including the contribution of women, innovation of tradition, bicultural practices that sought positive intercultural exchanges, and the *whakapapa* – the historical and ancestral context which surrounds the development of the Marae. The focus for them, and therefore for this dissertation, was on the production of an historical document of Awataha that nevertheless showed explicit connection to Aotearoa New Zealand as a whole.

Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson can be considered key informants for this research project, and while this provided a wealth of information on which to base the project, it also constitutes a limitation of the study. Many people have been involved with the development of the Marae, but my research has focused on the perspectives of those such as Arnold and Rangitiinia, and others involved at the Marae from 1998 to 2005. Knowledge of the conflicts

⁶ Awataha Marae Incorporated Society, 1987.

that have beleaguered the Marae over the years was part of the reason for this, and that there was easy and open access to those I had formed relationships with by 2002. This text is therefore partial – it records and represents the stories of a few of those involved with Awataha, not all. It is not *the* truth of Awataha history, but *a* truth, as represented by these few. Incorporation of detail from historical documents however, and situating the Awataha history in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, provides a wider version of history than might otherwise be achieved.

This dissertation covers material and experiences gathered until July 2005 only, when my fieldwork at Awataha Marae officially ended. There have been several changes at the Marae since then, and those can be detailed by others, at another time. Although it could be argued that all stories are partial, the stories I tell of Awataha Marae and its people are indeed incomplete, as they end in the middle of the historical continuum. Nevertheless the stories told have meaning and worth for those who precipitated their articulation, and for myself as one of the storytellers.

In the writing of this dissertation, a ‘whakapapa in context’ model was used to survey the historical continuum into which the development of Awataha Marae fits. Understanding some of how Awataha is incorporated into the unbroken ‘rope’ of history that stretches from the beginnings of time to the present and into the future contextualises Awataha in a way that gives this history a wider meaning. Within that history, I have chosen particular ‘characters’ in each Renaissance Period such as Te Kooti Arikirangi and Sir Apirana Ngata and focused on them and their inclusion in the historical milieu. A more general survey of Aotearoa history is beyond the scope of this dissertation, yet detailing the smaller context around each character provides an in-depth glimpse of that general history.

Chapter Two – *Weaving Methodologies* – contains a survey of social anthropology generally in its development from the early twentieth century, then in particular at its development in Aotearoa New Zealand. Its importance in influencing those such as Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck in their attempts to innovate Māori culture to fit more neatly into the changing world is noted. Also noted is the negative reputation social anthropology garnered in association with colonising processes that have had many detrimental effects on indigenous peoples, including Māori.

In the renaissance of culture in the late 20th century in particular, anthropologists were often criticized as perpetrators of offences against indigenous peoples – those who used their

knowledge to impose cultural constructions on people who were already dealing with many challenges post-colonisation. In Aotearoa New Zealand, constructions of Māori culture and history by amateur ethnologists such as S. Percy Smith and Elsdon Best came to be given credence over oral histories passed through the generations within Māori tribes. A new scientific order declared that objective interpretations by those who stood ‘outside’ the culture on display were most legitimate.

In the late 20th century however, indigenous peoples and other marginalised groups increasingly moved to curtail and challenge excursions by non-indigenous researchers into cultural and traditional realms. Many indigenous people declared that research into their cultures was their domain, and part of their fight for self determination. One backlash against this however, were notions of contemporary indigenous cultures being ‘invented’ (as first mooted by those such as Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1983), drawing from the distant past cultural concepts from a ‘golden age’ that were now being used for political ends in the challenges by indigenous people. What this dissertation argues instead, is for this as examples of indigenous, or Māori, agency in utilising culture for the purposes of ameliorating the negative effects of colonisation, and in the processes of the dynamism of living cultures.

Knowing the whakapapa of social anthropology then, is important to me as an indigenous anthropologist; something that has seemed a misnomer in the past. Yet I believe that anthropology has much to offer indigenous peoples such as Māori in the realms of research. Utilising methods such as fieldwork and participant observation enables the gathering of detailed knowledge in collaborative research projects that have benefits for all concerned. The wide array of information gathered by anthropologists over a century and more provide a wealth of knowledge to draw from, including cautionary tales of the challenges of conducting research with your own or other peoples. Anthropology has had to reframe its practices however to include a “toolbox of possibilities”⁷ to ensure research is of benefit to the researched, as well as researchers.

Kaupapa Māori research methods and methodologies have arisen as part of the drive for self determination in all arenas by Māori scholars such as Linda Smith in a ‘reimagining of our world’⁸ in which research serves our purposes, rather than being imposed upon us for the

⁷ Knaft, 2006, p.407.

⁸ L. T. Smith, 1999a, p.1.

purposes of others. Kaupapa Māori is a “plan, a philosophy”⁹, “the philosophy and practice of being Māori”¹⁰, and an “emancipatory theory”¹¹. It is an over-arching body of knowledge drawn from within a Māori worldview that sets out the fundamental rights of Māori as Māori, and as the tangata whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand. Kaupapa Māori research is still dynamic and vital in this land, changing and growing in an organic process that is conscious of the changing world that surrounds us. Entwining the intellectual tūrangawaewae¹² of anthropology and kaupapa Māori therefore enables research practices that make sense and have meaning for me as an indigenous anthropologist. Writing of these issues in this dissertation is part of my contribution to the ongoing debates in anthropology and for the further development of research in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Chapter Three – *Contextualising Marae* - which contains a more general discussion of the development of marae prior to and within the three Renaissance Periods, provides the background and deeper analysis to the Awataha history. Awataha is the heart of this dissertation, and thus the other chapters are written to elucidate and expand on the Marae and its incorporation into Māori and Aotearoa New Zealand history. Chapter Four – *Te Manawa Patukituki o Awataha* - which comprises the Awataha history in detail, is written in third person and is mostly descriptive so that it may be uplifted easily from the dissertation by the people of Awataha as a historical document for their use. It also contains many photographs to illustrate that history in a visual form.

1.3 Reflections of Marae History:

The purpose of Chapter Three is to provide background and context for the inception and growth of Awataha Marae. It is not designed to furnish the reader with a comprehensive history of Māori people prior to and post European contact. There is an absolute wealth of material available to expand on points made in this chapter regarding Māori, given that Māori as the indigenous people of this land have been well researched since the early days of European contact. This chapter argues that three Renaissance Periods have arisen in historical

⁹ L. T. Smith, 1999a, p.1.

¹⁰ 1992, cited in Te Momo, 2002, p.4, source – www.devnet.org.nz

¹¹ Pipi, Cram, Hawke, Huriwai, Matakī, Milne, Morgan, Tuhaka and Tuuta, 2004, p.141.

¹² The intellectual space from which I stand to speak as a researcher.

periods in Aotearoa New Zealand, which is congruent with upsurges in marae and wharenui building, and changes to the embellishment and artworks of the wharenui.

The Oxford Dictionary defines *Renaissance* as “revival of art and literature in the 14th - 16th c....”, with (*renaissance*) as “any similar revival”¹³. The renaissances as stimulated by events in Aotearoa New Zealand in the periods mentioned (and to be discussed further), are indeed marked by revivals of art and literature in Māori culture, although perhaps in ways not altogether recognizable by those who originally coined the term ‘renaissance’. Certainly, the three Renaissance Periods in Aotearoa New Zealand were accompanied by a reaching into the past to revive traditions in the present. Yet there was also a reaching into the future. It can be said that one of the reasons why these periods bear and invite intense scrutiny is because at those times, the linkages between past and future were held most firmly in present moments which demanded notice.

While the dates are approximates, the three Renaissance Periods can be demarcated as follows:

- Renaissance Period One - 1870s to 1890s;
- Renaissance Period Two - 1909 to 1930s;
- Renaissance Period Three - 1970s to present.

Each Renaissance Period arose as reactions and responses to changing social, political, cultural and economic environments, as well as by recognition of the losses that these changes had incurred. However, while being in great part a reactive response, there were also creative factors at play. New ideas had to be sought and brought forward in order to transition traditions into the future. These innovations of tradition, while a natural part of the changing dynamics of culture, were nevertheless conscious creativities to help ensure a future place for the peoples to which they belonged.

Māori belief that our past lies before us is reflected in the fact that the Māori word for past and front is *mua*, while *muri* denotes both future and back. As noted by Joe Williams, “our ancestors have always had their backs to the future and their eyes firmly on the past”¹⁴. This could be understood as meaning that solutions for present conditions were sought in the wisdoms laid down in the past by the ancestors. Inherent within this was the understanding

¹³ 1992, p.767.

¹⁴ 1990, p.14.

that solutions found in the present, affected conditions to come in the future. Thus, the future was not walked into blindly, as could be inferred by the concept of having your ‘back to the future’, but instead foundations for the future were built in the present, utilizing guidance from the past. As with any dynamic and ever-evolving cultures however, present social and environmental factors were taken into account, and those past wisdoms that no longer served the purposes of the people were discarded or amended. This enabled what could be seen as innovation of culture, throughout all three Renaissance Periods¹⁵ mentioned.

These Renaissance Periods which shared features of resistance, reclamation and rejuvenation, can also be demarcated using the symbolism of the wharenui. The pou (poles) found in the wharenui can be used as markers of time, and the Renaissance periods can be likened to three of the pou – Te Poutuarongo (Renaissance Period One), Te Pouteaniwa (Renaissance Period Two) and Te Poutewharau (Renaissance Period Three). Each pou represents the movement of Māori culture and peoples through time, with Te Poutuarongo situated at the back of the wharenui, and therefore most encased in Te Ao Kohatu, the old world. Changes were nevertheless occurring, as shown by the efforts of Te Kooti and others, and a further transformation occurred in the time of Te Pouteaniwa. Here the light of knowledge illuminated the people in a period of strong transition when those such as Apirana Ngata endeavoured to use the best of Māori and Pākehā culture to strengthen Māori to face the new world. Te Poutewharau stands outside the wharenui, being more exposed to the light and winds of change, requiring more movement outside of tradition and into the new world, while working to retain as much of Māori culture as possible. What is shown is the innovation of tradition that occurred in relation to marae and wharenui, as an exemplar of the changes to Māori culture and society that was sometimes forced and sometimes deliberately chosen, often in response to those enforced changes.

Prior to European contact, marae as villages were part of the ordinary and normal everyday life of Māori. There was no separation between the space of marae as a place for cultural interaction and the rest of lived experience. The marae was home-ground for the people who lived there, a place where they belonged, and where ritual encounters were performed and maintained. The arrival of Europeans from 1642 onwards, however, saw many changes incorporated into Māori culture and society – some forced and others readily accepted.

¹⁵ To be discussed further in Section 3.10.

Pātaka (storehouses) were usually the most elaborately decorated structures in the villages, with a few carvings adorning the chief's house, in front of which was the marae aatea – the gathering place for the people and their visitors. Jewellery such as hei tiki and other ornaments of greenstone and bone were carved and embellished, often becoming trading or gifting pieces, taking on the mana and mauri of the giver and the wearer. Canoes and waka tūpāpaku (burial chests) were also often elaborately carved and decorated. In pre-European Māori communities, carvings and other artworks reflected details of everyday life, such as creation myths and the natural world surrounding the people.

As more facets of the novel cultures introduced into tribal life became prevalent, changes to villages and therefore marae occurred, for example, the building of bigger wharenui to accommodate larger numbers of visitors. Religious considerations also impacted on the building of wharenui, as well as changes to carving motifs. While missionaries were supportive of tribal interests, ultimately the goal was conversion of Māori from 'barbaric' practices to Christianity, and the assimilation of Māori into European, and therefore civilised, society. Many missionaries therefore took some offence at the artwork embellishing whare for their frightening and supposedly barbaric physical aspects, and the heathen stories they portrayed.

Tohunga whakairo (carving experts) had willingly incorporated the new technologies such as iron tools into their practices from the early days of contact and had begun to utilise other aspects of Pākehā culture. While still being trained in traditional schools of learning, carvers in the pre-Treaty days often used their carving traditions innovatively and added to them creatively as the work progressed. Raharuhi Rukupo's carving of *Te Hau ki Tauranga* used innovation in the design and embellishment of the wharenui, incorporating new technologies and tools available at the time, while using the wharenui as an expression of protest against the imposition of colonial rule.

The Reverend William Williams came to have a strong influence on the development of carving in the East Coast however, and from there to many parts of the country. In the building of a church at Kaupapa (Manutuke) from 1849, Reverend Williams came into conflict with local Māori carvers who insisted in carving in their usual styles, but that which Williams considered inappropriate for a Christian church. In compromise, those such as Te Waka Kurei

came up with the 'Te Pitau-a-Manaia' design which featured mainly manaia figures which were "purely decorative" and not representational of Māori history as previous carvings were¹⁶.

The first Renaissance Period occurred towards the end of the New Zealand Wars, when leaders such as Te Kooti literally resisted Pākehā domination. There was an upsurge in building of wharenuī during and after the Wars, especially from the 1870s onwards. One dramatic change to the embellishment of wharenuī in this period was that of figurative painting. During these Wars and for much of the previous decades, the numbers of traditionally trained carvers had diminished dramatically, although there were still prominent schools in the Wanganui and Te Arawa regions. Ngāti Tararua (a hapū of Te Arawa) in particular had continued to develop its carving arts, and were renowned artists in this field. However, as more wharenuī were needed as whare runanga (council houses) and as statements of resistance, there was a move towards using paint more often as a medium of expression rather than carving. Of advantage was the lack of a lengthy training period governed by deep ritual as with carving, and anybody could pick up a brush and start painting. In this "period of intense political and religious realignment"¹⁷, painting more easily expressed the challenges that Māori faced at that time.

Despite the efforts of those such as Te Kooti, Māori culture continued to decline at the end of the 19th century and into the 20th century. The rise of Māori politicians and leaders such as Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck and Maui Pomare provided the necessary political influence to create changes that would be of benefit to Māori. Apirana Ngata implemented land development schemes, and heavily encouraged the building of wharenuī as a way in which to uplift Māori attachment to culture. For the embellishment of these, Ngata reached back beyond Te Kooti's time, to the more traditional carving arts. These and other arts such as tāniko were revived, as were the arts of waiata, haka and mōteatea.

By the early to mid-twentieth century however, Māori became further assimilated into European/Pākehā culture through, for example, urbanisation, and marae and other cultural aspects assumed lesser importance in a Pākehā-dominated society. As more Māori moved to cities such as Auckland, succeeding generations of Māori were less and less able to access traditional networks of support, due, for example, to the cost of travelling to and from the cities. The Māori cultural renaissance in the latter part of the twentieth century, however, saw

¹⁶ Neich, 1994, pp.82-85.

¹⁷ Neich, 1994, p.2.

an increasing reclamation of Māori culture and language. Again there was an upsurge in building of wharehau, and in this period, a return to more traditional arts, as well as the further development of Māori contemporary art.

Yet most Māori today live the majority of their lives as part of an urban milieu where the ritual expressions of 'being Māori' are occasion-specific rather than life-specific. Therefore marae have become one of the few places and spaces of cultural expression, providing Māori with tangible and intangible links to tradition, values, spirituality, and other cultural practices. Although few, urban marae are able to provide the opportunity for those who wish it, to become part of a community of cultural relevance and significance. Urban marae such as Awataha provides such an opportunity, incorporating aspects of Pākehā culture into its everyday existence, on a foundation of kaupapa Māori. Innovation of tradition is prevalent here, in a vision of cultural continuity that nevertheless takes into account the changing world of which it is part. As noted by Bennett:

It is this accommodation of the two cultures, this mélange of the two worlds of Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākehā that has forged the modern marae and which continues to do so. The marae of the nineteenth century was a gradually changing entity, it remains amorphous and continues to adapt as necessary here, in the twenty-first century¹⁸.

1.4 Reflections of Awataha:

It is Awataha's vision to offer hope where for some none exists, to raise expectations that we can achieve our visions, and to look forward to our future. We foresee a great nation of peoples taking their place in the world, being all they can be, knowing who they are and where they come from, unconstrained in their thinking – healthy and prosperous¹⁹.

The above statement written in 2004 reflects the vision as set at that time, and the original vision for a marae on Auckland's North Shore. Awataha is a context within the contexts of national and international societies, and as such provides a microcosmic look at Māori society and its relationship to Aotearoa New Zealand society, and indigenous peoples

¹⁸ 2007, p.233.

¹⁹ Awataha Marae Incorporated Society, 2004, *Awataha Profile Document*.

worldwide. Awataha is an urban marae, and exists to serve and nurture the needs of a variety of iwi – Māori primarily, but also people from other lands who now call Aotearoa home.

Visions don't always find expression in reality however, and since the beginnings of marae development there have been a variety of challenges facing those who worked hard to make that vision real. These included negotiating the prejudices within Aotearoa New Zealand society, which were not entirely supportive of Māori desires in the 1960s. The changing contexts in the 1970s and onwards however, provided the opportunity for land that was an ancient papakāinga on which to build a vision into reality. A series of Māori committees gave many hours of voluntary labour to this task, and in 1990 - almost 30 years after the original discussions - Awataha Marae was opened to the public with the blessing of its Administration Building.

The celebrations on that day included the involvement of many ethnic groups as well as Māori, reflecting the wider vision held of the Marae as a space of intercultural exchange. From its beginnings in the 1960s, the concept of a marae on the North Shore also included notions of a place which would provide sustenance for the multiple expressions of being Māori in a modern world, especially the urban contexts which many Māori were now situated within. Those involved with the Marae were very aware of the necessity of a place where those away from tribal areas could participate in their cultural practices, and where those who had lost contact with their cultural heritage could reconnect in a positive way.

Awataha is focused today as an educational centre for artistic and creative excellence. This will be achieved through initiatives such as programmes specifically designed to involve young people from all cultural backgrounds, and to assist them to appreciate the rich cultural heritage which belongs to every New Zealander. A variety of programmes seek to provide educational opportunities for all age groups, encapsulating the principles of whanaungatanga whereby people are drawn together to learn from and support each other. The participation of elders is encouraged in order to ensure the continuation of intergenerational wisdoms. The completion of the marae complex will provide further educational possibilities through artistic and cultural endeavour. Of importance is the preservation of cultural, environmental, and intellectual properties through educational programmes that offer practical ways in which this can be achieved. While there is some way to go to make real all that is desired for the marae – in reflection of the wider society to which it belongs – there is a very important foundation in place on which to build.

It can be seen then that several questions have guided the production of this thesis. Of importance is the question of how changes to environmental conditions have shaped the development of marae over time. This then situates Awataha Marae within the historical context in which it developed, while showing the lines of continuity in which Māori have actively innovated culture in order to ensure cultural permanence. While Māori have suffered many losses since the beginnings of colonisation, marae such as Awataha reflect the society of which they are part, showing that much remains.

CHAPTER TWO : WEAVING METHODOLOGIES

*Telling about what life is like for us, in our diversity, makes our stories visible.
It allows us to 'stand in the sunshine' in our own right, not in the shadows of
others nor as reflections of anyone else's image. It allows us to be whole, real
and visible, as ourselves. Our destiny is there to be reclaimed once more.
Weaving, weaving, weaving....²⁰*

2.1 Introduction:

When perusing the literature for this dissertation, especially those speaking of Māori research and/or collaborative research, the metaphor of weaving was common²¹. Weaving or plaiting is used from within a kaupapa Māori context to denote the action of bringing people, or threads, together in meaningful relationships or patterns. Using those metaphors in relation to research is significant because research as a human endeavour is fundamentally created around relationships. By consciously weaving the threads together in ways that honour the contribution and participation of all those who weave the piece, it is possible to work more harmoniously, to create a more beautiful pattern, to plait a stronger rope. Research can be about beauty and strength, as well as the production of knowledge.

One might assume from reading the above paragraph, that my PhD research experience has been one of harmony. Yet the fact that research is a human endeavour, and the relationships were between myself and the people of Awataha Marae, ensured that although those relationships were deeply satisfying personally while contributing well to my professional goals, there were also some profoundly challenging moments throughout the fieldwork and afterwards. Detailing some of those moments in this chapter is not intended as any kind of exposé or an exercise in navel-gazing, but as an elucidation of some of the pitfalls a researcher can encounter which may provide guidance for future research and researchers.

During the research process, it was necessary to weave together my experiences as a Māori woman of Te Kapotai and Ngāpuhi descent, with those as a Māori researcher

²⁰ Kathie Irwin, 1995, pp.11 & 10.

²¹ See, for example, Bishop 1998, Bishop & Glynn 1999, and L. Smith 1999a and 1999b.

attempting to understand and utilise kaupapa Māori research methodologies, and with those as an indigenous anthropologist. These multiple strands, and therefore my multiple positionings, ensured that the journey toward weaving them together in a coherent form took several years. It is only now, at the end of the PhD journey, that I am able to gain a deeper lucidity and understanding. While this understanding remains partial in some respects, there is enough of a base there – an understanding of the whakapapa of self, culture, and disciplines – to provide illumination.

At the beginning of the research in 2002, my ethnic identity as Māori was entrenched, yet notions of cultural inauthenticity often arose, given my lack of cultural knowledge. I was also unsure as to where I stood in terms of professional grounding – I was an anthropologist, yet I was also Māori. At times it seemed that the two did not quite fit together, while at other times the fit seemed most natural for me as a Māori woman. In order to fully understand my professional anthropological self, of necessity was a journey into my personal self, so that I could understand more deeply the cultural and social perspectives from within which I speak.

The process of research with one's own people can carry with it a set of unique conflicts and challenges that arise from fieldwork situations which in themselves are conflicted. Further, given that anthropology has been implicated as one of the devices of colonization by some indigenous peoples, declaring myself to be an indigenous *anthropologist* has at times opened doors to derisive commentaries that dispute my right therefore, to conduct research with Māori people, with the potential to close other doors. It is undeniable that research – whether anthropological or not – has contributed in some negative ways to the plight of indigenous people. Research was often conducted *on* indigenous and other marginalised people through the epistemological and ontological premises of Western science. Thus, from the 1960s, indigenous and other groups increasingly called for research practices that were of self-defined benefit to their needs, and which reflected more clearly the cultural practices, knowledges and values of their own people.

By 2002, the kaupapa Māori research paradigm was well grounded in Aotearoa New Zealand amongst Māori researchers, and calls by Māori for research 'by Māori for Māori and with Māori'²² were being heeded by the general research community. Research methods and methodologies were increasingly being reworked to incorporate more fully the cultural concepts that were more meaningful to Māori as individuals and communities. Linda Smith

²² See Linda Smith, 1995.

called for the ‘decolonization’ of research, outlining some of the ways in which this could be accomplished, while Russell Bishop introduced the concept of whakawhanaungatanga (relationship development and maintenance) as a research strategy. They and other Māori scholars spoke and wrote of whakapapa, whānau, tuakana and teina, and other Māori concepts, showing how they could be effectively incorporated into contemporary research.

The foundations laid by those mentioned above, for example, opened more clearly a window through which I could see the possibilities of an anthropological approach that produced robust research knowledge which was of real benefit to Māori, through interweaving aspects of anthropology and kaupapa Māori together. Part of this window of possibilities reflects the whakapapa of anthropology in Aotearoa New Zealand, including the efforts of those such as Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck. By drawing on the past works of local and international indigenous or native anthropologists, and walking alongside those of the present, it seems more than possible to co-create an ‘indigenous anthropology’ that has real meaning in a world where diversity and difference is increasingly recognised and accommodated. Despite the critiques of its past, anthropology has always attempted to understand and present ‘the natives point of view’, and in this post-modern world, has amended and re-created its craft to ensure that those involved in research retain the power of their own voices, rather than being spoken for.

Over and above personal and professional concerns however, are those of the community with whom I worked. The people of Awataha gave their time and energy, aroha and manaaki, their stories and visions, in order to contribute to the detailing of their history. The history of Awataha sits alongside and within that of Aotearoa New Zealand. Yet on the micro-local level, it is very personal, and reflects the incredible efforts of a few handfuls of people who desired to contribute to that local community, as well as participate in building a better society where kaupapa Māori was a fundamental feature of everyday life. As with any piece of research, it must be the efforts of those whose stories we tell that are honoured. It is from stories of human frailties and human strengths that we can perceive the richness of life.

2.2 Research, Anthropology and Indigenous Peoples:

2.2.1 Fundamentals of Anthropology:

The fundamental methods of anthropology are fieldwork, participant observation, and ethnography. These methods were set in place in the early 20th century by those such as Franz Boas (1858-1942), and Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942). Study at the University of Leipzig brought Malinowski into contact with eminent academics such as Wundt and Bucher, and with the works of Durkheim and Boas²³, and the teachings of these and other intellectuals influenced Malinowski as to the direction his later work would take. Malinowski began his first anthropological study while at the University of Leipzig on Australian aborigine family organisation, which he continued after his appointment at the London School of Economics in 1910.

In 1914, Malinowski's ethnographic career began with fieldwork of six months duration in New Guinea. Here he realised that in order to achieve an in-depth study of 'natives', he had to 'come down off the veranda' and live among them. Malinowski began his fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands in 1915, and during the next four years he developed what came to be known as the fieldwork method and participant observation. Although Rivers (1913) had already developed the notion of "intensive work", whereby an ethnographer lived within a community for a year or more, Malinowski was the first professionally trained British anthropologist to actually engage in this kind of work²⁴.

Malinowski's first book on the Trobriand's, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, clearly outlined what his methods of efficient fieldwork were. He defined the "three foundation stones of fieldwork" as 1) the orderly use of "commonsense" and fundamental scientific maxims, 2) to live within the native community, without the company of other European's, and 3) the application of "special methods" of evidence collection and organisation²⁵. Malinowski considered scientific theory to be the basis of any academic endeavour, for only through acquiring knowledge of current theoretical notions and practices could the fieldworker establish a solid framework through which to understand the societies under study.

Living amongst the natives was regarded by Malinowski as the "most elementary" of these 'foundation stones', as this was the only way in which to really "know him" and become

²³ Kuper, 1983, p.10.

²⁴ Kuper, 1983, pp.7 & 8.

²⁵ 1922, p.6.

intimately acquainted with their thoughts, beliefs, and customs²⁶. Collecting concrete data was the essential element of survey work pioneered by Rivers, Haddon and others, and through this a basic framework of customs and rituals could be obtained. However, this was a “skeleton” that “lacks flesh and blood” which must be augmented by close observation of the performance of daily life, and therefore “the full body and blood of actual native life fills out soon the skeleton of abstract constructions”²⁷. In taking this a vital step further, it was also necessary for an ethnographer to intermittently submerge themselves into the heart of native activities (i.e. participant observation), thereby enabling “tribal transactions...[to] become more transparent and easily understandable than ...before”²⁸.

It is easy to single out instances, however, in which Malinowski displays the ethnocentrism and prejudices of the societies from within which he was formed. While he stated on the one hand that the natives “social institutions have a very definite organization...they are governed by authority, law and order in their public and personal relations...under the control of extremely complex ties of kinship”²⁹, Malinowski also stated that the “difference is that, in our society, every institution has its intelligent members, its historians, and its archives and documents, whereas in native society there are none of these”³⁰. He also wrote that “the native is not the natural companion for a white man....you will naturally hanker after the company of your own kind”³¹, and in his personal diary maintained that “I see life of the natives as utterly devoid of interest and importance, something as remote from me as the life of a dog”³².

To be fair, here Malinowski expressed his boredom and loneliness while within an ‘alien’ culture, yet also indicates his feelings of physical and cultural superiority. While Malinowski purports that “ideas, feelings and impulses are moulded and conditioned by the culture in which we find them”³³ with regard to natives, he fails to recognise that he and his contemporaries are also historical products of their own cultures. So although anthropology contributed much to the understanding of so-called native cultures by the western world,

²⁶ Malinowski, 1922, p.10.

²⁷ Malinowski, 1922, p.117.

²⁸ Malinowski, 1922, pp.21 & 22.

²⁹ Malinowski, 1922, pp.11 & 10.

³⁰ Malinowski, 1922, p.12.

³¹ Malinowski, 1922, p.7.

³² In Kuper, 1983, p.15.

³³ 1922, p.22.

attitudes and prejudices towards these constructed ‘others’ created increasing challenges in a changing post-colonial world.

2.2.2 Crisis of Representation:

For over three decades now, anthropology, and indeed the wide spectrum of academia, has undergone intellectual and institutional crises as challenges from a range of previously marginalised groups such as indigenous peoples were, and continue to be, strongly voiced. Indigenous peoples and cultures have been described and defined many times over through the perspectives and ideals of western scientific thought since the beginnings of colonisation several hundred years ago. It is rarely challenged today that part of the history of the social sciences is one of contributing to this ‘totalising system’. Through the fundamental nature of its science, anthropology in particular was charged as assisting in the creation of indigenous cultures as clearly-bounded, homogenous, often-genderless, a-historic, exotically captivating throw-backs of nature. It seemed possible to know and understand an entire people through the knowledgeable compilations of a handful of western scholars.

Marcus and Fischer³⁴ noted that by the 1980s there was a ‘crisis of representation’ within anthropology, and further contended that discussions at that time were a continuance of similar intellectual and institutional crises of the past, although differing due to an altered historical environment. Roseberry³⁵ agreed, noting that there were three crisis periods, the first beginning in 1950³⁶. This crisis period attempted to place what were previously considered to be bounded cultural systems into the contexts of wider political, historical and economic developments. From the late 1960s, amidst political and social upheaval caused by events such as the Civil Rights and feminist movements, the second crisis period endeavoured to incorporate the previous absences of issues such as gender, class, colonialism, and power relationships within theoretical and methodological practices. It was seen that new theories were required, as existing theories inadequately dealt with the ‘new’ assortment of concerns.

³⁴ 1986, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*.

³⁵ 1996.

³⁶ Denzin (2001, p.24) writes of seven historical moments whose times differ slightly from the three periods Roseberry wrote about. He lists them as “(1) the traditional (1900-1950); (2) the modernist, or golden age (1950-70); (3) blurred genres (1970-86); (4) the crisis of representation (1986-90); (5) the postmodern, or experimental (1990-6); (6) the post experimental (1996-present); and (7) the future, the seventh moment.”

This crisis period arose and was supported by the publication of texts which highlighted the constructed nature of western-narrated cultures. Edward Said, for example, emphasized how European discourse created notions of the Orient “politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively”³⁷. Publication of Malinowski’s diaries in 1967, and Freeman’s 1983 critique of Margaret Mead’s work with Samoan adolescents³⁸, further contributed to what became a clamor for new insights as previously held academic truisms began to fall apart. This encouraged and indeed necessitated the politicization and radicalization of anthropology and other academic disciplines in order for these concerns to be met. In reflecting on the expanding diversity of anthropology, Roseberry considered that it was a time “in which a hundred flowers might bloom”³⁹.

By the late 1980s, the third crisis period had arisen, particularly marked by an absence of totalizing paradigms⁴⁰. It can be seen how earlier debates contributed to the third crisis period, as non-western, indigenous, feminist, people of colour and other previously marginalized and now politicized groups continued to challenge the ongoing hegemonic dominance of western scholarship. Although still exhibiting those very cultural and intellectual arrogances that the critics wished to deconstruct, Simms noted that:

the products of our own colonial activities [are] now confronting us in forthright, independent, and often critical voices [which] are...products of our own attempts to educate and civilize a savage, primitive, or decadent set of peoples...even when, ironically, we can only ‘hear’ these voices because they speak in our languages and with literary techniques we have taught them⁴¹.

2.2.3 Indigenous Critique:

Ethnographic narratives described the social systems and institutions of mainly indigenous peoples, purporting to extend the ‘native viewpoint’ for the perusal of their fellow, usually European, citizens. Yet as Geertz pointed out - “what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people’s constructions of what they and their compatriots are up

³⁷ 1978, p.3.

³⁸ *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*; see also *The Fateful Hoaxing of Margaret Mead: A Historical Analysis of her Samoan Research*, 1999.

³⁹ 1996, p.13.

⁴⁰ Marcus and Fischer, 1986.

⁴¹ 1986, p.1.

to”⁴². There can be, and often was, a wide gap of comprehension between the natives understanding of their worlds, and that of those who looked from the outside in. Thus, notions of cultures were often a “literary fiction”⁴³, constructed through the frequently arrogant, though possibly well-meaning, machinations of non-indigenous writers. An exemplar of the arrogance of intellectual entitlement to do so however, is shown in the late nineteenth century communication from W.E. Gudgeon to Percy S. Smith that “We Europeans have the critical faculty and must exercise it for good or evil”⁴⁴.

In nineteenth century Aotearoa New Zealand, “amateur ethnologists”⁴⁵ such as Tregear, Smith, Best and White, were prolific writers on the social and cultural nature of the Māori. Ballara contends that these scholars generated in what she terms a “grand design”⁴⁶, a condensed version of Māori society that fit the needs of the emerging nation state. Through this they mapped the historical and current movements of *all* Māori, despite tribal differences, in an orderly and simplistic fashion. Any contradictory evidence that disturbed the simplicity of their endeavours was considered ‘corrupt’. It was also assumed by Smith and his compatriots that what they were investigating and describing was a culture seemingly inert for hundreds of years, and did not appear to take into consideration the changes effected post-European contact⁴⁷. These notions and others came to be commonly believed at that time and into the twentieth century, eventually becoming the “accepted wisdom”⁴⁸ for many Māori people.

Vine Deloria was a well-known critic of the nature of the anthropological project and how it affected the indigenous peoples of his land. In his obituary, Watkins stated that although Deloria was not an anthropologist, he “probably had more of an impact on the discipline than many of us producing the craft today will have”⁴⁹. Deloria’s 1969 book, *Custer Died for Your Sins*, articulated without doubt his contentions that anthropologists “are the most prominent members of the scholarly community that infests the land of the free, and in the summer time, the home of the braves”, and that “Indians have been cursed above all people in

⁴² 1973, p.2.

⁴³ Gupta and Ferguson, 1999, p.3.

⁴⁴ Cited in Ballara, 1998a, p.98.

⁴⁵ Henare, 2007, p.95.

⁴⁶ Ballara, 1998, pp.97-99.

⁴⁷ Webster, 1998a.

⁴⁸ Durie, 1998b, p.54.

⁴⁹ 2006, p.506.

history. Indians have anthropologists”⁵⁰. It also seemed that for Deloria, there was no reconciling the anthropological project with that of indigenous people. With regard to Indian anthropologists, Deloria later wrote⁵¹:

Some prominent Indian anthros have announced at Indian meetings, ‘I’m an Indian but I’m also an anthro’. There is no question in this announcement that the individual has chosen the profession over the community. Once this happens...unless they prove momentarily useful they are never trusted again and people avoid them whenever possible.

Weber-Pillwax writes of an incident where upon reading an article by an anthropologist, she was horrified to realise that the Cree man that was being described was her grandfather. She felt that their “lives had been assaulted and violated”⁵². The reasons for this understandably emotive response were firstly, that her family had no idea of the existence of the research and the resultant article on such a close family member. Most importantly for her, the English translation of the Cree words her grandfather had shared was not accurate, and therefore misrepresentative. For Weber-Pillwax, an outcome of this experience was a new sense of responsibility to help develop indigenous ways of researching that more clearly respected the rights of those being researched, was culturally safe, and was of value to the communities involved⁵³.

2.2.4 Experimental Moments:

One consequence of the undermining of anthropological (and other disciplines) authority to represent social and cultural reality is what Marcus and Fischer⁵⁴ called an “experimental moment”. This ‘moment’ sought new directions and theories that enveloped more broadly the relevant issues of our radically altered intellectual world. For the likes of Clifford⁵⁵, “writing...emerged as central to what anthropologists do both in the field and

⁵⁰ Deloria, 1986 edition, p.78.

⁵¹ In Watkins, 2006, p.507, original italics.

⁵² 2001, p.166.

⁵³ 2001, p.166.

⁵⁴ 1986.

⁵⁵ 1986, p.1. Thapan (1998, p.3) described those such as James Clifford and George Marcus as “representative of a ‘new wave’ in anthropology which sought to change the direction of anthropology from an objective discipline, grounded in a tradition of observation and thick description, to one which sought to allow more space for the polyphony of voices and partial truths that emerged from a

thereafter”. Although it was well observed that ethnography - the way in which anthropologists communicate their findings to the world - was central to the practice of anthropology, the writing itself was overshadowed by the methods of data collection (i.e. fieldwork and participant observation) and theoretical perspectives. Although an ethnography may have been seen to be written with style or vision, the writing itself was considered secondary to what was written about, or as Clifford put it - “writing reduced to method”⁵⁶. What those such as Marcus, Fischer, Clifford and others proposed was a new emphasis on ethnography as literature and an art form; developing new literary styles that more accurately represented cultural diversities and realities.

Since the seventeenth century, western scientific paradigms sought the separation of literature and science, believing that good practice necessitated the emphasis of fact over fiction, objectivity over subjectivity⁵⁷. Thus, the majority of early ethnographies were written in such a way as to maintain an ‘objective distance’ in which scientific integrity could be preserved. A reliance on the ‘truth’ of science however, was one of the reasons for the failure to recognise the depths to which the social scientist is an historical product of their own culture; feeling, thinking, and interpreting, according to the social and cultural environments they were raised within.

Denzin considered that modernist texts did “not attempt to connect mobile, moving, shifting minds (and their representations) to a shifting external world”⁵⁸. Although there has always been change in the world, by the late 19th and early 20th centuries, change had accelerated at such a pace that it was no longer acceptable to write about unchanging cultural contexts. Ethnographies created to a certain extent, the worlds and cultures that were described and analysed within them⁵⁹. Malinowski is recorded as stating that “It is I who will describe them or create them”⁶⁰. Too often these analyses were constructed through the perceptions and interpretations of those who did not recognize how their own cultural mores influenced their interpretations. As noted by Van Maanen however, ethnography carries

collective and shared understanding of social reality”.

⁵⁶ 1986, p.2.

⁵⁷ Clifford, 1986, p.5.

⁵⁸ 1995, p.7.

⁵⁹ Denzin, 1995, p.8.

⁶⁰ Cited in Van Maanen, 1988, p.51.

“serious intellectual and moral responsibilities, for the images of others inscribed in writing are most assuredly not neutral”⁶¹.

Notions of reflexivity therefore, were postulated as a tactic in which to re-join fact and fiction, subjectivity and objectivity, in ways that more deeply expressed the multi-layered realities of peoples and cultures. As Geertz has noted - “Anthropologists don’t study villages...they study *in* villages”⁶² - and therefore any piece of research is inherently relational and interactional. Fieldwork and the practice of participant observation therefore necessitate the formation of sound relationships between the researcher and those he or she researches with. Indigenous Canadian Shawn Wilson contends that “Appropriation of Indigenous culture and knowledge has taken place in the past when proper relationships have not been established and honored between researchers and their subjects”⁶³.

The researcher goes into the field not as a totally objective scientist, but as him or herself, carrying within themselves facets of personality, culture, gender, history, and so on. This signifies then that relationships and interactions are formed at the interface between one person and another. Therefore, it can be said that “the field ‘lies to a great extent within us’”⁶⁴. The researcher’s own biases, prejudices and ‘truths’ consequently affect the way relationships are formed and maintained, as well as the ways in which the research is undertaken, analysed, and reported. As Krieger notes, “We bring biases and more than biases”⁶⁵, and what is needed is recognition of these, and further, an articulation of how these can affect our relationships, and therefore our research.

Reflexivity then, is “not just an approach toward analysis and writing, but also an essential condition of interaction with the people we study”, and one that recognizes “the political dimension of anthropological practice”⁶⁶. Failure to acknowledge the inherently political nature of research, whether studying in your own or an(Other) culture, can lead to the abuses of research - and people - that many have spoken against. An emphasis on detachment only, produces texts that do not recognise their own biases, and objective distance becomes “an ethnographic fiction with which the anthropologist maintains control and authority over

⁶¹ 1988, p.1.

⁶² 1973, p.4.

⁶³ Shawn Wilson, 2001, p.178.

⁶⁴ In Denzin, 1997, p.214.

⁶⁵ 1996, p.180.

⁶⁶ Jaffe, 1993, pp.51 & 52.

his or her subjects”⁶⁷. The poetic and narrative text then, was cited as a way in which to recognize that the relationship between researcher and researched is one of both objectivity, and of subjectivity meeting subjectivity⁶⁸. This new form of textuality assumed that the use of emotive language to “push and extend boundaries...[represent] lived experience...[and to] make the strange familiar”⁶⁹ would openly express what was previously kept hidden, thereby creating a scientific craft in which the impediments between researcher and researched, writer and reader will be, if not completely dissolved, then at least acknowledged.

Although it was hoped that with these changes ethnography would become a “very personal and imaginative vehicle”⁷⁰ that meets more effectively the needs of the researched as well as the researcher, there have been many critiques of this project. Marcus and Fischer consider that literary experimentation in ethnography is useful for “theoretical insight...continued innovation...[and] the development of theory”, leading to “authentic representations” of other cultures⁷¹. However, the possible result of an emphasis on the literary merits of the text can lead to the creation of a supposedly scientific craft that is “too theoretically reticent”⁷². Experience is privileged over theoretical analysis, and the text can become more a place of dialogical rapport and therapeutic analysis of the author’s own endeavours. Further, Henare notes that this reflexive turn has “worked to reinforce old assumptions” about culture, culture change, and anthropological authority⁷³. An emphasis on reflexivity can effectively produce anthropology with “an openly acknowledged freedom to engage in mystification and creative self-empowering fabrication unaccountable to any challenge of logic or fact”⁷⁴.

⁶⁷ Jaffe, 1993, p.51.

⁶⁸ George, 2004, p.7.

⁶⁹ Denzin, 1997, pp.208-211.

⁷⁰ Marcus & Fischer, 1986, p.21.

⁷¹ Marcus & Fischer, 1986, p.42.

⁷² Denzin, 1997, p.216.

⁷³ Henare, 2007, p.94.

⁷⁴ Sangren, in Borofsky, 1994, p.26.

2.2.5 Cultural ‘Invention’:

American anthropologist, Allan Hanson’s 1989 article *The Making of the Māori: Culture Invention and its Logic*⁷⁵ created a stir in New Zealand and internationally with his critique of Māori culture and the two “distinct forms” in which Māori culture was *invented* by “anthropological interpretations and misinterpretations ...contributions of other scholars, government officials, and Maoris themselves (including some Maori anthropologists)”⁷⁶. The first form, Hanson contends, occurred in the early 20th century, when the goal was to discover similarities between Māori and European culture, thereby enabling the assimilation of Māori into European culture. Hanson states that:

If Maoris [sic] have always been willing to accept such qualities of racial greatness that Pakeha [sic] scholars might attribute to them, it was not so much to believe themselves worthy of assimilation into the White population and culture, as it was to bolster a sense of their own ethnic distinctiveness and value.⁷⁷

The second form of cultural invention has a more contemporary setting, where the “strength and stridency” of Māori claims to ethnic value had grown considerably. Here the emphasis was to find differences between the two cultures, thereby enabling Māori to fulfill the political goal of claiming more power within Aotearoa New Zealand society. Whereas the earlier objective was the creation of *one* culture, the vision of ‘Māoritanga’ sought a *bicultural* society where Māori have equal standing while retaining their cultural distinctiveness⁷⁸. Hanson contended that part of this distinctiveness included the misguided contention, as shown by the *Te Māori* exhibition (1984-1986), in that Māori “have access to primal sources of power long since lost by more rational cultures”⁷⁹.

Hanson further argued that a negative perspective of this self-conscious cultural invention could be that:

⁷⁵ 1989, in *American Anthropologist*.

⁷⁶ Hanson, 1989, p.890.

⁷⁷ Hanson, 1989, p.893.

⁷⁸ Hanson, 1989, p.894.

⁷⁹ Hanson, 1989, p.896.

the reality of traditional culture and history is so irredeemably shrouded behind multiple veils of distortion, some woven from imported fabric and others homespun, that no effort at objectivity could be sufficient to strip them away⁸⁰.

Nevertheless, Māori had acknowledged these ‘distortions’ as authentic, and therefore it was acceptable as a factor of modern Māori culture as “the ongoing reconstruction of tradition is a facet of all social life”⁸¹. It is the *process* of this reconstruction that is of analytical value for social scientists, and of course, it is only “detached observers”⁸² such as Hanson, who are able to recognise the obvious invention that is in play.

It is amazing that Hanson could not at the time perceive that his critique of Māori ‘cultural invention’ would be incredibly insulting and hurtful to Māori and other indigenous peoples. In a reply to Hanson’s article, New Zealand anthropologist Hal Levine⁸³ considers that what Hanson characterizes as ‘invention’ is actually more about “political ideology”. Yet because Hanson amplifies the importance of cultural invention, he “ignores the fact that the “invention” is really a product of controversy about Māori-Pākehā relations, which takes place in particular political arenas”⁸⁴. By doing so, Hanson misinterprets what is actually occurring, and Levine reframes it by saying that in fact, it is “the nature, legitimacy, and structure of *the state* itself that is being reinterpreted through debate about Māori tradition”⁸⁵.

In her comment on Hanson’s article, Jocelyn Linnekin, a previously avid proponent of the theory of cultural invention, admits that “the pervasive suspicion [is] the invention of culture is a politically revisionist and anti-native rubric”, and that writing of this invention “undercuts the cultural authority of indigenous peoples by calling into question their authenticity”⁸⁶. At a time when race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand were hotly contested, an article in a local paper emphasised Hanson’s contention that Māori culture was invented, and therefore inauthentic. This created considerable anger amongst Māori, and a *New York Times* article covering the debate caused by Hanson, recognized Māori anger, while considering

⁸⁰ Hanson, 1989, p.897.

⁸¹ Handler and Linnekin, 1984, in Hanson, 1989, p.898.

⁸² Hanson, 1989, p.899.

⁸³ 1991, pp.444-446.

⁸⁴ Levine, 1991, p.444.

⁸⁵ Levine, 1991, pp.444-445, my emphasis.

⁸⁶ 1991, pp.446-450.

that the controversy was striking “at the very heart of anthropology”⁸⁷. As noted by Hal Levine:

By using the logic of a “strong” version of the invention paradigm, it seems possible to now draw the puzzling conclusion that anthropology is inventing, not only Māori culture, but the backlash against it ⁸⁸.

2.2.6 New Directions:

In a time of altered perceptions and contested realities, Trinh posed the question - “how can one re-create without re-circulating domination?”⁸⁹. Perhaps this is a question that theorists such as Hanson neglected to ask themselves. The prevalence of the cultural invention theory within much anthropological discourse in the 1980s and 1990s is perhaps an example of the danger of ‘premature foreclosure’ in an ‘experimental moment’⁹⁰, whereby theories themselves become reified and objectified models embraced by academic mimics. Creating something new using old tools can often mean that the new is merely the old in a novel form.

The subjectivity of the researcher is one of those issues that is now openly discussed and accepted in social and cultural anthropology. As noted, the objective distancing of the researcher from the subjects of his or her research was previously considered an integral part of research. Further, the implicit directive was that although participating in the life of the ‘subjects’ was necessary at times, the traditional stance was that “anthropologists should not be involved in, and therefore ‘spoil’, the events that happened among the people they were observing”⁹¹.

Once returned to the ‘normality’ of the academic setting, it was even more important for the researcher to distance themselves from the emotions and textures of the field. Instead, the deconstruction of emotional connections to the researched through the “emotional regime(s)” of anthropology itself was achieved through the legitimizing of ‘good’ emotions, and delegitimizing of ‘bad’ emotions⁹². Thus, the anthropologist could produce an ethnography which articulated through objective language the “conventional image of a

⁸⁷ Cited in Linnekin, 1991, p.446.

⁸⁸ 1991, p.446.

⁸⁹ 1991, p.15.

⁹⁰ Marcus and Fischer, 1986, p.41.

⁹¹ Burr, 2002.

⁹² Shrestha, 2007.

researcher [as] someone who neutralizes his or her...viewpoints”⁹³. This and other such enterprises however, have contributed in great part to the construction of research subjects as exotic ‘others’ who we create through the literature of our craft.

Yet Woodthorpe notes that as anthropologists, “we are concerned with research among human beings by human beings, and thus as a fundamental part of human-ness, emotion cannot be left out of the ethnographic picture”⁹⁴. The endeavour of relationship formation between ourselves as researchers and those we research with necessitates the acknowledgement of the emotions which arise within these relationships. These can have great effect on how we negotiate, conduct and interpret the research we are involved in, creating a “positioned subjectivity” that can limit our understanding, just as the subjectivity of those we research with is limited by their own individual understanding of the community or group they interpret for us⁹⁵.

Because of the emotional involvement of the researcher, we are inevitably changed by the research experiences⁹⁶, and this therefore influences our techniques of writing and anthropology itself⁹⁷. Fieldwork and participation observation are heavily experiential, and it is impossible to completely detach ourselves from the emotions of those experiences. Woodthorpe contends that it is “arrogant” researchers who believe they can remove their emotional selves from their work; “naïve” researchers who strive so hard for those unreachable academic goals in which emotionality does not exist; and “misguided researchers” who are so intent on reflexive navel-gazing that they miss the crucial human interactions that are occurring around them⁹⁸. What is needed is a craft which recognises and accepts the humanity of the researcher as well as the researched, and which balances this with wider analyses of the social life within which those we research with are embedded, and researchers are privileged to enter.

Therefore debates on theory and method arising from indigenous and other challenges have created many changes and directions in the disciplines of social and cultural anthropology. So much so, that Knauft considers that anthropologists “now weave together

⁹³ Woodthorpe, 2007.

⁹⁴ Woodthorpe, 2007.

⁹⁵ Wilmore, 2001.

⁹⁶ Carter and Delamont, 1996, p.x.

⁹⁷ Calestani, in Calestani, Kyriakakis and Tassi, 2007.

⁹⁸ 2007.

approaches and perspectives from a toolbox of possibilities”⁹⁹. These include topics, epistemological foundations, perspectives and disciplines, and scholars are no longer as keen to debate the larger theories of their perspectival and paradigmatic ‘isms’. The conventional threads of objectivity and universality on the one hand, and subjectivity and diversity on the other, for example, are no longer seen as polar opposites as previously held, and indeed Knaft considers that the differences between and within these are both great and interconnected¹⁰⁰. In this post-paradigmatic era of social and cultural anthropologies, the results of these changes are:

neither fuzzy, blurred genres nor a new master narrative nor even competing master paradigms but the braiding together of different approaches or perspectives like strands of a rope configured especially for a new topic, issue, or critical intervention¹⁰¹.

What has arisen is “anthropology in the middle”¹⁰², in which theory is more closely grounded in the specifics of the research field at hand. Theory, practice, ethnography and subject positioning are now woven together with practical and critical interventions to demonstrate their interrelatedness¹⁰³, in the construction of an anthropology that is “a model for critical engagement *with* the world, rather than a distanced and magisterial explanation *of* the world”¹⁰⁴. The middle ground that arises from this provides a space for novel combinations of analyses, ethnographies and investigations¹⁰⁵.

Further, the increasing propensity of anthropology is now to engage in research that has practical value for those researched with. The politics of representation, including that of indigenous peoples, has had to be integrally incorporated within anthropological practice and theory, and as a consequence “the mandate to connect academic to practical concerns”¹⁰⁶ grows more prevalent. This ‘critical activism’ takes clear note of the social, economic and

⁹⁹ 2006, p.407.

¹⁰⁰ 2006, p.408.

¹⁰¹ Knaft, 2006, p.408.

¹⁰² Knaft, 2006.

¹⁰³ Knaft, 2006, p.413.

¹⁰⁴ Herzfeld, 2001, cited in Knaft, 2006, p.413; my emphasis.

¹⁰⁵ Knaft, 2006, p.413.

¹⁰⁶ Knaft, 2006, p.414.

political concerns of those at the center of research projects, and thus often (but not always) working with the researched communities to find solutions to ameliorate those concerns.

Anthropology is no longer an academic exercise primarily for the benefit of other western anthropologists; it involves, describes, and affects the peoples under study, including indigenous and marginalised groups around the world. However, because of the unequal power differentials that still exist between indigenous and western peoples, it is more likely that the voices of western scholars will be heard over those of indigenous peoples, sometimes resulting in the acceptance of theoretical fabrications. Thus the imperative is present for research paradigms and all that entails, that more clearly meet the needs of the researched, including the continued development – and acceptance – of indigenous ways of research. Full acknowledgement of the interconnectedness of researcher and researched, and of their attendant humanity, is necessitated by a craft that develops and grows along with those who participate and contribute to projects as partners in, rather than objects of, research.

2.3 Kaupapa Māori Research:

2.3.1 Kaupapa Māori:

Kaupapa Māori philosophies arise from within a Māori worldview, and they incorporate multiple facets of culture as well as the histories of those people. Marsden defines ‘worldview’ as thus:

*The World view is the central systemization of conceptions of reality to which members of its culture assent and from which stems their value system. The world view lies at the very heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of that culture.*¹⁰⁷

This worldview conceives of reality not as a closed system, but one in which the spiritual and physical realms interact freely, and our “myths and legends support a holistic view not only of creation but of time and of peoples”¹⁰⁸. Included in the worldview are cultural concepts such as tikanga, which can be expressed as “guides to moral behavior [that are] inextricably woven into the religious and everyday framework of Māori life”¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁷ Māori Marsden, cited in Royal, 2002, p.2; original italics.

¹⁰⁸ Ministry of Justice, 2001.

¹⁰⁹ Ministry of Justice, 2001.

Linda Smith writes that ‘kaupapa’ “means a plan, a philosophy, and a way to proceed”, while embedded within this are notions of “acting strategically, of proceeding purposively”¹¹⁰. Graham Smith defines kaupapa Māori as simply “the philosophy and practise of being Māori”¹¹¹, and as a “theory of change”¹¹². Kaupapa Māori is an over-arching body of knowledge which can have meaning and purpose in all arenas of Māori social life. It sets out the fundamental rights of Māori to be Māori, as the tangata whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand, and as partners in the co-signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

Pipi, Cram, Hawke, Huriwai, Mataka, Milne, Morgan, Tuhaka and Tuuta, consider that kaupapa Māori is also an “emancipatory theory” which has connections to the theories of other groups, especially those of indigenous peoples, feminists, and African-Americans¹¹³. It is a common goal of such groups to desire and demand the self-determining right to have, for example, research theories, methods and methodologies which ‘enrich, empower and enlighten’ all those who are involved in any particular research project¹¹⁴. Kaupapa Māori is therefore also a critical theory which discusses “notions of critique, resistance, struggle, and emancipation”¹¹⁵. Kaupapa Māori research initiatives then, advocate the legitimacy of Māori knowledge, culture and values. They are also consequently “about the creation of spaces for Māori realities”¹¹⁶.

2.3.2 Kaupapa Māori Research:

Research is one academic arena in which indigenous peoples have asserted their right to represent themselves, and to develop research methods, methodologies and theories that better reflect their own cultural ontologies and epistemologies. Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand are one such indigenous group, and research challenges have seen the development of research paradigms such as kaupapa Māori research. Work by Māori researchers such as Linda and Graham Smith, Mason Durie, Russell Bishop, Kathie Irwin and others have shown that not only is it a necessary desire of Māori to create their own research paradigms and all that

¹¹⁰ 1999a, p.1.

¹¹¹ 1993, p.1.

¹¹² 1992, cited in Te Momo, 2002, p.4.

¹¹³ 2004, p.141.

¹¹⁴ Hirini Mead, 2003, cited in Pipi et al, 2004, p.142.

¹¹⁵ Smith, L.T., 1999a, p.3.

¹¹⁶ Pipi et al, 2004, p.143.

entails, but that it is definitely possible to do so. It is now commonplace to read and hear of Māori and other indigenous research, and in most cases, now, to have it accepted.

The call for kaupapa Māori research methodologies arose out of a Māori-perceived need to design, direct and control research in Māori communities and on Māori-related issues. Following on from the Māori cultural renaissance of the late 1960s onwards, one of the fundamental ways in which to achieve Māori control of research was to “re-imagine ourselves in a world in which we have some autonomy, some degree of self-determination”¹¹⁷. After years of being described as the ‘others’ of western research which objectified Māori culture and knowledge, the authenticity of Māori voices and experiences could no longer be denied.

Within the broad arena of kaupapa Māori research, there have arisen an increasing plethora of research methods and methodologies¹¹⁸ that give a range of choices for a Māori researcher to pick from when working within their own culture and with their own people. As yet there is no single entity that can be termed kaupapa Māori research; reflecting the diversity within Māori communities and amongst Māori researchers, which necessitates a freedom with research practice to adjust those practices to the individuals and groups who participate in research. Also, just as culture is not static but is instead dynamic and ever-changing, the same could be said of research processes. While Cree researcher Cora Weber-Pillwax states that “Because I am an indigenous researcher, all existing research methods are available to me”¹¹⁹, this includes the freedom to design our own theories and methodologies based on cultural knowledge.

While kaupapa Māori is the overarching paradigm within which Māori research may be situated, there are a variety of ways in which the diversity of Māori research and researchers may be expressed. Cunningham¹²⁰ uses three basic frameworks through which to clarify the different ways in which Māori research may be conducted. The first is ‘Research Involving Māori’, where Māori are participants in projects where Māori knowledge is sought, but where the research methods and analysis may be mainstream. ‘Māori Centred Research’ involves Māori as significant participants and researchers, using a Māori analysis to produce Māori

¹¹⁷ L. Smith, 1999a, p.1.

¹¹⁸ In addition to Kaupapa Māori Research, there is now Māori-centred research, Māori-related research, Mātauranga Māori research, to name a few. Kaupapa Māori research methods include those based on Māori concepts such as whānau, whanaungatanga, and whakapapa.

¹¹⁹ 2001, p.167.

¹²⁰ 1999; see Table 1: Characteristics of Four Identified Types of RS&T. Cunningham includes a fourth category of ‘Research Not Involving Māori’ also.

knowledge, but is measured against mainstream standards. By contrast, 'Kaupapa Māori Research' uses only Māori researchers and Māori analysis in the production of Māori knowledge, and the expectations and quality standards of that research are set by Māori.

Linda Smith presents three arguments wrapped around issues of research with Māori. The first is *decolonization*, which refers to convincing Māori that research can be a positive endeavour that is useful for our own purposes, using our own methods and ways of being. Secondly the *Treaty* argument states clearly that we are partners in this land and that partnership includes rights in policy decision making that is often related to research. The *kaupapa* argument is the 'how' of research that declares the right to formulate "how to proceed, how to develop approaches and ways of carrying out research that take into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research and the parameters of both previous and current approaches to research"¹²¹.

Some of the elements that comprise kaupapa Māori research are that it is culturally relevant and safe, is overseen and mentored by kaumātua (elders), and that which addresses the political and institutional ideologies within which research is conducted¹²². Te Momo considers also that a kaupapa Māori research approach is about creating the space in which to conduct research in Māori ways¹²³. Henry and Pene cite Linda Smith as defining one aspect of kaupapa Māori research as research "by Māori, for Māori and with Māori"¹²⁴, while Russell Bishop notes that there should be a "methodology of participation" where research is "participant-driven"¹²⁵. There is also an emphasis placed on a "vision of hope"¹²⁶ that places Māori at the center of research – both as researchers and researched. And further, as noted by Bishop and Glynn – "What makes it Māori is that it is done using Māori metaphor within a Māori cultural context"¹²⁷.

¹²¹ 1999a, p.2.

¹²² L. Smith, 1999a, p.2.

¹²³ 2002, pp.1-2.

¹²⁴ L. Smith, 1995, in Henry and Pene, 2001, p.236.

¹²⁵ 1996, pp.224 & 226.

¹²⁶ M. Durie, 1998a, p.421.

¹²⁷ 1999, p.178.

Linda Smith developed further a list of seven culturally specific ideas that can be used to guide kaupapa Māori research practices, which “reflect just some of the values that are placed on the way we behave”¹²⁸. These are expanded upon in Pipi et al¹²⁹, as listed below:

- *Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)*

This concerns addressing the potential power differentials within research. It is about recognizing and honouring the participation and contribution of all research participants by “allowing people to define their own space and meet on their own terms”.

- *Kanohi kitea (the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face)*

Relationships are best built when people meet face to face. In this way, a wider range of knowledge about the various people within the relationships is enabled. This helps to build trust, and encourage respect.

- *Titiro, Whakarongo...kōrero (look, listen...speak)*

This denotes the importance of looking and listening first as a way of establishing better understanding of the people and their perspectives. It is about respecting the knowledge that is being imparted, rather than just imposing your perspectives and opinions on others. And it is about enabling deeper relationships where trust is prevalent, and shared values may be discovered.

- *Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)*

In its most basic meaning, manaaki ki te tangata means looking after others. In terms of research, it means ensuring that research benefits accrue for all participants, that power is shared, within research that is collaborative and reciprocal. It involves generosity of time, of spirit, and of knowledge, and where applicable, of financial resources.

- *Kia tūpato (be cautious)*

This involves being aware of political situations, being culturally safe, and of any potential pitfalls that may cause harm to research participants. By remaining attentive to the processes of research and sensitive to the interactions between all concerned, positive outcomes are more likely to be assured.

- *Kāua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people)*

¹²⁸ L. Smith, 1999b, p.120.

¹²⁹ 2004, pp.146-151.

Again, this is about respecting those within the research relationships by acknowledging and honouring their participation and contributions, keeping people informed of progress, and working collaboratively to share power and control.

○ *Kaua e maabaki (don't flaunt your knowledge)*

This acknowledges that every research participant can have something of value to contribute, and therefore the contributions of researchers are not more valuable than those of others. When relationships are informed by trust and respect, knowledge is shared, and the qualifications researchers may have are there to be used to benefit the community.

2.3.3 Collaborative and Cross-cultural Research:

Collaborative research is basically about power sharing in research relationships, partnership and consultation in all aspects of the project, formed within the cultural contexts of the participants, and it is therefore meaningful and of benefit to all concerned. In point of fact, it is very much aligned to the frameworks of kaupapa Māori research theories and methodologies. For example, Bishop asserts that whakawhanaungatanga can be “used both literally and metaphorically, emerg[ing] as a powerful research strategy [in] establishing and maintaining relationships”¹³⁰ which aids in addressing issues of power and control within participatory research practices, and overtly acknowledges the tangible involvement of the researcher in the research process. Researchers are “involved somatically in the research process; that is physically, ethically, morally and spiritually and not just as a ‘researcher’ concerned with methodology”¹³¹.

Durie writes that “There is no research without development and no development without research”¹³². While ‘development’ has in some ways become a word with negative connotations, as a conscious effort in the fight for self-determination, development is a vital necessity. Development requires “careful and deliberate planning” through research to ensure that Māori advancement in all areas is achieved without jeopardizing the integrity of any particular area¹³³. So research ‘by Māori, for Māori and with Māori’ is not designed as an abstract process, but as one whereby practical and beneficial results can eventuate for Māori.

¹³⁰ Bishop, 1996, p.168.

¹³¹ Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p.170.

¹³² 1998a, p418.

¹³³ Durie, 1998a, p.421.

While there has been much controversy over non-Māori research with Māori, there is a need to collaborate with non-Māori researchers and mainstream providers¹³⁴. Huxham and Vangen note that “to gain real advantage from collaboration, something has to be achieved that could not be achieved by any one of the organisation’s action[s] alone”¹³⁵. Very often, Māori communities and organisations do not have all the necessary resources to conduct research. And as noted by Bishop:

Non-Māori people should be involved in Māori research for two reasons....[Firstly] because there is a cohort of highly-skilled, professionally-trained non-Māori who are becoming bicultural and are willing to work within Māori-controlled contexts...[and the second reason] is simply that for Pākehā researchers to leave it all to Māori people is to abrogate their responsibilities as Treaty partners¹³⁶.

As a non-Māori researcher, Gibbs reviews a cross-cultural collaborative research project in which she defines ‘collaborative research’ as “where the research participants and the researchers are equal partners in the research process and where all parties benefit”, and ‘cross-cultural’ as the metaphorical and material space “where cultures meet and interact: in other words, the relationship between cultures”¹³⁷. Gibbs considers that there are moral, ethical and practical reasons as to why research should be conducted in this way, including those reasons discussed previously. Practicalities include that a “reason for adopting collaborative approaches is that many indigenous groups now require it”¹³⁸.

In her postgraduate research on resource management of Ngai Tahu’s treaty settlements, Gibbs used Bishop’s strategy of whakawhanaungatanga as her primary research approach. She already had whānau relationships within Ngai Tahu, and had been encouraged by Ngai Tahu elders to concentrate on the return of pounamu (greenstone) resources to the tribe. There was ongoing consultation and negotiation with tribal leaders as to the focus and implementation of the project, resulting in a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the University of Otago and the local Māori group, Te Runanga Otakou. This MOU included the establishment of an advisory committee comprised of the university’s research supervisor

¹³⁴ Hepi, Foote, Marino, Rogers and Taimona, 2007, p.38.

¹³⁵ In Hepi et al, 2007, p.38.

¹³⁶ 1996, pp.17 & 18.

¹³⁷ 2001, p.674.

¹³⁸ 2001, p.676.

and a local elder. It also enabled space for cultural practices such as *rāhui*, in which control and dissemination of traditional knowledge remained with the tribe.¹³⁹ Gibbs considers that power sharing in all aspects of the research project, and adopting culturally-appropriate research practices, has enabled some very real benefits for Ngai Tahu. Ultimately, “Respectful, open, honest, and timely communication, ideally leading to relationships of trust between researchers and research participants, is the foundation of successful cross-cultural collaborative research”¹⁴⁰.

It can be seen that kaupapa Māori research¹⁴¹ has undergone some considerable development in the last couple of decades. So much so, that Tolich considers that “the dominance of the Māori-centred research paradigm governs research practice in New Zealand”¹⁴². However, while Tolich is not critiquing Māori-centred (kaupapa Māori) research per se, he voices concerns about how the dominance of the research paradigm has caused a ‘Pākehā paralysis’, in which Pākehā (non-Māori of European descent) are reluctant to engage in research with Māori or on issues relating to Māori. His main concern though, arises from the reluctance of Pākehā graduate students to engage with Māori, partly through lack of understanding on their own parts, and/or that of their supervisors.

One student in Tolich’s study considered that because there were no Māori specifically involved in her study (of work *culture* across three banks), then there were no cultural issues she need be concerned with, even though individual Māori or indeed, participants of other ethnicities, may be staff at one or all of the banks. Other students deliberately excluded Māori, partly due to understandings that as Pākehā, they had no right to research with Māori. One student firmly believed that the university ethics committee would in fact require exclusion of Māori from his study¹⁴³.

Tolich believed that many Pākehā academics were “either oblivious to the complexity of these issues or they are paralysed, recognising it as a political minefield”¹⁴⁴. This is partly due to the challenge from Māori against non-Māori participation in research, and also the

¹³⁹ Gibbs, 2001, pp.682-684.

¹⁴⁰ Gibbs, 2001, p.684.

¹⁴¹ That is, research that is based on a Māori kaupapa, has Māori people as significant participants, and is guided by cultural precepts, rather than the specifically-defined Kaupapa Māori Research as written by those such as Cunningham, 1999.

¹⁴² Tolich, 2002, p.167.

¹⁴³ Tolich, 2002, pp.164-167.

¹⁴⁴ Tolich, 2002 p.167.

current inadequacy of available literature (including, Tolich admits, some of his own publications). One of the results of this is very little independent research by Pākehā, or when they are involved, it is on Māori terms in collaborative and interactive approaches¹⁴⁵.

However, Tolich states that “The focus of the solution is to acknowledge that this problem is not Māori-centred research but a Pākehā problem. It is Pākehā who are paralysed here: unwilling or unable to think through this political minefield”¹⁴⁶. What Tolich offers as a solution is that rather than Pākehā excluding Māori from research, instead, education and cultural safety for Pākehā researchers is necessary. Clear workable boundaries need to be set for research with Māori. Tolich cites the Health Research Council (HRC) as providing a definition that speaks of Māori as collectively governed by hapū and iwi authority, yet also mentions “any Māori participant”. When considering that based on population there is a one-in-eight chance that individual Māori will turn up in a random sampling for a general research project, HRC guidelines remain unclear in such situations. Who needs to be consulted - the iwi and/or hapū of that individual, or just the individual? Tolich considers that Pākehā researchers are left in a Catch-22 situation by the HRC, as they are advised on the one hand to consult the HRC guidelines when Māori are involved in research, but those guidelines do not seem to keenly encourage Pākehā to conduct research with Māori¹⁴⁷. Yet by excluding Māori from research, Pākehā researchers abdicate Treaty of Waitangi responsibilities, “neither promoting partnership in research nor giving Māori the right to benefit from a fair share in what is ultimately state-funded...research”¹⁴⁸.

These issues and others raise some complex questions for me. For example, if we as Māori are saying ‘by Māori for Māori with Māori’, where does that leave us with regard to conducting research with non-Māori and/or indigenous peoples from other nations? If we expect that we have the right to restrict research with and for Māori to Māori researchers, or to use culturally appropriate research methodologies, then surely we must expect that other groups have the same rights. This may seem self evident, yet it has not always been so for me, and it probably is not for some other Māori researchers. Another question that arises is – how transferrable are kaupapa Māori research practices into other cultural contexts? If, for example,

¹⁴⁵ Tolich, p.170.

¹⁴⁶ Tolich, p.168.

¹⁴⁷ Tolich, 2002, pp.172-175.

¹⁴⁸ Tolich, 2002, p.167.

we are conducting research with Pākehā participants in Aotearoa New Zealand, are we then to do so using Pākehā cultural values? Again this is possibly self-evident, but maybe not always explicitly understood. Or, do we make the same kinds of misunderstandings that the student above made – if there are no Māori involved in a study, cultural issues don't apply?

Perhaps what is needed is to see kaupapa Māori research as *one* of a series of culturally appropriate strategies for conducting research with indigenous peoples (or any particular group of peoples), that come under the umbrella of collaborative research. As an indigenous anthropologist, researching with other indigenous peoples is a goal I aim for. In those situations, although I will enter research relationships as a Māori researcher and all that entails, it would not be appropriate to use kaupapa Māori research strategies. If, as I mentioned at the beginning of this section, collaborative research is about *power sharing, partnership, consultation, utilizing the cultural contexts of participants in meaningful and beneficial research, in which relationships between participants are trusting and respectful*, then it is those underpinning ideas that are transferrable to other cultural contexts. They can then be contextualized according the cultural groups amongst which we find ourselves.

If Māori are to be involved in a wide range of research projects both as researchers and researched, then all possible avenues of research need to be explored, in order to ensure that efficient, respectful and appropriate research practices are fully developed. While there was ample reason for Māori to develop culturally appropriate research, and there still is, perhaps we also need to further consider our role in the research-related Treaty partnership. It has been shown that it is more than possible to create collaborative research practices that honour the cultural participation of Māori, so is it also part of our partnership role to honour the participation of non-Māori in our research projects? It would then be possible to extend the principles of culturally-sound research into that with people other than Māori and Pākehā. In this way, we as Māori researchers extend our capabilities and capacities for research beyond the narrow borders of Māori society, and Aotearoa New Zealand society at large.

2.3.4 Critiques of Kaupapa Māori Research:

The issue of who should conduct research with Māori has of course been a contentious one. Many Māori would still say that only Māori should conduct research with Māori and on Māori-related issues. Yet as one of Walker's research participants concluded, kaupapa Māori

research “is as diverse as the universe, because different people have different understandings of what it is to be Māori”¹⁴⁹. This is a point with which Linda Smith concurs, acknowledging that not all Māori researchers work within a kaupapa Māori framework¹⁵⁰. And as noted by Belinda Borell, we “must resist the idea that there is a single Māori way of doing things that suits all Māori....[and] work from a value-base of inclusion and acceptance”¹⁵¹.

While the development of kaupapa Māori research paradigms was a much needed, timely and self-determining step forward, there are some tensions within this however. Tai Walker cites Nepe as describing kaupapa Māori as “The process by which the Māori mind receives, internalises, differentiates, formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively *through te reo Māori*.”¹⁵². This statement implies that only those Māori who are fluent in the Māori language are able to understand the meaning of kaupapa Māori. Kaupapa Māori Research then (as it is outlined by Cunningham), should primarily be conducted by those who are fluent in “Te Reo Māori me ona tikanga”¹⁵³. At times therefore, a *hierarchy of legitimacy* seemed to arise which postulated notions of authentic and inauthentic Māori research. Authenticity appeared to be based firstly on the researcher being of Māori descent, then on the ability of that researcher to move easily within Te Ao Māori (the Māori world), to be fluent in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori. While it is acknowledged that there are situations where one must be culturally fluent in order to competently conduct certain researches, the diversity of Māori researchers necessarily reflects the diversity within Māori society.

As an acknowledgement of Māori diversity, and from the viewpoint of her own placement within Te Ao Māori, Walker considers that the differences in customs and language between tribes necessitates that a tribal perspective on research is taken. She is of Ngāti Porou descent and therefore a Ngāti Porou perspective is one which makes sense to her. Walker quotes one of her Ngāti Porou whanaunga (relatives) as saying that “each tribe has its own system of ancient explanations....[so] if you must speak, speak of your own”¹⁵⁴. Further, she has constructed from this Ngāti Porou perspective, a multi-layered theory of Mātauranga

¹⁴⁹ Walker, 2001, pp.94-95.

¹⁵⁰ 1999, p.2.

¹⁵¹ 2008, pp.4 & 5.

¹⁵² 1991, in T. Walker 2001, p.19; my emphasis.

¹⁵³ Translated by L. Smith, 1999a, as “Māori language and its customs”, note 4, p.16.

¹⁵⁴ 2001, p.3.

Māori Research, which is deliberately philosophical, as “the practice emerges from the philosophy”¹⁵⁵.

Mātauranga Māori or Māori knowledge, encompasses a variety of cultural concepts such as whakapapa, tikanga, and wānanga; concepts which Walker uses through a Ngāti Porou perspective as philosophical bases through which to guide her research. Mihesuah¹⁵⁶ states that many Indian social scientists refuse to write about tribes that are not theirs, as “it is stressful enough trying to document correctly one’s own tribal history”¹⁵⁷. Nevertheless, it *is* possible to successfully conduct research with a tribe other than your own, as many Māori researchers have done through involvement with the Treaty claims process in Aotearoa New Zealand, and with other research projects. Indeed, it is often a necessity, given the low numbers of Māori researchers capable of conducting respectful and culturally cognizant research with Māori.

Kaupapa Māori research arose out of or alongside the third Māori cultural renaissance of the 1970s onwards¹⁵⁸. This renaissance necessitated a gathering and naming of Māori cultural values and identity markers. So it was our commonalities as Māori that were emphasised, uniting us overall as Māori, while still acknowledging tribal differences. And it was this commonality as Māori, in the multiple facets of our culture, that was contrasted with mainstream or Pākehā culture. But Māori researchers are also individuals who have had unique and diverse experiences as Māori. I believe there was a danger with the kaupapa Māori research paradigm becoming a project that excluded some Māori – those whose weren’t culturally fluent - rather than being one of inclusivity.

In a critique of an article by Russell Bishop, Lopez cautions against “portraying Māori as an uncomplicated, nondifferentiated mass [thereby failing to] interrogate the spaces of heterogeneity – those pockets of differentiated colonization – among the research participants, including the researchers who work with them”¹⁵⁹. While he agrees with the need for the development and privileging of “new knowledge bases, research methodologies, values, and perspectives”¹⁶⁰, Lopez also notes that “all individuals are multiply positioned”¹⁶¹. Although

¹⁵⁵ 2001, p.1.

¹⁵⁶ Mihesuah, 1998, p.12.

¹⁵⁷ A comment by Indian historian James Riding In, in Mihesuah, 1998, p.12.

¹⁵⁸ See Chapter Three for further discussion of the Renaissance Periods.

¹⁵⁹ 1998, p.240.

¹⁶⁰ 1998, p.225.

¹⁶¹ 1998, p.228.

indigenous researchers such as Māori may claim ‘insider’ status, there is danger in investing in “a logic that not only assumes that insiders can speak, but that they all speak in the same voice”¹⁶².

Lopez cites his own situation as a Chicano academic as an example:

I now have a whole new set of luggage chock-full of epistemologies, ontologies, discourses and other things that half my family cannot even pronounce. I am both an insider as well as an outsider – I walk the borderlands...and transgress both academic and home cultures. I am a halfie – *ni de aqui ni de alla*, neither from here nor there. I walk in both worlds and do not smoothly fit into either¹⁶³.

While he was raised in the barrio and remains connected to his family and community there, his forays into the ivory towers of academia (and one where he found “has its own barrio reserved for me”)¹⁶⁴ has caused him somewhat to remain outside the continuing experiences of the family and community he left. Although there are still many ways in which he can relate to those people and experiences, his roles as a researcher and academic has increased the multiplicity of his positioning in ways that obviates the deeper understanding of his home community that he would have if he had remained there. While an insider status can definitely provide deeper insights through an attached knowledge of culture and society, it cannot tell *the* truth of a people, nor can it speak in the voice of all. What it can provide is a richer understanding from the perspectives of the research participants – including the researchers – that will contribute to the multiple perspectives of those already voiced.

One of the stated goals to arise from the Te Oru Rangahau conference in 1998 was “human resource development”¹⁶⁵, and although rising, relatively speaking the numbers of researchers of Māori descent is still low. It makes no sense then to generally exclude from kaupapa Māori research those Māori researchers who are not *yet* conversant with all aspects of Te Ao Māori. Potentially every Māori researcher learns from the process of research; not just intellectually, but spiritually and culturally. Knowledge in general is not static but is constantly added to. If a ‘non-conversant’ Māori researcher is guided through the process by someone who is conversant, concurrent achievements are enabled – the addition of a highly skilled

¹⁶² Lopez, 1998, p.228; drawing on the work of Spivak, 1995.

¹⁶³ 1998, p.229.

¹⁶⁴ Lopez, 1998, p.228.

¹⁶⁵ Durie, 1998b, p.422.

Māori researcher to the pool, and the enfoldment and reclamation of one of our own. What enables us to say ‘*We* are Māori’ is to acknowledge the whakapapa – the connections – and the similarities between us, as well as our disparities. It is about acknowledging our collective ancestors, their history, and their own generational experiences that created similarity and difference. And it is about the horizontal relationships – the whanaungatanga – that connects us to our own generation, and to those immediately around us.

In order to deconstruct research practices that provided little practical and cultural benefits for Māori, culturally appropriate research practices such as kaupapa Māori research needed to be developed. These practices arise from within “very different epistemological and metaphysical foundations...[which] give kaupapa Māori its distinctiveness”¹⁶⁶. In the area of research, Māori have again proven their ability to innovate tradition in order to ensure the successful interweaving of Māori cultural practices with the demands and expressions of the contemporary world. As well as providing research practices that make sense to Māori researchers and participants, these practices help to ensure the continuation of Māori culture and belief into the future, and that Māori development is based on sound research. A feature of this however, must be the continuing development of research practices that acknowledge Māori diversity, and the necessity for collaboration with researchers and participants of other ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

2.4 Anthropology and Māori in New Zealand:

2.4.1 Whakapapa of Anthropology:

Anthropology in Aotearoa New Zealand has a whakapapa (genealogy/history) that can be illuminated, which includes a history of Māori involvement from the early 19th century, “not only as subjects but as analysts of their own culture”¹⁶⁷. Beaglehole considered in 1938 that there had been three divisions or phases of anthropology in New Zealand¹⁶⁸. The first is as noted by Henare above, and consisted also of early visitors who recorded their impressions of the people and land as they travelled through. Due to the amateur nature of these observers, Beaglehole contended that the writings they left behind must be treated with care, and used “as

¹⁶⁶ Nepe, in Smith, 1999a, p.5.

¹⁶⁷ Henare, 2007, p.94.

¹⁶⁸ Beaglehole, 1938, p.152.

a sort of quarry...rather than as a body of validly-established and definitely-defined data on old Māori life”¹⁶⁹, that required rigorous testing as to its validity.

The second phase occurred from the latter half of the 19th century, in a period Beaglehole called that of the “enthusiastic amateur”¹⁷⁰, with well known writers such as Shortland, Grey, Best, Smith and Hamilton, also noted by Henare as “amateur ethnologists”¹⁷¹. These writers often used Māori informants, for example, Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke as Governor George Grey’s, and Tamati Ranapiri as one of Elsdon Best’s informants. Thus these first two phases consisted mostly of those who had no specialised training in anthropology or ethnology, were often colonial agents who through circumstance had many interactions with Māori, and learned their scholarly pursuits ‘on the job’. In their “grand design”¹⁷², Smith and his compatriots also assumed that what they were investigating and describing was a culture seemingly inert for hundreds of years, and did not appear to take into consideration the changes effected by post-European contact¹⁷³.

2.4.2 Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck:

Beaglehole’s reported third phase of anthropology¹⁷⁴ began in the second decade of the 20th century, and it is in this period that Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck came to prominence. The young Apirana¹⁷⁵ grew up in a household of Ngāti Porou leaders, being taught almost from birth the traditions of Ngāti Porou and Māori culture. This introduction to a nation in transition ensured that Ngata was in a prime position to contribute to the reclamation and growth of Māori society following the New Zealand Wars, and to aid his people in adjusting to a rapidly altering social and cultural landscape¹⁷⁶.

¹⁶⁹ 1938, p.153.

¹⁷⁰ 1938, p.154.

¹⁷¹ 2007, p.95.

¹⁷² Ballara, 1998, pp.97-99.

¹⁷³ Webster, 1998a.

¹⁷⁴ 1938, p.156.

¹⁷⁵ A more comprehensive biography of Apirana Ngata will follow in Chapter Three.

¹⁷⁶ Beaglehole, 1938, p.156.



Figure 1 : Peter Henry Buck, with father William Henry Buck, ca. 1900.

Born to a Māori mother (Ngāti Mutunga) and Pākehā father¹⁷⁷, Peter Buck was raised primarily in a Pākehā community, with “little opportunity of coming under the influence of the elders of [his] mother’s people”¹⁷⁸. At 18 years of age, while visiting friends on the East Coast, he was welcomed onto various marae. Buck wrote:

Never shall I forget the tide of shame that surged through me as with trembling knees I stood up to reply in the crowded meetings, and with faltering speech sought to justify my existence....My ignorance appalled me, and ever since I have sought to rectify the omissions of a mis-spent youth¹⁷⁹.

Through his many contributions to Māori and Polynesian society over the coming years, Buck did indeed rectify his lack of Māori cultural knowledge. He was given the ancestral name of Te Rangi Hiroa later in life, yet always considered his mixed ancestry of equal importance¹⁸⁰.

¹⁷⁷ Sorrenson (1996) wrote that while Buck claimed to have been born in 1880, it was more likely he was born in 1877 as per the register at his primary school.

¹⁷⁸ Hiroa, Te Rangi, 1926, ‘p.185.

¹⁷⁹ Hiroa, 1926, pp.185-186.

¹⁸⁰ Sorrenson, 1996.

In 1896, Buck enrolled in Te Aute College, thereby coming into contact with Apirana Ngata which was the beginning of a lasting friendship, as encapsulated by their exchange of letters from 1925-1950¹⁸¹. The headmaster of Te Aute, John Thornton, was a major influence in the lives of these student reformers, instilling in them his ideas that in order to raise Māori from the depths, they must draw out “what was best in the Māori nature”¹⁸². Both Buck and Ngata gained distinctions at Te Aute, and then furthered those at university, with Buck completing an M.B. and Ch.B at Otago Medical School, followed by an M.D. The Te Aute College Student’s Association and later the Young Māori Party, consisting of those such as Ngata, Buck and Maui Pomare, were instrumental in formulating and carrying out some long-reaching innovations to Māori society.

In Ngata’s 1909 manifesto for the Young Māori Party, emphasis was put on “the need to preserve Māori language, poetry, traditions, customs, arts and crafts; and to carry out research into anthropology and ethnology”¹⁸³, in a “programme of economic and cultural invigoration”¹⁸⁴. By this time, both had succeeded in winning Māori seats in Parliament, and had met with Pākehā such as Elsdon Best and Augustus Hamilton. Ngata had become a member of the Polynesian Society in 1895, having realised its importance in recording Māori history and customs for future generations in a time when this knowledge was being lost¹⁸⁵. Ngata wrote that “our ancestors have gone beyond the veil without having left more than a skeleton of their knowledge to us....It is our duty...to try and piece together that knowledge which our old people failed to pass on to us”¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸¹ This correspondence was published in three volumes (edited by M.P.K. Sorrenson) entitled *Na To Hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend*, between 1986 and 1988.

¹⁸² R. Walker, 2001, p.69.

¹⁸³ Sorrenson, 1982, p.9.

¹⁸⁴ Henare, 2007, p.100.

¹⁸⁵ R. Walker, 2001, p.66.

¹⁸⁶ Cited in T. Walker, 2004, p.8.



Figure 2 : Upper – Peter Buck (right) studying Paratene Ngata (left) making an eel trap, ca. 1922; Lower
- Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck at Waioamatatini, 1923.

2.4.3 Anthropological Influences:

Buck and Ngata also began to meet and be influenced by British anthropologists such as W.H.R. Rivers, whose 1898 Torres Strait Expedition inspired Ngata to support a series of field expeditions in Aotearoa New Zealand¹⁸⁷. Led by Elsdon Best and accompanied by Ngata, Buck, James McDonald and Johannes Andersen, the first expedition in 1919 began at the *Hui Aroha*; a ceremony to welcome home the soldiers from the war (including Buck). This was followed in 1920 with an expedition to Rotorua, in 1921 on a trip down the Whanganui River, with the final expedition in around 1923 to Ngata's home place of Waioamatatini to record the traditions of his Ngāti Porou people. These expeditions served a “Māori political agenda to ensure the persistence of old skills and knowledge among Māori...[by] ensuring continuities between the past, present and future”¹⁸⁸.

Buck began fieldwork in the Pacific region in 1910 with a trip to Rarotonga, and published much on the material culture of the people he studied with. He delivered his classic lecture *The Coming of the Māori* from 1908¹⁸⁹, and published *The Evolution of Māori Clothing* and

¹⁸⁷ Henare, 2007, p.98.

¹⁸⁸ Henare, 2007, p.98.

¹⁸⁹ Sorrenson, 1982, p.9.

The Material Culture of the Cook Islands in 1926 and 1927 respectively. His most well known text – *The Coming of the Māori* – was published in 1949. Buck joined the staff of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii in 1927, and became Visiting Professor at Yale University in 1932. He continued his professional career as an anthropologist overseas, only returning home to New Zealand a handful of times before his death in 1951.



Figure 3 : Peter Buck in Tahiti, ca. 1930s.

Meanwhile Ngata had established the Board of Ethnological Research in 1923, and the Māori Arts and Crafts Act passed in 1926, enabling the founding of the Rotorua School of Māori Arts and Crafts. His 1928 appointment as Native Minister, gave Ngata “a long awaited opportunity to put anthropology into action”¹⁹⁰. Over this time, Ngata created land development schemes, assisted in the building of 28 tribal meeting houses, and gathered a wealth of material (including those for the *Nga Mōteatea* books)¹⁹¹ in a cultural renaissance with practical outcomes. This was perhaps the first time in Te Ao Hou (the New World), that Māori had been able to bring together research and development for the betterment of Māori people and society.

¹⁹⁰ Sorrenson, 1982, p.8.

¹⁹¹ The first volume, *Nga Mōteatea: He Māramare Rere No Nga Waka Maha, He Mea Kohikohi*, was published in 1928.

2.4.4 Insider Advantages and Applied Anthropology:

In their lengthy correspondence, Ngata and Buck spoke often of their advantage as Māori in the analysis of Māori culture. Sorrenson's 1982 article draws its title from Buck's assertion that "The Polynesian corpuscles carry us behind the barrier that takes a Pākehā some time to scale"¹⁹². Notwithstanding their sometimes patronizing attitudes¹⁹³, Ngata and Buck considered that "No country has better potentialities amongst its native race for working out and recording its own ethnology"¹⁹⁴. It was the cultural training they had received, and their status as 'insiders' that gave them the advantage of the "approach and the double angle of vision [that] came to us through our blood"¹⁹⁵. They also saw themselves as "men who belonged to two cultures and mediated between them"¹⁹⁶.

In his 1928 paper *Anthropology and the Government of Native Races*, Ngata spoke of the "method whereby the native mind may be influenced to surrender its concepts and accept new ideas"¹⁹⁷. While this may sound a little sinister, it seems more likely that the goal of cultural revitalization and merging the best of Māori with the best of Pākehā society underpinned these sentiments. Sorrenson considered that while Pākehā may see acculturation of Māori as 'Europeanisation', Ngata and Buck instead regarded the process as "incorporating useful elements of European culture into an enduring Māori culture"¹⁹⁸. Thus it was a process of *conscious adaptation rather than unconscious victimization*, where Māori had the power and agency through which to direct acculturation on their terms. That is – "The Māori can now select what is suitable in Māori culture and retain that which shows a tendency to persist in his own culture"¹⁹⁹. Their expertise as "empirical anthropologists"²⁰⁰ gave them the advantage in which to press forward their agendas.

Nevertheless, Buck and Ngata complained that Māori agency was not recognized by their Pākehā compatriots. While New Zealand administrators were quick to point to their

¹⁹² Buck to Ngata, September 20th, 1926. Cited in Sorrenson, 1982, p.7.

¹⁹³ For example – "In Polynesian research it is right and fitting that they highest branch of the Polynesian race should be in the forefront and not leave the bulk of the investigations to workers who have not got the inside angle that we have". Buck to Ngata, March 8th 1927, cited in Sorrenson, 1982, p.7.

¹⁹⁴ Buck to Ngata, November 4th 1930, in Sorrenson, 1987, p.77.

¹⁹⁵ Sorrenson, 1982, p.19.

¹⁹⁶ Sorrenson, 1982, p.21.

¹⁹⁷ Cited in Sorrenson, 1982, p.17.

¹⁹⁸ Sorrenson, 1982, p.17.

¹⁹⁹ Ngata quoting Buck, September 24th 1928, in Sorrenson, 1982, p.20.

²⁰⁰ Buck to Ngata, June 29th 1930, in Sorrenson, 1987, p.36.

success in ‘civilizing’ Māori, “They have not given due credit to the part played by the Māori himself in bringing about the position he now occupies”²⁰¹. Pākehā look down from the heights of their presumed superior culture, and focus on how far below them Māori were, causing Māori in turn to “realise how far we have to struggle upwards”. However, a ‘glance back’ showed just how far Māori had come since their “transition from Māori into New Zealander”²⁰².

For the most part, the Young Māori Party aim of invigorating Māori culture and society was viewed at the time as somewhat of a success. In contrasting Māori with the Marquesan people, Buck stated that he was “going to take the renaissance of Māori Art as an indication of the presence of some spiritual something that our people never lost though it flickered low in some areas after the [New Zealand] wars”²⁰³. The policies and principles of cultural adaptation began by some in Paratene Ngata’s generation and carried forward by those such as Apirana Ngata was a wisdom that had worked in the best interests of Māori²⁰⁴. Only by utilizing the ‘weapons’ of the Pākehā (including anthropology) for physical survival, holding ancestral teachings within their heart while offering their spirits to God²⁰⁵, could Māori succeed in adjustment to the “tyranny of Western civilization”²⁰⁶.

It was “the most substantial experiment in applied anthropology, as perceived by its two home-made Māori anthropologists [Ngata and Buck], that New Zealand has ever seen”²⁰⁷, that only ended with the discrediting of Ngata over the land development schemes in 1934. Nevertheless, those innovations instituted by Buck, Ngata and others during this heady time have had long-reaching effects that remain as inspirational guideposts - as well as cautionary tales - for Māori today. Their successes in academia, politics and other scholarly pursuits have ensured that they are among the best remembered role models of Māoridom.

²⁰¹ Buck to Ngata, May 4th 1930, in Sorrenson, 1987, pp.11-12.

²⁰² Buck to Ngata, May 4th 1930, in Sorrenson, 1987, p.13.

²⁰³ Buck to Ngata, April 7th 1931, in Sorrenson, 1987, p.131.

²⁰⁴ Ngata to Buck, July 2nd 1931, in Sorrenson, 1987, p.173.

²⁰⁵ Henare, 2007, pp.97-98. Based on Ngata’s famous whakataukī (proverb) - see p.170.

²⁰⁶ Buck to Ngata, August 19th 1931, in Sorrenson, 1987, p.201.

²⁰⁷ Sorrenson, 1982, p.23.



Figure 4 : Left – Peter Buck, 1949; Right – Apirana Ngata at Rangiataea Church Centennial, 1950.

2.4.5 The Rise and Fall of Anthropology in New Zealand:

To return to Beaglehole's contention of distinct phases in New Zealand anthropology, a fourth phase can be seen as beginning in the early 1970s. Replicating worldwide protests by indigenous and other marginalised peoples against their imposed positions, Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand also highlighted continued injustices. Groups such as Nga Tamatoa rallied increasing support from Māori, and from other New Zealanders, an outcome of which was a renaissance of Māori culture. One of the results of this was the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 to hear claims against the Crown for breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. It seemed possible that Māori culture and language would be reclaimed and gain a new space in Aotearoa New Zealand society, ameliorating the negative social indices that Māori featured far too often in.

In the early 1950s, Australian anthropologist Ralph Piddington had established the first department of anthropology in New Zealand at Auckland University, and it was from there that the first Māori Studies department arose in 1952²⁰⁸. Piddington, who trained under anthropology greats Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, encouraged Māori participation in

²⁰⁸ Mead, 1984, p.337.

anthropological studies once again²⁰⁹. Some of our most prominent Māori scholars to train in anthropology in the mid to late 20th century were Bruce Biggs, Hirini Mead, Hugh Kawharu, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Pare Hopa, Pat Hohepa, Pita Sharples, Ranginui Walker and Robert Mahuta. The Royal Society writes of Bruce Biggs as “the most influential figure in academic Māori studies in the 20th century and the man behind the efflorescence of Polynesian linguistics in the 1960s and 70s”²¹⁰. It was Biggs, under the guidance of Piddington, who developed the first university programme in Māori language and culture, and went on to head Māori Studies here and at other universities. From his first publication in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* - an explanation of the Ba dialects of the Western Fijian language - in 1948, Biggs went on to produce over 100 books, articles and recordings, making him one of the most prolific writers on Māori culture and language.

Webster considers however, that Piddington “developed a theory of culture as a whole way of life outside its own political economic history”²¹¹. This resulted in the reification of Māori culture, especially following the Māori renaissance, which ironically was led by some of Piddington’s students who were now in powerful academic positions as ‘patrons of Māori culture’. This ‘culturalist ideology’ had roots back to the aspirations of the Young Māori Party, and was mobilized in the current situation as part of the political challenges thrust into the national spotlight by Māori protesters²¹². Similarly, these ‘patrons’ were also using anthropological training “to establish initiatives to ensure the continuation and revitalization of the Māori language and cultural traditions”²¹³.

In terms of research however, Māori protests precluded for the great part, non-Māori participation in research with Māori. Condemnation and exclusion of foreign and Pākehā scholars became increasingly the norm²¹⁴, with a deeper scrutiny of past commentaries of Māori culture and society for their contribution to the lingering effects of colonization²¹⁵. Gaining recognition of ‘Māori Studies’ as a sphere of investigation separate to that of anthropology was difficult however, as it was seen as “an adhering child of anthropology”²¹⁶.

²⁰⁹ Henare, 2007, p.102.

²¹⁰ Pawley, Royal Society yearbooks, online source.

²¹¹ 1998b, p.24.

²¹² Henare, 2007, pp.102-103.

²¹³ Henare, 2007, p.103.

²¹⁴ Webster, 1998b, p.103.

²¹⁵ Salmond, 1984.

²¹⁶ Mead, 1984, p.335.

But Mead argues further that the 1970s and 1980s was “a time when one has to scream in order to attract attention”²¹⁷, and Māori protests within the world of academic pursuits were as rigorous as that outside of it. Nevertheless, anthropology was something Maori scholars could “claim without apology”²¹⁸ as part of the whakapapa of Māori Studies.

Historian Judith Binney considered that much of the debate around the writing of Māori history was “to ensure that Māori understandings and values have been given their full weight” in a narration of history “in ways which are meaningful to Māori”²¹⁹. For anthropologists such as Anne Salmond, it had become imperative to develop approaches that “draw on both Māori and European ways of interpreting the past” rather than strategies “based on epistemological arrogance”²²⁰. With the changes occurring in New Zealand society in general and academia in particular, “anthropology must change or be discarded”²²¹.

Several prominent non-Māori anthropologists showed their willingness to engage in this new project, that they had nevertheless helped lay the foundations for. These included Joan Metge and her important works such as *A New Māori Migration: Rural and urban relations in northern New Zealand* (1964), *Talking Past Each Other: Problems of cross-cultural communication* (1978, with Patricia Kinloch), and *New Growth from Old: The whānau in the modern world* (1995). Jeff Sissons produced works such as *The Puriri Trees are Laughing: A political history of the Ngā Puhi in the inland Bay of Islands* (1987), and *Te Waimana: The Spring of Mana – Tuboe history and the colonial encounter* (1991), with Ann Salmond’s seminal works such as *Hui: A study of Maori ceremonial gatherings* (1975), *Amiria: The life story of a Māori woman* (1976), and *Two Worlds: First meetings between Māori and Europeans 1642-1772*, being of significance also. These and other scholars, including historians such as Michael King and Angela Ballara, worked *with* Māori in collaborative projects that reflected a more open view of our conjoined historical and current society.

²¹⁷ 1984, p.343.

²¹⁸ Mead, 1984, p.345.

²¹⁹ 1995, p.5.

²²⁰ 1984, p.311.

²²¹ Salmond, 1984, p.322.

2.4.6 Backs to the Future:

Nevertheless, the motives and activities of anthropology has continued to be suspect for many Māori. Henare noted that by 2007, very little social anthropology by and about Māori now occurs, even though research ‘with Māori by Māori for Māori’ has increased exponentially. The separation of Māori Studies from the discipline of anthropology during the Māori Renaissance has meant that “today there does not appear to be a single Māori scholar employed in any of the country’s six anthropology departments”²²². Certainly I have noticed while attending anthropology conferences, that there are very few other Māori present.

Yet the beginning of the 21st century can perhaps be seen as entering a fifth phase in New Zealand anthropology, for Māori at least. It seems to me that the burgeoning of Māori research from within a Māori cultural paradigm, enables an anthropology that can be innovated to suit Māori needs, despite the negative reputation anthropology has had in the past. Anthropology provides advantages as a research paradigm in the methods such as fieldwork and participant observation – methods that can parallel those of kaupapa Māori research – and in the huge body of literature (ethnography) that can be drawn from. Its international and comparative perspective can contribute to contextualising Māori within the wider world, and in connection to other peoples – te iwi whānui. By having our “backs to the future and [our] eyes firmly on the past”²²³, it is possible to weave together in creative and imaginative ways the whakapapa of all our ancestral heritages together with the lessons learned in the present, to create a future where research is no longer a ‘dirty word’²²⁴.

2.5 Indigenous Anthropology:

2.5.1 Multiple Positionings:

A Māori academic advised me in 2007 that as thesis writers, we must put a stake in the ground, name it, claim it, and then have the courage to defend it. Here is my stake in the ground - I am an indigenous anthropologist²²⁵. This certainly requires a certain amount of courage, given the negative aspects of the history of anthropology and indigenous peoples.

²²² Henare, 2007, p.93.

²²³ Williams, 1990, p.14.

²²⁴ Smith, 199b, p.1.

²²⁵ Although I speak here of ‘indigenous anthropologists’, these debates also relate to ‘indigenous’ as native, insider or halfie, and ‘anthropologist’ as researchers from other disciplines.

Certainly, the above advice had been preceded the day before by a discussion on the negative association of anthropology to colonisation. While indigenous anthropologists are increasingly common within international academia, being an indigenous anthropologist, in an academic sense and amongst those peoples who were the common ‘objects’ of research, can be contentious and conflicted with good reason. Nevertheless, because I am a Māori researcher, who I am as a cultural being has a fundamental influence on how I perceive the world and analyse it. As an indigenous anthropologist, my intellectual *tūrangawaewae*²²⁶ draws from two puna (wells) – kaupapa Māori, and anthropology. Yet, as noted by Narayan, “To acknowledge particular and personal locations is to acknowledge the limits of one’s purview from these positions”²²⁷.

Clifford noted that anthropology “no longer speaks with automatic authority for others defined as unable to speak for themselves (“primitive”, “pre-literate”, “without history”)²²⁸. Additional to the recreation of anthropology “into a more meaningful, transformational anthropology that sets out to understand the world in all its thorny, complex aspects”²²⁹, indigenous anthropologists – “insiders studying their own cultures [to] offer new angles of vision and depths of understanding”²³⁰ – became increasingly common. There are still some however, who primarily see ethnography as “the written description and analysis of *another* culture”²³¹, and social anthropologists as “professional outsiders because we live in and study (participate in and observe) cultures, societies, or social sectors other than our own”²³².

Anthropologist’s use of local natives to inform their investigations was a common occurrence in the early days of anthropology. One of the most well known is Franz Boas’ use of George Hunt (1854-1933), a Tlingit with connections to the Kwakwiltl (as they were then known) people of coastal British Columbia. His considerable contributions to Boas’ work meant that he was viewed as a linguist and ethnologist on his own grounds. Like Te Rangikaheke did for Governor Grey in Aotearoa New Zealand, Hunt generated hundreds of pages of notes and analyses for Boas. Boas urged his students to collaborate with literate native

²²⁶ In this context, I define ‘*tūrangawaewae*’ as the place from which I stand to speak as a researcher and academic.

²²⁷ 1998, p.178.

²²⁸ 1986, p.10.

²²⁹ Thapan, 1998, p.5.

²³⁰ Clifford, 1986, p.10.

²³¹ Webster, 1998b, p.7; my emphasis.

²³² Webster, 1998b, p.10.

ethnographers, as they had “the immeasurable advantage of trustworthiness, authentically revealing precisely the elusive thoughts and sentiments of the native”²³³.

Perhaps what is important in this is the *use* of native ethnographers, with the implication that it was for the benefit of the non-native anthropologist, rather than the community of the native ethnographer. There have been many criticisms of this and the resultant skewed perspectives offered, including those of Governor George Grey from the work of Te Rangikaheke. Jones contends that the only reason ‘natives’ were “admitted into the charmed circle of professional discourse [was] because they were potential tools of data collection for white male anthropologists”²³⁴. Kanuha states that in the last decade or so, “the field of anthropology has been responsible for coining the nomenclature of the native, indigenous, or insider researcher”²³⁵. She concludes that this is not surprising, given the hearty criticism of anthropologists by indigenous populations, and indigenous researchers. Like Apirana Ngata in the 1920s and 1930s who used the tools of anthropology to further his own ends and those of his people²³⁶, contemporary native/indigenous anthropologists see anthropology as a useful discipline from within which to offer up perspectives of their own peoples, on their own terms.

As stressed by Ngata and Buck in the 1920s, the perspective offered by the ‘double vision’ of insiders can provide a deeper perspective to research. Indigenous researchers “necessarily look in from the outside while also looking out from the inside”²³⁷. Through whakapapa, we are connected to people and places, time and space, and our efforts can result in the birth of new knowledge²³⁸. Bishop considers that researchers are woven into the research processes, and the “methodological framework underlying the weaving is called whakapapa”²³⁹. And as Graham notes – “the relationship between the researcher and the research community, itself bound by whakapapa...innately fulfils ethical considerations”²⁴⁰.

Shahrani, a self-proclaimed native anthropologist originally from Afghanistan, wrote that in his first book, he “adhered to all the long-held conventions of scientific ethnographic

²³³ Lowie, 1935, cited in Narayan, 1998, p164.

²³⁴ 1970, cited in Narayan, 1998, p.165.

²³⁵ 2000, p.440.

²³⁶ Sorrenson, 1982.

²³⁷ Trinh, cited in Te Kawehau Hoskins, 1998, p.14.

²³⁸ Graham, 2008.

²³⁹ Bishop, 1996, p.232.

²⁴⁰ Graham, 2008.

presentation – i.e. ethnographic truth, objectivity and impartiality (indifference?)”²⁴¹. When war in 1978 precluded further ethnographic research, Shahrani found himself questioning the practical relevance of anthropology, and that “unlike most of my non-Afghan colleagues, I could not in good conscience abandon research on my homeland”. In the past, he and other anthropologists in the area had studied the present by looking at the past, yet ignoring the huge social impacts of the decades of war on the people and of their visions for the future. One question that arose for him was – “What was my moral responsibility as an individual, a native, and an anthropologist toward the communities I had studied?”²⁴². For Shahrani and many other indigenous researchers, a deeply personal connection to those they research with means a deeply personal commitment to contributing what they can to that group, community or society.

Many indigenous researchers however, write about the complexities inherent with being both insider and outsider. As noted by Collins, the “research process for Māori academic researchers who choose to carry out research within their own communities is a daunting exercise”, due to issues such as “role duality”²⁴³. Thapan writes that in the past derisive commentaries of anthropologists who had lost their objectivity by ‘going native’ were common, and anthropologists therefore strove for “the mandatory distance between self and subject”²⁴⁴. Paradoxically, while a native anthropologist can be seen as being able to present a more authentically native perspective, at the same time, they can also be viewed as having already ‘gone native’, thereby losing the requisite objectivity. Deconstruction of the myths of objectivity has occurred however, requiring the working through of some complex situations for indigenous researchers. Brayboy writes that:

For me...being both an indigenous person and an academic is fraught with difficulties and costs, for I am constantly aware of the ways that I am being positioned by those with whom I interact as a researcher as well as those I interact with as an Indian, and the differences between the two. This positioning becomes extremely complicated when both my researcher and Indian identities must be simultaneously foregrounded²⁴⁵.

²⁴¹ www.indiana.edu/~anthro/people/faculty/shahrani.html

²⁴² www.indiana.edu/~anthro/people/faculty/shahrani.html

²⁴³ 2007, p.28.

²⁴⁴ 1998, p.6.

²⁴⁵ 2000, p.416.

2.5.2 Tensions of Positioning:

Those such as Hastrup have argued that there is no such thing as a 'native anthropologist', as all anthropologists are 'native' to some culture²⁴⁶. For Ryang however, this standpoint obscures and does not acknowledge the historically unequal power differentials between 'western' and 'native' cultures. While 'anthropology at home' – i.e. western/European study of western/European cultures - is much more prevalent today, Ryang notes that the "anomaly of anthropology at home is often seen as the anomaly of the location of field (in Europe), while the anomaly of native anthropology comes from the fact that the ethnographer's personal origin is native, not Western"²⁴⁷.

Although indigenous anthropologists are becoming more common, Narayan asks the question – "How 'native' is a native anthropologist?"²⁴⁸. Further, claiming the title of 'native anthropologist' creates homogenous and stereotypical assumptions of the positioning, and authenticity, of that anthropologist. However, given that cultures are "not homogenous, a society is differentiated, and a professional identity that involves problematising lived reality inevitably creates a distance...the extent to which anyone is an authentic insider is questionable"²⁴⁹. Narayan therefore argues against a dichotomous formulation that sets insider against outsider, and native against non-native, with an attendant assumption of the authenticity of the insider/native researcher. Instead, she argues that instead "we might more profitably view each anthropologist in terms of shifting identifications amid a field of interpenetrating communities and power relations", and look to the "quality of relations" we have with those we work with²⁵⁰.

Being a native anthropologist does not automatically ensure good research, or quality relationships. To assume so, assumes that all natives are 'good' and the same, which denies our diversity, including the range of personalities and experiences. Narayan cites the example of Srinivas' ethnographic work in the multi-caste Indian village of Mysore. Although his family had lived in this village for several generations, his father had moved to the city for the education of his children, and Srinivas had then gone off to study at Oxford. On Srinivas' return, and on becoming immersed in his fieldwork within the village, he realised that there

²⁴⁶ In Ryang, 2005, pp.145 & 146.

²⁴⁷ Ryang, 2005, p.146.

²⁴⁸ 1998, p163.

²⁴⁹ Narayan, 1998, p163.

²⁵⁰ Narayan, 1998, pp163 & 164.

were now many points of identification that separated him from his understanding of the villagers. As Narayan notes:

In short, his relationships were complex and shifting: in different settings, his caste, urban background, unintended affiliations with a local faction, class privilege, attempts to bridge all sectors of the community, or alliance with a faraway land could all be highlighted²⁵¹.

Beatrice Medicine also points out that Deloria wrote in his 1969 book that he “has been the hardest on those people in whom I place the greatest hope for the future – Congress, the anthropologists, and the churches”²⁵². Deloria himself exhibits those tensions that exist in part for indigenous anthropologists – the realisation that while social research through disciplines such as anthropology can be heavily detrimental to their peoples, anthropology nevertheless can contribute to the positive development of indigenous peoples. Medicine states further that:

The ambiguities inherent in these two roles of being an “anthro” while at the same time remaining a “Native” need amplification. They speak to the very heart of “being” and “doing” in anthropology. My desire to be an anthropologist has been my undoing and my rebirth in a very personal way²⁵³.

Claiming to be a native or indigenous anthropologist therefore, does assume a history of experience, usually that of negative effects of colonisation on native groups, although not unproblematically. Within this must be an acknowledgement of the diversity within these groups, and the multiple ways in which an indigenous anthropologist may position themselves. Ryang asks – “Why is it that some anthropologists are able to write more as natives and some are not? Why, in other words, are some natives more native than others?”²⁵⁴. She gives two personal reasons for this: firstly that she felt too vulnerable to fully expose her cultural self, and secondly, that despite changes to research and ethnographic practice, there is still pressure on indigenous/native anthropologists to conform to ‘traditional’ research and writing practices²⁵⁵.

²⁵¹ 1998, pp.170-171.

²⁵² Deloria, 1969, p.275; cited in Medicine & Jacobs, 2001, p.3.

²⁵³ Medicine, in Medicine & Jacobs, 2001, p.3.

²⁵⁴ Ryang, 2005, p.152.

²⁵⁵ Ryang, 2005, p.153.

As noted by Lopez earlier, his “forays into the ivory towers of academia” included knowledge that it had “its own barrio reserved for me”²⁵⁶. While native or indigenous anthropology is more common today, there are still those who see it as impossible, lacking in academic rigor, or sub-standard. Claiming to be a native or indigenous anthropologist therefore, is a political stance which necessitates knowledge of the associated politics, and the tensions inherent from within that positioning.

2.5.3 Defining an Indigenous Anthropologist:

Given the contentions and debates around native or indigenous anthropology, it seems that it “defies a single definition”²⁵⁷. Nevertheless I offer here a definition of an indigenous anthropologist that can be considered a ‘work in progress’ that other indigenous anthropologists may wish to contribute to, and/or refine. Claiming the title of indigenous anthropologist is for me, a conscious choice. It fits with who I am as a Māori woman, and who I am as an anthropologist. While I enter any research project as a Māori researcher, I have chosen ‘indigenous anthropologist’ rather than ‘Māori anthropologist’ to signify my connection with other indigenous people, of that shared history, and of the international and comparative aspects of anthropology. I acknowledge however that just as my identity undergoes “constant transformation...[that is] subject to the continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power”²⁵⁸, so too does research, and therefore any definition of an indigenous anthropologist or indigenous anthropology.

Anthropology, as with any social science, provides us with a set of tools we may use as researchers to inform directions for development of our resources, including our people. Some of the advantages of anthropology are that it has a cross-cultural and international perspective, that there is a huge body of literature to draw from, and methods such as fieldwork and participant observation that can work well with indigenous research goals and objectives. As individuals, and as indigenous people, we have the right to use those tools in ways that suit our needs. *We* decide how we use them; I believe we have that power, and the attendant responsibility and accountability. Forthwith, an indigenous anthropologist can be defined as:

²⁵⁶ 1998, p.228.

²⁵⁷ Ryang, 2005, p.146.

²⁵⁸ Hall, 1989, in Narayan, 1998, p.171.

An indigenous person who works mainly with his or her own people, who is cognizant of the issues and challenges that indigenous people share, and approaches research as a reciprocal and collaborative endeavour that privileges indigenous concerns and indigenous knowledge.

At the Association of Social Anthropology of Oceania (ASAO) conference in Canberra in 2008, I was privileged to participate in a conference session with a group of Pasifika anthropologists, which explored issues around indigenous anthropology. For all of us, who we are as indigenous people and who we are as anthropologists – although still challenging – weave together in ways that we can feel comfortable with. The research process for those such as us, includes the weaving together of the multiple spaces in which we stand in relationship to the people we are researching with. Formation of an intellectual *tūrangawaewae* that draws from the intellectual traditions of our cultures as well as those of the academies within which we work, helps ensure research that is meaningful for our home communities, as well as having international relevance. It must be a conscious choice that is fully cognizant of issues of power and politics, of losses and gains, and of hopes and joys that are held in those moments where past, present and future meet.

2.6 Collaborative Research with the People of Awataha Marae:

2.6.1 Research Methods – Aroha Ki Te Tangata:

2.6.1a Pre-research Community Involvement – Kanohi Kitea:

Rangitiinia Wilson first approached me in 1998 about compiling a history of Awataha Marae. As I was still an undergraduate student at the time, we decided that it would be a Masters project for my postgraduate years. However, as I became more involved in the community, I realised the enormity of the task, and it was deemed best left as a PhD project that eventually started in 2002.

From 1998 to 2001, my involvement with the community was mostly on the outskirts, spending time with members of the healing group (Te Ohanga Ake Ki Te Puaotanga Hou), in meetings as a member of Waiwharariki (local branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League), as well as attending some general marae meetings. Initially, Waiwharariki were the core group within the marae community who were overseeing the research. At the Waiwharariki meetings

I would report on my thoughts and ideas for the research, and get feedback from the women present. Having this group of kuia (female elders) supporting the research in this way was of great importance to me, not only for their deep knowledge of the development of the marae from the 1970s, but also for the nurturing quality of their support. Through developing my relationships with them and other community members such as Arnold Wilson, I felt as if the research was gaining a solid foundation that would stand us all in good stead when it officially commenced in 2002.

2.6.1b Collaborative Research – Titiro, Whakarongo...Kōrero:

For the first year from 2002-2003, most of my time was spent with Arnold and Rangitiinia at their home or at the marae, discussing ideas, attending hui (meetings), and trying to formulate some coherence between us with regard to this project. In anthropological terms, they could be called my 'key informants', however, in cultural terms they were learned elders who not only shared their knowledge of the marae's development, but also shared cultural knowledge. As time went on, Arnold and Rangitiinia were to become central to the research, as will be seen in Chapter Four. Many of the ideas presented in this dissertation have arisen from discussions with them, for example, Māori as innovators of tradition.

Our discussions were in the form of informal conversations that ranged widely from topic to topic, which arose 'naturally', rather than being guided by an interview schedule. We spent many hours talking about the history and development of the marae, the challenges and issues that had arisen, and about the future visions for the marae. The purpose of this was to collaboratively create the themes of the PhD before I started doing more in-depth fieldwork with the community. The Marae is a very rich research site, with a multitude of possible research topics, so it was very necessary to focus down the topics to those they felt were important to discuss in the historical document and the PhD generally. Discussions were also centred on those of a more personal nature. While these discussions may seem to have no direct bearing to the marae, in a way they are all part of the complex relationship between marae and people.

A few months into this year, I began conducting formal taped interviews with the Wilsons, as a way of recording the information rather than relying on my memory and fieldnotes. However, I found that a new kind of formality arose in our relationship that was

not entirely conducive to that relationship. For that reason, after four such sessions, I chose not to tape record any further. Additionally, when approaching another kuia for a formal interview, she let me know in no uncertain terms that if I wanted to hear what she had to say, it would be without a tape recorder between us. The community members I most interacted with, were comfortable for me to carry out the research in a relatively informal and relaxed manner.

I was fortunate to be given access to two Minute Books from the *North Shore Māori Tribal Committee* that covered the period from 1961 to 1978 – prior to the formation of Awataha Marae. Another Minute Book of *Te Uru Wao* – the Committee name from 1980 to 1984²⁵⁹ – provided details of the flurry of activity prior to the group gaining the land that the Marae is now built on. These were fascinating reading, and they made me realise that I had to contextualise the experiences of those involved with the marae development to the wider experiences of Māori in urban centers and New Zealand generally from the 1950s. I was also given access to other records of Awataha Marae – which helped familiarize me further with not only the individual events, but also some of the people who had been involved over the years.

Although there were times in that year where the task ahead of me seemed overwhelming, by early 2003 we had identified six key themes to base the PhD around with the development of Awataha as the central theme: general marae development from pre-contact, innovation of tradition, visions and reality, biculturalism and negotiation of relationships, mana wahine (the contribution of women), and cultural reclamation. The boundaries around these themes were of course superficial ones, as all are connected to each other and Awataha in integral ways. These themes continued to evolve as time went on and I learned more about the history and the people, until the themes entered this final manifestation.

2.6.1c Fieldwork – Manaaki Ki Te Tangata:

I began intensive fieldwork with the Awataha community in late 2003, until it officially ended in July 2005. It had been decided that I would start working a couple of days per week

²⁵⁹ These Minute Books are held in the Awataha Marae Library archives, and permission to use them was granted by Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson.

in the marae library. The library was an important part of the marae, contributing as it did to the function of the marae as an educational facility. There was two other voluntary staff there, who I would assist with normal library duties.

I had joined the Awataha Marae Incorporated Society (AMIS) earlier in 2003, and when a vacancy arose within the Awataha Marae Governing Board (AMGB – drawn from members of AMIS) in early 2004, it was suggested that I fill the vacancy. Very quickly I became deeply involved in the running of the marae, having a variety of roles from then until August 2005 that included general administration (including a 2-month contracted position as General Manager/Administration from July-August 2005 under Awataha Corporate Ltd), member then secretary of AMIS, AMGB, ACL and Waiwharariki, education officer, assisted with care of and catering for marae visitors, writing reports, as well as researcher. There was a lot of new learning in most of these roles for me, and although life experience and the training I had received at university stood me in good stead, in many instances it was a case of learning by doing.

As can be seen, my roles at the marae were multiple, and as can be imagined, very demanding. I was soon working full time (mostly on a voluntary basis), and often on weekends. Despite the demands of these roles however, it gave me the opportunity to be integrally involved in the life of the marae, and therefore to gain a much deeper understanding of its workings than I would have if I had kept more to the outskirts as I did before this time. The myriad of hui I attended, the relationships I developed with individual members, and even my involvement in some of the conflict at the marae, ensured that deeper understanding. My mother moved into one of the kaumātua accommodations on-site in late 2004, and my daughter also began working there part time in administration at around the same time.

So Awataha Marae became the site of whānau, learning, joining, support and challenge for me. Looking back now, I can see that I was doing too much, yet I had some skills that were of use to the community, and the lack of skilled human resources was one of the biggest challenges faced by those who ran the marae. The majority of staff there were older, retired, and voluntary. While the marae could not have run so successfully without their unstinting input, it also needed others who could contribute necessary skills.

For me, this was one very practical way in which I could ‘give back’ to those who were so generous in welcoming and supporting both me and the research. This also relates to the

cultural principle cited by Smith, Cram and others of ‘kaua e maahaki’²⁶⁰, where knowledge and qualifications held by the researcher are there to be used by the community. Part of the giving back, and an ethical consideration, meant that copies of everything I wrote about Awataha and its people have gone back to the marae to be kept in the library. In that way, they were available to any community members who wished to read them.

2.6.2 Research Challenges – Kia Tupato:

In my ethics application submitted to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC²⁶¹), I wrote that because of the strength of the relationships I had developed with the Awataha people, I could not foresee any conflicts arising with the people. I can now see how naïve and idealistic that was, as perhaps inevitably, conflict did indeed arise. These research challenges are discussed below partly in the hope that perhaps other graduate students may find something of use within my stories that will contribute positively to their own research stories. The challenges are separated into several broad areas.

2.6.2a Researcher Authenticity and Kaupapa Maori Research:

The initial challenge that arose before the research officially began was around my ability to conduct the research, given that I did not fully know Māori language and culture. It was believed that because the research was on an integral part of Māori culture – the marae – the research was best left to those who did. Insecurities about my Māori identity and cultural (in)authenticity ensured that this challenge impacted on me greatly. When discussing it with Arnold Wilson however, he simply said to me – ‘ko wai koe?’ (‘who are you?’). He thereby reminded me of my right by whakapapa to be there and that I was undertaking the research at their request.

Brian Brayboy writes of the “ideology of authenticity” that pervades some indigenous circles, where “authenticity is derived from specific, static qualities which one must have in order to be a “real Indian”²⁶². He found that in his own research he had judged those he was researching with – Indian undergraduate students – according to his own preconceived ideas

²⁶⁰ See Section 2.3 Kaupapa Māori Research.

²⁶¹ Ethical approval number MUHEC 03/015.

²⁶² 2000, pp.418 & 417.

about what an authentic Indian was. This behaviour, he realised, arose from his own insecurities about whether he was a ‘good enough’ Indian. When speaking of his concerns about the authenticity of some of the students to friends of his, the challenge he received back was:

“Who are you to assign/ascribe one’s authenticity?” and “Who gave you the power?”.... it seemed that I had forgotten that I considered myself a “real Indian”, while being positioned by others as not being “real enough” or being “not real at all”. I had, in essence, participated in a process of “Othering” people in a manner of which I had previously been critical²⁶³.

There were resonances for me in Kathie Irwin’s discussions about aspects of her PhD journey, including that she was not a fluent speaker of te reo Māori, and had experienced similar challenges about her right and ability to carry out Māori research because of that. She wrote:

In my experience, te reo Māori has become used as a patu (a weapon of attack) in contemporary times, by some speakers of the language, bruising and hurting non-speakers through symbolic violence of the worst intra-group kind: Māori to Māori²⁶⁴.

Most important in my situation was the wishes of the Awataha people - it was *their* wish that I carry out the research. Those I interacted with such as Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson were very aware of my lack of cultural knowledge, and this presented no problem for them. They acknowledged that I had my own journey there that was guided by my tupuna (ancestors), in which they assisted.

One of the more important factors for them was that I was willing to approach the research from a spiritual as well as intellectual and physical perspective. For the Awataha project, understanding the histories of the major groups involved and the history of the whenua (land) was vitally necessary in order to help understanding of what is present today. Of necessity there must be the utmost respect when dealing with tribal or community whakapapa

²⁶³ Brayboy, 2000, p.422.

²⁶⁴ 1994, p.33.

and history. We were dealing with ancient as well as contemporary conflict, and this manifested itself at times in ways that can be dealt with only on a spiritual level.

The challenge of researcher authenticity also related to a contention that I was therefore not conducting kaupapa Māori research. In some ways however, what was being enacted here were the tensions inherent in Māori multiplicity of experience, knowledge and positioning. I was considered to be an inauthentic Māori, and therefore an inauthentic researcher, by these particular individuals.

When looking back at the discussion of kaupapa Māori research however²⁶⁵, I could assert that in many ways I fit the criteria of what that constitutes. Amongst other things, my research with Awataha was “culturally relevant”, “overseen by kaumātua”, “by Māori, for Māori, with Māori”, with a “methodology of participation”. However, the research process I was engaged in necessitated the weaving together of the multiple spaces in which I stood in relationship to the people I was researching with, and of the academy through which I was conducting the PhD.

2.6.2b Conflicts of Interest?:

Another challenge that arose was that I had a conflict of interest as a member of the community as well as being a researcher there – ironically, an assumption that relates more to traditional ideas of positivist research than those of kaupapa Māori research. Dame Joan Metge wrote that anthropologists “do not stand outside” processes at work in New Zealand society “as neutral observers”, but are instead “involved, personally and professionally”²⁶⁶. She has been engaged with the communities in Muriwhenua for more than 40 years as a researcher, friend, supporter, and adoptee of the tribe, and is an anthropologist held in high regard by many Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. When preparing submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal for the Muriwhenua claim, Dame Joan spoke of her greatest challenge as “reconciling my responsibility to my research participants with my responsibility to my discipline, my colleagues, and my own integrity as a scholar”²⁶⁷. Later she wrote that:

Anthropologists have to take care not to compromise professional standards either out of sympathy for disadvantaged groups or out of loyalty....In the long run we

²⁶⁵ See section 2.3.

²⁶⁶ 1998, p.47.

²⁶⁷ 1998, p.57.

help all parties best by defining a separate role and maintaining our standards and hence our credibility as anthropologists²⁶⁸.

It is often more of a challenge to define these separate roles for an indigenous researcher however. Kanuha notes that “the responsibility and expectation that he or she produce knowledge as a scholar implicitly obviates or at least compromises his or her insider status”²⁶⁹, which keeps the researcher in “a constant intellectual and existential crisis”²⁷⁰. Charles Menzies, a social anthropologist of Tsimshian and Tlingit descent, states that “I write from a particularly conflicted point of view”²⁷¹, when dealing with the disciplinary insistence of developing ‘objective’ research programs, and his personal cultural experience that influences his research and writing. Brayboy²⁷² speaks of the tensions inherent in “attempting to balance his identity as an Indian with his identity as an academic”. When visiting his home community, Brayboy played down his academic endeavors as a strategy to minimise being seen by his folks as an ‘outsider’, yet realised that because of his career path, he would always be seen by some as such.

Collins writes of the intense conflict she felt because she was working with the people of her own marae, in ways that were creating substantial changes within the marae through development projects. This “untenable bias...compromised the validity of the research”²⁷³ she felt, yet:

The dilemma goes to the heart of personal identity when one belongs to the indigenous community. Making oneself an outsider in the context of one’s own marae community is akin to stripping away one’s whakapapa (genealogical) connections and sense of belonging. After agonising over the dichotomy throughout the entire fieldwork period, I concluded that the possibility of making myself an outsider, even on a temporary analytical basis, was beyond my ability²⁷⁴.

²⁶⁸ 1998, p.57.

²⁶⁹ 2000, p.445.

²⁷⁰ Bennoune, cited in Kanuha, 2000, p.445.

²⁷¹ 2001, p.20.

²⁷² 2000, p.415.

²⁷³ 2007, p.32.

²⁷⁴ 2007, p.32.

2.6.2c Research Supervision:

Another challenge I faced was that of supervision. Both my chief supervisor and second supervisor²⁷⁵ are Pākehā women, and to some this was a big part of the reason why I was unable to work in a kaupapa Māori way, or conduct kaupapa Māori research. I however have the utmost respect for the abilities of these supervisors to guide me through research that is both anthropological and kaupapa Maori. Additionally, I have what I called a ‘supervisory whānau’, consisting of Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson as the leading kaumātua and kuia of Awataha Marae, a well respected Māori scientist who is also part of the Awataha community, a Māori academic who is well versed in Te Ao Māori and research (and who later became my second supervisor), and a Pākehā academic who has collaborated with Arnold in bicultural research.

I borrowed the idea of a ‘supervisory whānau’ from Kathie Irwin’s discussion on her PhD supervision²⁷⁶. Irwin’s ‘supervisory whānau’ consisted of two experienced Māori scholars recognised as kaumātua, and three Pākehā academics. Irwin considered that she “wanted to initiate an innovative model of PhD supervision”, grounded in “both the academic and Māori worlds....representative of both worlds of scholarship, to ensure validity, reliability, accountability and cultural safety”²⁷⁷. She deliberately used the concept of whānau (family), for while this definition of whānau differed from its traditional usage, Irwin wanted to engage notions of strong and caring relationships with a collective responsibility, to help ensure her successful journey through the PhD. These ideas made great sense to me as well, in the construction of my own supervisory whānau.

Conflict with those you research with is itself a major challenge, and one that is perhaps most difficult to deal with, especially when close whānau-like relationships have been formed. In hindsight I could see that the situation was not helped by my heavy involvement with the community during that extended period of fieldwork. However, due to the lack of human resources at the marae, those who got involved like me were usually drawn in to take up a variety of administrative and governing roles there, and my roles in the community were multiple as mentioned previously. The Social Policy Evaluation and Research (SPEaR) branch of the Ministry of Social Development have cited reciprocity as one of the central principles of

²⁷⁵ My second supervisor, Raewyn Good, passed away in November 2008.

²⁷⁶ 1994, pp.28-29.

²⁷⁷ Irwin, 1994, p.29.

research²⁷⁸, and certainly it was expected by the Awataha community that I would give back in return for what I was gaining. Yet it is a measure of my inexperience in such a situation, that I put few boundaries between my roles as a community member and that as a researcher, and on what and how much I would contribute to the community.

Although extremely difficult at times, my research with the people of Awataha Marae has been for the most part an extremely enriching experience, with learning of a personal and professional nature often intersecting. While ‘being native’ can be seen as a positive factor when working with one’s own people, the added challenge of ‘going native’²⁷⁹ (i.e. being personally committed to the goals and aspirations of the community) laid layers of further complexity onto an already complex situation. While my research at Awataha was an effort at collaborative research in which there was a conscious and conscientious desire for a “process of co-joint construction of meaning...predicated upon mutual respect and commitment to outcomes of research between the participants”²⁸⁰, there were nevertheless some very difficult challenges to be faced within it. Although similar experiences may be had by non-indigenous researchers, it is more complex when you *belong* to the people you are working with, when you have a responsibility and a duty to the people as a member of that community or people. You cannot just walk away and put it down to a bad experience. The basic foundation upon which research relationships are built is that of *relationships*. For indigenous people, this includes our “systems of knowledge [which] are built on the relationships we have, not just with people or objects, but relationships that we have with the cosmos, with ideas, concepts and everything around us”²⁸¹.

²⁷⁸ The other principles are respect, integrity, responsiveness, and competency. See <http://www.spear.govt.nz/good-practice/index.html> for the 2007 draft of these, and for updates.

²⁷⁹ Kanuha (2000, p.439) contends that the phrase ‘going native’ can be originally attributed to Bronislaw Malinowski’s assertion that in order to ‘know’ the native point of view, researchers should ‘go native’, i.e. *participate* in the lives of the natives rather than just observe. Over time the phrase has often had derogatory connotations, for example, insinuating that a researcher has lost his or her objectivity by becoming too involved with the people they are studying. I choose a more positive slant on this phrase, as this level of commitment is often necessarily there, and indeed expected, for Māori and other indigenous researchers who work with their own people.

²⁸⁰ Russell Bishop, 1996, pg .23.

²⁸¹ Shawn Wilson, 2001, pg.177.

2.6.3 Whakapapa as Context and Method:

2.6.3a Whakapapa as Context:

Whakapapa grounds and connects me to other Māori, to all the lands and people of Aotearoa, and through the aspects of our shared history, to other indigenous peoples of the world. When I first went to Awataha Marae in 1997, one of the initial interactions that occurred between me and other Māori there was to establish whakapapa connections – Where do you come from? Who do you belong to? Which whenua (land) nurtured the lives of your people? - an endeavor that is vitally important to nearly every Māori engagement. While there were no close connections established, we nevertheless could form connections in terms of distant ancestors. Arnold Wilson had worked with my grandfather many years before; a factor that also laid the foundations for a close bond. Weber-Pillwax wrote of an incident where upon meeting particular elders for the first time, their previous formality was dissolved when they learned who her grandfather was, as he had married a member of their community. She felt that “the sun was breaking out over me, and immediately everything about the introduction was totally different”²⁸².

One of the suggestions made by Arnold near the beginning of the PhD was that I return to my tūrangawaewae in the Bay of Islands, and seek deeper knowledge of my whakapapa from my own whānau. Royal²⁸³ asserts that researching tribal histories are spiritual journeys because they lead back to Io Matua Kore and the beginnings of time. As Robust contends, “Backing into the future is a concept of thinking ahead with the full understanding of the historical journeys we have taken to be where we are now”²⁸⁴. By grounding myself in the whakapapa of my own people, I therefore could stand upon a solid foundation that also provided a matrix of connection and protection. And as noted by Tawhai, “What right do I have to hold a mirror up to other iwi if I don’t firstly hold the mirror up to myself?”²⁸⁵.

As previously discussed, there is a whakapapa to Māori anthropology in New Zealand into which I fit, which highlights pathways and pitfalls for current practitioners through the practices of previous Māori scholars such as Sir Peter Buck, Sir Apirana Ngata, and Bruce

²⁸² 2001, p.167.

²⁸³ 1993, p.9.

²⁸⁴ 2000, p.30.

²⁸⁵ In T. Walker, 2004, p.3.

Biggs. Whakapapa are also “epistemological frameworks”²⁸⁶ which establish connections and relationships between phenomena, and contextualize those phenomena within particular historical, cultural and social perspectives. My research experiences provide several examples of how whakapapa is entwined throughout those experiences, reflecting the cultural context from within which I engage in research. Whakapapa can therefore be seen as both context and method in which I as a Māori researcher practicing indigenous anthropology can thrive.

Whakapapa is one of the principal concepts that comprise the knowledge base of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), along with those such as tapu, mana, whānau, hapū and iwi. While there may be tribal differences between definitions and applications of these concepts, there are also shared meanings for Māori as a whole²⁸⁷. Whakapapa reaches back in time to the beginnings of the universe – Te Kore – when anything and everything was possible. This potential manifested in the forming of Papatuanuku (Earth Mother) and Ranginui (Sky Father), leading us into the dark realm of Te Po. From here, their child Tāne Mahuta (God of Forests) along with other siblings, strove to separate their godly parents, enabling them, and therefore humankind, to move into the domain of Te Ao Mārama; the world of light and knowledge.

All Māori can claim descent from these divine beginnings. Our whakapapa can lead us on a journey in which the past is brought into the present²⁸⁸ for the education and acculturation of the descendants. Whakapapa is more than genealogical connections however; it is also the history – the stories – of our tupuna (ancestors). It is those stories that ensure our tupuna live on in us and around us. They connect us to the physical features of our landscape, which become imbued with spiritual meaning through the narratives. Buck noted in 1929 that “I have always felt, since my Polynesian wanderings, that New Zealand was composed of a number of islands of spirit connected by land”²⁸⁹. These narratives which accompany whakapapa also provide “explanations for why things came to be the way they are, as well as moral guidelines for correct conduct”²⁹⁰. Whakapapa is the inalienable link that binds us to the land and sea, to people and places, to time and space, even when we are not aware of it.

²⁸⁶ Roberts, Benton, Satterfield, Finucare, Henare and Henare, 2004, p.1.

²⁸⁷ T. Walker, 2004, p.28.

²⁸⁸ T. Walker, 2004, p.56.

²⁸⁹ In Sorrenson, 1982, pp.20-21.

²⁹⁰ Roberts et al, 2004, p.1.

2.6.3b Whakapapa as Method:

In his doctoral research of Te Aute College, James Graham “expounds the use of both a traditional and a contemporary illumination of whakapapa as guiding the whole research process”²⁹¹. Whakapapa “innately and organically links the past, present and future”. This whakapapa links not only the generations of young Māori who have passed through Te Aute (including Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck) to each other and the lands, but Te Aute itself has a whakapapa that is intricately entwined with the Te Aute experiences of these young Māori. The whakapapa shows a “lineage of contribution that has evolved from one era to the next”, it is multi-layered - including connections to Christianity, rugby and the armed services – and a whakapapa of leadership and achievement can be perceived. Therefore whakapapa refers both to “the birth of human life” and to “the birth of new knowledge”²⁹².

Royal also sees whakapapa as a useful analytic tool which “organises phenomena into groups and provides explanations for trends and features within those groups”²⁹³. As a human being has parents who contributed to their birth into the world, so does an event or phenomenon. By searching back along the lines of whakapapa, it is possible to identify the antecedent or parental phenomena, and from there to ascertain connections to other phenomena in an ever-widening picture of this phenomenal world, which Royal calls “Te Ao Mārama”²⁹⁴. This organic process analyses relationships between phenomena, and uses whanaungatanga (relationship development and maintenance) to signify the interconnectedness of all things²⁹⁵.

Whakapapa-in-context²⁹⁶ is a useful method of analysis therefore, whereby a particular event or person is contextualized into a particular time period, in what could be called the horizontal or generational whakapapa. We can then understand it further by looking at the vertical or antecedent whakapapa, and there are connections and relationships sideways, upside down, forwards and backwards that you could make in order to understand a particular event.

²⁹¹ 2009, p.59.

²⁹² Graham, 2009, p.63.

²⁹³ 1998, p.80.

²⁹⁴ Royal, 1998, p.81.

²⁹⁵ Royal, 1998, p.82.

²⁹⁶ These ideas are not unique, and draw heavily from previous discussions of the use of whakapapa as a method for research. I developed these in this form, through discussions with other Māori postgraduate students at a Massey University Writing Retreat in 2007, and acknowledge in particular the input of Felicity Ware and Anaru Wood.

As a simple example, if when looking at the Awataha Marae history, we can see that site approval for a marae was finally gained in 1985 after over a decade of petitioning local councils and organisations. So what was happening at the time? It was over a decade after major Māori protests that injustices had occurred, and there was a major cultural renaissance. It was ten years after the Treaty of Waitangi Act, when the government had to acknowledge that these injustices had occurred with regard to breaches of the Treaty principles, and the year of the Amendment to the Treaty of Waitangi Act which gave Māori the ability to make retrospective claims back to 1840. This resulted in a more conducive social atmosphere supporting the building of a marae in an urban centre, as contrasted by previous community concerns that rats would be encouraged by the dumps that would spring up around the marae²⁹⁷.

In terms of vertical whakapapa, we could go back to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, and follow it forward through the decimations of culture and people. We could identify some of our tupuna whose innovation of tradition helped reclaim and retain our tikanga (customs) through times of hardship. Of importance too is Māori urbanisation following World War Two, and how this led to a need for a pan-tribal marae in this Auckland suburb. And finally, we could look forward from 1985, and see what the presence of Awataha Marae has given 'birth' to – e.g. the presence of a tribally-run health centre and Māori language schools on the Awataha site. So what does this mean? How do these developments at Awataha Marae connect to developments in the wider society? And what could it lead to in the future? Seeking the answers to questions such as these, help fit Awataha Marae into a wider and multi-layered matrix of history that gives a deeper understanding of the particular history of the marae.

Māori Marsden wrote that the “route to Māoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only be through a passionate subjective approach”²⁹⁸. An understanding of Māoritanga and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) is essential for those who wish to research with Māori, from within a Māori cultural paradigm. Mead described mātauranga as also about “developing the creative powers of the mind....expanding horizons and reaching beyond the limitations of circumstance and adversity”. ‘Te hohonutanga o te mātauranga’ refers to seeking knowledge that lies beneath the surface of reality, where the “learner therefore has to dive in and explore the areas of darkness...and by exploring come to

²⁹⁷ See Chapter Four for further discussion of this.

²⁹⁸ Marsden, 1992, in King, p.117.

understand”. ‘Te whanuitanga o te mātauranga’ acknowledges the vast breadth of knowledge, those sideways journeys to the “unreachable horizons of knowledge” where the “journey is to seek more light, more understanding and that most elusive of all educational goals, wisdom”²⁹⁹. Whakapapa can also be used to explain these knowledge-seeking processes, in which people, events, or experiences are contextualised in order to explore the depths and breadths of knowledge.

Human identity is intimately linked to whakapapa, and is “at the heart and soul of our endeavours”³⁰⁰. We are born into particular environments that are multi-layered and multi-faceted, peppered with social, cultural, spiritual and ideological constructs that (often unconsciously) influence notions of who we are and how we conduct ourselves. Moreover, each environment is born out of those that went before, and contributes to environments yet to come. Whakapapa provides a structure within which to understand these environments more clearly by illuminating the interconnections between them³⁰¹. Therefore, whakapapa is a useful research methodology which aids our understanding of the people we research with, by placing them in a matrix that includes the interweaving of people, time and place. As an indigenous anthropologist, knowing the whakapapa of anthropology in Aotearoa New Zealand and around the world enables me to know where I fit into the narratives that accompany it, and to better contribute to the birth of future knowledge. Whakapapa is the foundation upon which we have the right to build, producing structures that are valid and unique, yet which share features with others.

2.7 Conclusion:

When writing about changes to anthropology in the 1960s, Tyler wrote that “Assessment of new departures is always difficult. What are their historical antecedents and what do they augur for the future of anthropology?”³⁰². These ‘new departures’ though, are always “firmly rooted in the past”³⁰³. From the rising critiques of the 1960s onwards, anthropology has had to look for new departures from old ways. While retaining those aspects

²⁹⁹ S. Mead, 1997, p.51.

³⁰⁰ M. Durie, 1996, p.192.

³⁰¹ Graham, 2009.

³⁰² 1969, pp.377-378.

³⁰³ Tyler, 1969, p.378.

that most define anthropology such as participant observation, fieldwork and ethnography, anthropology has become “of the middle”³⁰⁴ – acknowledging the partiality and embeddedness of the stories we tell of others and of ourselves. Also acknowledged are political contexts in which research arises, and the multivocality of the research stories.

For Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, research is a way in which we can “reimagine ourselves”³⁰⁵ through development of people and resources, in a society where there truly is equal opportunity in all aspects of social life. Kaupapa Māori research methodologies arose through a need to have research that was of benefit to Māori groups and communities, as defined by those groups and communities. It was also about preservation of our culture that had seen decimation following colonisation of this land. And it was also about re-shaping and re-imagining that culture, so that it serves us more effectively in contemporary contexts.

Kaupapa Māori research is based on Māori cultural concepts such as tikanga, whakapapa, and whanaungatanga, either from a general Māori base, or one that is tribally focused. It acknowledges the integral involvement of the researcher, who is often connected to those they research with through whakapapa. Respect and benefit for all parties – especially the researched - is central to kaupapa Māori research, whichever form it may take. It is an effort at collaboration between researchers and researched, often with the roles of researcher and researched intertwining. These underlying principles of kaupapa Māori research, then, are shared by those of collaborative and cross-cultural research as discussed, and as such are transferrable into other cultural contexts.

For those such as me who claim the title of ‘indigenous anthropologist’, kaupapa Māori is woven together with anthropology, arising from an intellectual tūrangawaewae that has multiple positionings from within which I speak. While there are some difficulties with this nomenclature – ranging from denial that there can be separate native or indigenous research, to the diversity of those which it seeks to incorporate – it is one which I feel comfortable with. It acknowledges my position as a Māori and therefore indigenous person, my intention of researching primarily with my own people, signifies my connection to other indigenous peoples of the world and our shared histories, and acknowledges the history of anthropology in all its facets while asserting that anthropology has something of value to lend to indigenous

³⁰⁴ Knauff, 2006.

³⁰⁵ L. Smith, 1999a, p.1

concerns. It provides firmness to where I place my feet in the often challenging world of research.

It could be said that much of research is about relationships – those we have with ourselves, with each other, and with our environments. Dame Joan Metge writes about *He Taura Whiri* – a plaited rope – which has been a popular metaphor used by Māori orators³⁰⁶. It speaks of the way in which common groups such as hapū can be woven together to form iwi, and also of how dissimilar elements can be unified. The Treaty of Waitangi provides the context within which the multi-ethnic strands of Aotearoa New Zealand may be woven together. Research provides an arena through which we can explore our relationships, identifying areas of similarity and difference, and from there paths through which we can weave our separate yet conjoined worlds together in effective ways if necessary. It can be said that while the strands may be of differing sizes and colors, a “rope thus made [is] many times stronger than any of its strands alone”³⁰⁷.

The following chapter details some of the changes to marae from pre-contact through colonisation, and into the present. While of historical interest in itself, this chapter provides background to contextualise the development of Awataha Marae. As will be seen in Chapter Four, Awataha Marae was founded on the philosophy of providing a space based on kaupapa Māori, where Māori culture and people can flourish, and where there could be an exchange of culture with other ethnic groups. Awataha Marae offers a microcosmic view of Aotearoa New Zealand society, and as such can enhance our understandings of that wider society and its people. While there remains some way to go to realising their visions for the Marae, their achievements – as evidenced in this dissertation – can offer reasons for celebrating what we as Māori people have, how innovative and creative our people are, and provide hope for a future in which Māori are successful in all areas of social life. Although researching with the people of Awataha has provided several challenges for me, the experience has left me enriched personally, culturally and professionally.

³⁰⁶ 2004, Waitangi Rua Rau Tau Lecture: *Ropeworks – He Taura Whiri*.

³⁰⁷ Metge, 2004.

CHAPTER THREE : CONTEXTUALISING MARAE

*E kore koe e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea.
You are never lost, for you are a seed sown in Rangiātea.*

3.1 Introduction:

This chapter focuses on the general development of marae in Aotearoa New Zealand history, which shows that marae have been at the heart of Māori life and aspirations for many decades, while also showing that marae as we know them today, are a post-European development. There have been many changes post-contact with Europeans, and some of these changes were implemented by Māori people themselves as the overt incorporation of the introduced technologies and belief systems. Other changes, however, were imposed by colonial and later governments who saw the assimilation of Māori as the most desirable course forward for the New Zealand nation. Introduction and transformation of social, political, economic and ideological factors within the new nation ensured that Māori people and culture were severely impacted upon, and change became a necessity.

Some of the changes directly affecting marae development since the late 18th century include the introduction of iron and steel tools, increasing visiting and settler populations, and musket warfare. Missionaries, along with the introduction and entrenchment of Christianity, lead to alterations in whare (house) building and embellishment. Land sales and confiscations from the mid-nineteenth century saw the building of whare runanga (council houses) on marae, providing gathering places for inter-tribal meetings to discuss issues related to land, for example. On the other hand, a falling Māori population through disease and warfare saw villages in previously populated areas deserted, with marae buildings crumbling into dim remembrance, sometimes being forgotten altogether. The tribal warfare that ensued was an extension of centuries-old aggression taken to a new level with the introduction of muskets. Many thousands of Māori died in the wars that swept through the land, mostly during the 1820s. Despite this though, there were many economic opportunities, and some tribal groups were achieving economic growth through trading with the newcomers. The rise and fall of

Māori fortunes saw the uplifting as well as negation and destruction of Māori culture, and of marae building as a factor of that culture.

It is impossible to speak of marae without looking at the construction and symbolism of the meeting house (known in its various elements as wharenui, whare tupuna, wharepuni, whare runanga, or whare whakairo). From the earliest days of a chief's house with a carved pare (lintel) or similar embellishment, wharenui are today viewed as “the cutting edge of Māori culture”³⁰⁸. Whether embellished with whakairo (carving), tukutuku (lattice work), kowhaiwhai (rafter paintings) and other more modern art forms, (or not) each part of the meeting house – including the artwork – has a meaning and symbolism that is directly tied to a Māori conception of the world in all its facets. This worldview governs the “rituals of encounter”³⁰⁹ that guide behaviour in the meeting house and on the marae in general, drawing from the mythology that gives depth to a culture reaching back through whakapapa (genealogy, history) to the beginnings of time.

While it is most common to refer the term ‘Māori renaissance’ to the period of activism and cultural reclamation begun in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it can be argued that there have been in fact three periods of Māori renaissance. All three Renaissance Periods are connected to indigenous political activism and processes of cultural retention and reclamation. Renaissance Period One occurred at the time of the New Zealand Wars (1860s) and into the two decades after, with resistance and religious leader Te Kooti Rikirangi and his contemporaries leading the drive. Sir Apirana Ngata and others led Renaissance Period Two from 1909 to the 1930s, in which a return to traditional facets of Māori culture was called for, during a period of increased political engagement for Māori within the adopted European governing systems introduced by colonisation of this land. Renaissance Period Three was heralded by lively protest movements spearheaded by groups such as *Nga Tamatoa*, and activists such as Donna Awatere; protests that lit up ethnic relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand and highlighted inequities that were continuing to denigrate Māori culture and people.

Sissons notes however that it:

is conceivable that the Māori cultural renaissance of the 1970s and 1980s would not have gained the wide public support that it did without the ‘traditional’ meeting

³⁰⁸ Mead, 1995, p.202.

³⁰⁹ Salmond, 2004, p.1.

house....[which is] central...to definitions of Māori identity, both conceptually and practically³¹⁰.

It can also be argued that the meeting house was a central political and cultural symbol of the previous two Renaissance Periods. Meeting houses such as *Te Tokanganui-a-Noho* at Te Kuiti (1873), and *Mahinarangi* at Ngaruawahia (1929) came to be interpreted as “the pre-eminent symbolic vehicle for the expression of the people’s view of themselves and their place in the new world”³¹¹, with the openings of new and refurbished meeting houses in Renaissance Period Two (for example, the opening of *Porourangi* in 1909) providing “a clarion call marking the cultural revival”³¹². The blueprint for using meeting houses as political expressions had been set in 1842 however, with the construction of *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* by Rongowhakaata chief Raharuhi Rukupo, who carved the whare as a “statement of opposition to cultural invasion”³¹³. *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* is often regarded as the “prototype of the modern meeting house”³¹⁴ although it can also be seen as “just one stage in the ongoing development of the meeting-house concept”³¹⁵ which began in the early days of Māori/European contact.

Thus it can be seen that marae and their meeting houses have been at the heart of Māori cultural, political and social expression for much of the conjoined history of Māori and non-Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. They have multiple meanings which run parallel to the historical development of the New Zealand nation as a whole; some positive, others contentious and challenging. Therefore, the elucidation of history through the perspective of marae development can provide useful points for understanding the wider history to which they – and their people – belong.

³¹⁰ 1998, p.43.

³¹¹ Neich, 1994, p.2.

³¹² R. Walker, 2001, p.213.

³¹³ R. Walker, 2001, p.43.

³¹⁴ R. Walker, 2001, p.43.

³¹⁵ Neich, 1994, p.92.



Figure 1 : Waka huia – carved chests. 1770s.

3.2 Carving – Myths and Meanings:

Mead states that the “art in the house is not there only for contemplation but to feel, to change the behaviour of the beholders and to frame the space in which the activities of the people occur”³¹⁶. While speaking from a contemporary perspective, Mead’s description of the meaning of artwork in whare could be applied also to Rukupo’s time, and Renaissance Periods 1 and 2. Pre-contact, while tribal Māori lived in flourishing and dynamic cultures, most of life was framed by the seemingly knowable - i.e. life and its component parts were well defined in taken-for-granted ways. Post-contact and especially after changes post-Treaty, the imperative to *feel* within spaces that tied strongly back to the ancestors and gods was greater than before. These spaces grew in importance as places to contemplate and feel a range of emotions, enlighten issues through discussion, to plan forward movement, and also to preserve as much as possible those things which made our ancestors mighty. Following times of incredible losses through disease, warfare, and other factors of colonisation, as noted further by Mead, “the

³¹⁶ 1995, p.202.

struggle was symbolised by art, by the artistic expressions in these houses that were built in probably the most difficult years ever faced by Māoridom”³¹⁷.

Carving of wood and other materials such as greenstone and bone has been a fundamental art form within Māori tribal culture for many centuries. As with many aspects of Māori culture, myths associated with particular facets of that culture have been passed down through the generations, as well as associated tikanga (rituals of custom). This ensured the continuation of the culture, as well as the whakapapa to give further depth and understanding to the practices and rituals. Carvers were apprenticed to master carvers (tohunga whakairo) from a young age, and were taught in the whare wānanga (houses of esoteric learning) of each tribe. As well as the myths associated with their art, they were also taught rituals, techniques, tool preparation and maintenance, how to harvest and prepare woods, and so on³¹⁸.



Figure 2 : Māori “warrior in his proper dress & completely armed according to their manner”, 1784.

There are several recorded origin myths associated with carving, which share basic features while illustrating tribal differences. Most origin myths centre on Ruatēpupuke (Rua),

³¹⁷ 1995, p.208.

³¹⁸ Brown, 2003, p.32.

whom Mead classifies genealogically as a grandchild of Tangaroa (God of the Sea), or as Tangaroa himself³¹⁹. Makareti wrote that Tangaroa kidnapped the son of Ruatēpupuke - Manuruhi - and set him as a tekoteko upon the roof of his whare, following transgressions of tapu from both Rua and his son. When he learned of this, Rua assumed the shape of a fish and dove beneath the waves in search of his son and to seek revenge on Tangaroa. After destroying the sea-people and the house upon which his son sat, Rua saved his son and various other parts of the carvings, and took them home. These came to be used as patterns for carving forms from that time on³²⁰.

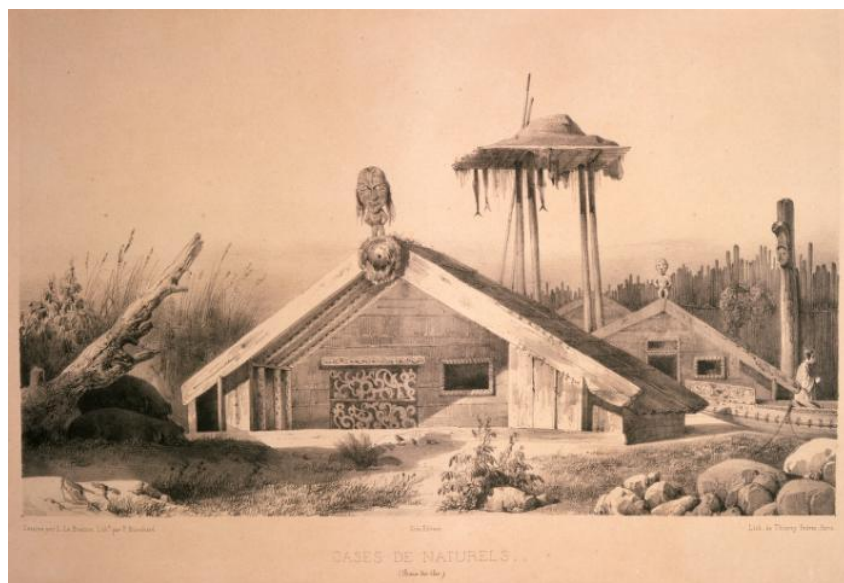


Figure 3 : Chief's house with storage platform behind, 1834, Bay of Islands.

From these ancient beginnings, carving as an art form passed down through the generations. Many generations after Ruatēpupuke, the great carver Hingangaroa was born. A descendant of Porourangi (eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Porou), Hingangaroa is said to have built a house at Uawa (Tolaga Bay) in which were stored the poupou and tekoteko rescued by Ruatēpupuke³²¹. Uawa became the heart of a thriving school of carving – *Rawheoro* - that lasted for 300 years. Students of that school and descendants of Hingangaroa³²² such as Tukaki, were

³¹⁹ 1995, p.8.

³²⁰ 1986, pp.309-310.

³²¹ Mead, 1995, p.12.

³²² Hingangaroa married Iranui, sister of Kahungunu, eponymous ancestor of the Kahungunu tribe - Mead, 1995, p.23.

responsible for spreading these styles of carving throughout the East Coast and further afield³²³.

Mead defines tribal styles as “the constant forms of art maintained and developed by a group of people as an expression of their values, hopes, fears and dreams”³²⁴. These styles are grounded in particular locations, and in particular time periods. Mead organises these time periods as follows:

Table 1: Style Periods³²⁵.

1. Nga Kakano (The Seeds) style period	A.D. 900-1200
When the original settlers brought the ‘seeds’ of art to be grown in this new land. Artworks still exhibiting their Polynesian origins. Mead links this concept to the whakataukī – ‘He kakano i ruia mai i Rangiaatea: Seeds sown from Rangiaatea’.	
2. Te Tipunga (The Growth) style period	A.D. 1200-1500
Art becomes more localised, reflecting the new environments and isolation from the rest of Polynesia. Can be described as angular, rectilinear, geometric, but restricted and controlled.	
3. Te Puawaitanga (The Blossoming) style period	A.D. 1500-1800
A flowering of local development, with the evolution of the distinctive curvilinear style which was more large-scale, open and free-flowing. Peaked at about 1750.	
4. Te Huringa (The Turning) style period	A.D. 1800-
Many changes occurred in this period, reflecting the most tumultuous time in Māori/Pākehā history. Missionary influence, tribal warfare, disease and so on had long-reaching effects on art and culture.	

Citing Apirana Ngata’s 1958 essay, Mead details the spread of carving style through another well known tribe – Ngāti Awa – whose origins begin in the far north. Following warfare with other northern tribes, Ngāti Awa migrated south, to settle in Taranaki and Tauranga. Through robust genealogical links, Ngāti Awa came to be a strong influence on the carving styles of several tribes³²⁶. So while each tribe came to develop their own styles, links

³²³ Mead, 1995, pp.11-12, 21-24.

³²⁴ 1995, p.29.

³²⁵ Adapted from Mead, 1995, pp.29-33.

³²⁶ 1995, p.21.

between each tribe are traceable, and speak of ties which bind Māori tribes closely, despite the many incidences of warfare between them. The art of carving then is the “supreme artistic achievement of the Māori people...[and] embodies a whole range of emotions”³²⁷, as well as preserving historical detail in the “architectural history book” of the marae³²⁸.



Figure 4 : Whare of chief Te Rangihacata, 1844/1847

3.3 Symbolism of the Wharenui:

The whare whakairo, whare tupuna, wharepuni or wharenui, that is, the central building of a marae complex, most often symbolises the body of a significant ancestor. The koruru represents the head of this ancestor, while the maihi are his arms extending downwards, ending in the raparapa or fingers. The arms and fingers of this ancestor reach out to embrace the people to whom he or she belongs. The ridgepole or tahuhu is the backbone of the main ancestor, with the heke (rafters) representing his or her ribs. At the top of the gable may stand the tekoteko who represents an earlier pivotal ancestor. The amo to either side of

³²⁷ Harrison, 1988, p.18.

³²⁸ Salmond, 1994, p.39.

the porch can represent more recent descendants who stand there as guardians³²⁹, or they can represent Tu-mata-uenga (God of War and Humankind), and Rongo-ma-tāne (God of Peace).

Every intricate detail of the whare whakairo symbolises some aspect of Māori cultural beliefs that show the interconnection between the spiritual and the physical worlds. The doorway distinguishes the “transition from the mythic world outside to the inside, to the historic time of the ancestors in the house³³⁰. The door jambs (whakawae) most often represent Hine-nui-te-po with her legs outstretched; the Goddess of Death to whom all go at life’s end to be cleansed. Salmond wrote of the ancient custom of warriors returning from battle to crawl between the legs of an old woman in order to whakanoa (cleanse) themselves of the tapu of battle³³¹. Thus we pass through the legs of Hine-nui-te-po to be cleansed. Even when these central houses are not carved, they are infused with this symbolism of meaning, providing for those who belong to it the continuity of past with present, and thus with future.

3.4 Early Contact:

By the time a Dutchman named Abel Tasman paid a brief visit to this land in 1642, colonisation of lands, people and resources was a well established phenomenon of European countries. Not much notice was given to Aotearoa however, until the arrival of James Cook in 1769 on the *Endeavour*, who mapped the coastline and had small interactions with local peoples. French explorer De Surville was here around the same time, and three years later, countryman Marion Du Fresne arrived. Du Fresne was killed by local tribesmen in the Bay of Islands, resulting in the retaliatory killing of 250 Māori by his second-in-command Julien Crozet. Crozet stated that “there is amongst all the animals of the creation none more ferocious and dangerous for human beings than the primitive and savage man”³³². Nevertheless, Crozet claimed this ‘new land’ for the French King before leaving, thus helping ignite in Aotearoa the competition for land amongst colonial powers.

From that point on, whalers, sealers and traders came from America and parts of Europe, followed by missionaries from around 1814. Trade in Aotearoa New Zealand began in the 1790s, consequent to the establishment of penal settlements in New South Wales,

³²⁹ Simmons, 1997, p.25.

³³⁰ Simmons, 1997, p.26.

³³¹ 1994, p.46.

³³² Cited by Owens, 1995, p.30.

Australia³³³. Importantly though, as the tribal groups of Māori far outnumbered the immigrants at this stage, interaction was governed by local tribal protocols. The newcomers had to fit into tribal society, learning language and culture in order to make that fit. The first mission schools were taught in the Māori language, and the Bible was also translated into Māori. However, from an estimated 175,000 Māori in their various tribes in 1800, the population declined to a mere 42,650 by 1896³³⁴.



Figure 5 : Early Anglican missionary, Samuel Marsden, on arrival at Rangihoua Bay, Bay of Islands, 1814.

3.4.1 Early Whare

Initial visitors such as Augustus Earle and Joel Polack provided many and detailed descriptions of the buildings they found in tribal villages. Many of the villages and structures described were from the Tai Tokerau region; an early and popular point of contact. Here they found houses low to the ground, often with a sliding cover over the only entry, thatched roofs, and deep-set verandahs. The structures most commonly and elaborately carved were pātaka (storehouses)³³⁵, containing items of value to the tribe, for example, woven mats and clothing,

³³³ Owens, 1995.

³³⁴ Durie, 1996, p.190.

³³⁵ Brown, 2003; Sissons, 1998.

metal tools of European origin, and ornaments of various kinds, although others were documented as holding nets, weapons or food items³³⁶.

In 1820, Cruise described a pātaka in the village of Waikare (Bay of Islands) chief, Wetere, - a structure 20 feet long, eight feet wide and five feet high - as follows:

several posts driven into the ground and floored over with pieces of timber fastened close together, formed a stage about four feet high, upon which the building was erected. The sides and roof were of reeds, so compactly arranged as to be impervious to rain; a sliding doorway, scarcely large enough for a man to creep through, was the only aperture, beyond which the roof projected so far as to form a kind of verandah, which was ornamented with pieces of plank, painted red, and carved in various grotesque and indecent figures. The carving is work of much labour and ingenuity, and the artists competent to its execution are rare³³⁷.

In ancient kāinga (villages), the whare were built to a somewhat consistent plan of a rectangular one-roomed building with a front porch³³⁸, although a few circular buildings were recorded, possibly functioning as impermanent structures³³⁹. Whare were generally reserved for sleeping in, with cooking and eating taking place in separate buildings called kauta, or out in the open³⁴⁰. On the whole, food was not served or eaten in the houses due to their sacred nature, and the noa, or common qualities, of food. In addition to the sleeping houses (whare moe), there could be a wharepuni (used to lodge visitors and often the house of the chief), and a whare kura (sacred house of learning) inhabited by the tohunga (priestly class)³⁴¹.

³³⁶ Brown, 2003, p.45.

³³⁷ In Brown, 2003, pp.44-45.

³³⁸ Makareti, 1986, p.283.

³³⁹ Brown, 2003, p.46.

³⁴⁰ Makareti, 1986, p.283.

³⁴¹ Makareti, 1986, pp.286-289.



Figure 6 : Three examples of pātaka, drawn by George Angas, 1844.

Important houses were generally built to face the rising sun and the marae aatea (meeting area), and the construction of the more elaborate could take up to ten years, accompanied by intricate rituals at each stage, led by the appropriate tohunga. Any transgressions of tapu (sacred) restrictions were believed to result in the spiritual degradation of the house, and therefore of the associated people. Each part of the houses had sacred meanings impelled by tradition, and were often embellished with natural artworks that further elaborated tribal beliefs. Construction of these houses was a collective effort of the local community, often with the aid of associated kin from other tribes³⁴².

Before European contact, the marae (or marae aatea) was simply the vacant area in front of the chief's house where community meetings took place, or where the local community met with visiting groups. Marae have “deep roots in the malae of Polynesia”³⁴³, with ceremonies conducted on tuahu (altars). It was a space of deep spiritual symbolism and the place of Tu-mata-uenga (God of War), where conflicts were aired and compromises attained. The finely-honed oratory skills of the speakers paid homage to the Gods, the ancestors and their deeds, proceeding on to detail current grievances, mourning the recent

³⁴² Makareti, 1986, pp.289-293.

³⁴³ Walker, 1987, p.143.

dead, or expressing individual and collective joy. As noted by Simmons – “It is on the marae aatea...that the mana of the tribe, its connections with the unseen world of the spirits and ancestors, are reinforced according to ancient custom”³⁴⁴. While governed by the sacred rituals and beliefs of the tribes, marae as these open spaces were nevertheless a normal part of everyday life in the village, and were not separated from the rest of experiential existence.

The houses of chiefs were commonly the second most decorated in the villages visited. These structures were similar in design to pātaka, with carved exteriors, which were usually painted with sacred red ochre (kokowai). The carvings appeared designed to distinguish between chief’s houses and those of the ‘common’ people, which were described by Cruise as “wretched, little better than sheds”³⁴⁵. Other frequent carved objects included burials chests (waka tūpāpaku), mausoleums (papa tūpāpaku), treasure boxes (waka huia), canoes (waka), and weapons of war.

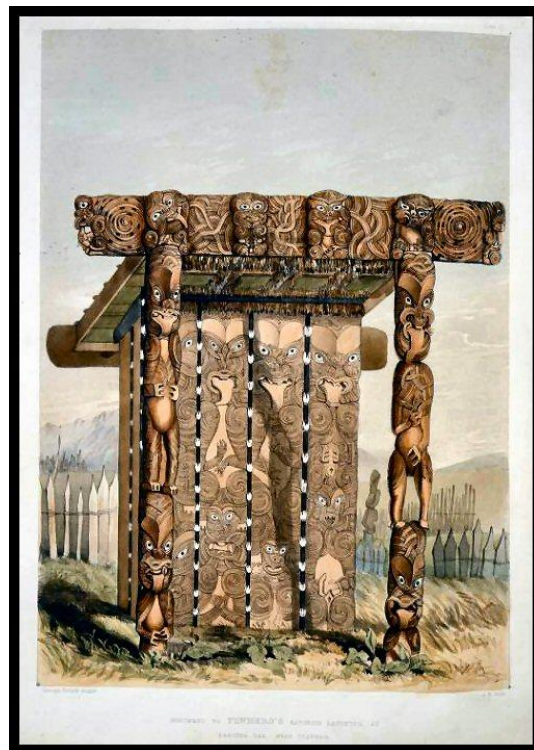


Figure 7 : Carved monument to chief Te Wherowhero’s daughter, 1844.

³⁴⁴ Simmons, 1997, p.8.

³⁴⁵ In Brown, 2003, p.46.

George Clarke Jnr³⁴⁶ provided a detailed description of the paa (fortified village) belonging to the people of the great northern chief, Hongi Hika. Having arrived in Kerikeri (the stronghold of Hongi) as a babe in arms and spending most of his childhood there, Clarke recalled the area as populated by thousands when he was a child, whereas on visits in his later years, “all is silent and deserted now”³⁴⁷. Hongi’s paa, *Kororipo*, was surrounded by a seemingly impregnable stockade, carved with “grotesque and...hideous human figures...with goggle eyes and protruding tongues”³⁴⁸. The “ware puni”, Hongi’s residence, had red-stained beams and rafters, with intricate carvings throughout. Clarke stated that:

I have seen many such chiefs houses since, but none at all approaching the ware puni of Hongi for its elaborate decorations and carvings. Such specimens of Māori architecture have long since disappeared and the fragments of carving that one sometimes meets with in museums give but a very poor notion of what was common enough in my early days³⁴⁹.

Unfortunately this “wonderful specimen of Māori art” was destroyed by fire around 1828³⁵⁰, so Clarke’s description is perhaps the only extant recording of Hongi’s chiefly house.

It can therefore be seen that although changes to whare building, embellishment and spatial arrangements were to appear post-contact, “all the conceptual design elements of the meeting house were present in the chief’s wharepuni”³⁵¹, and also with pātaka. Some of these elements were taken and woven together with new components from the changing environments, to produce something that was new, yet still tied to traditions. Although the marae and wharenuī/wharepuni of the late 20th and early 21st centuries may differ markedly in some respects to those of the 18th century, nevertheless there are threads that tie the present to the past in ways that ensure their continuation into the future.

³⁴⁶ 1903, pp.9-11.

³⁴⁷ 1903, p.9.

³⁴⁸ 1903, p.11.

³⁴⁹ 1903, pp.11-12.

³⁵⁰ Clark, 1903, pp.11-12.

³⁵¹ Walker, 1990, p.188.

3.4.2 Musket Wars and their Effect on Whare Building and Carving:

New technologies and goods, including agricultural methods became popular with locals, with some such as Hongi Hika making a very good living from trading agricultural produce, often for muskets. This trade in muskets began early too, which was to have a large effect on Māori in years to come, exacerbating inter-tribal conflicts that had been generations in the making. The balance between tribes was upset by the power accorded those who had muskets over those who did not³⁵².



Figure 8 : Meeting of Augustus Earle and chief Hongi Hika, 1827.

Hongi Hika himself was to lead a major invasion southward in the early 1820s, which left many tribes decimated. In 1821, contentious Ngāti Whatua/Ngaoho/Waiohua leader, Apihai Te Kawau, lead the war expedition of ‘1000 miles’ from southern Kaipara to Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington) and back. It is recorded that Te Kawau and his “raiders killed and ate all the people they came across in these districts and that Te Kawau slept each night with a basket of human flesh for a pillow”³⁵³. The tribes of Hongi Hika and Te Kawau also fought against each other in the battle of Te Ika-rangi-nui (1825) – partly in retaliation for the Ngāpuhi defeat in the battle of Moremonui (1807) – resulting in the depopulation of the Tamaki isthmus, leaving the people scattered with many going south to shelter with Waikato

³⁵² Ballara, 1998.

³⁵³ Kerei, Oliver & Pihema, 1990.

kin³⁵⁴. These and other incidents of war resulted in a major re-dispersal of tribes in the North and South Islands³⁵⁵.

It has been commonly thought that the tribes of Te Taitokerau in the north, although “artistically wealthy in 1827” had “within a short time afterwards...lost it all [the carving arts]”³⁵⁶. There are many early descriptions of carved whare, pātaka, ornaments, weapons, canoes and so on, of artifacts seen in Tai Tokerau by visitors such as Augustus Earle and Cruise. Mead argues that “the art tradition of Te Taitokerau is among the richest and contains the most intriguing and possibly the earliest regional styles in Aotearoa”, and because of “the kinship with other traditions...the northern region has to be considered a possible dispersal point for the art of woodcarving”³⁵⁷. If the latter is true, then it seems somewhat of a mystery as to why the art and cultural practice seemed to die out there in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

Deirdre Brown offers a possible explanation for this, which is tied to factors of the Musket Wars (1818-1833). Hongi Hika, as with many northern chiefs, was also a tohunga whakairo (carving expert). Early contact with European traders and sailors initiated a desire for metal and iron tools, which were often used in the production of carvings, having the advantage over traditional tools of being able to keep a sharpened edge and generally being easier to use. Soon, the “desire for metal became so intense that Māori became involved in life-threatening and deceitful situations for its acquisition”³⁵⁸. However, by the second decade of the 19th century, muskets and gunpowder became the trading acquisitions most highly sought after. As mentioned above, those tribes with muskets came to have a major military advantage over those who did not, and due to Hongi Hika’s success in musket purchases, his and associated tribes were able to press home this advantage during the Musket Wars with considerable success. Consequently however, as so many Northern tohunga whakairo were engaged in war, and with the loss of many during those wars, carving began to decline. There are many reports from that era of carvers from other areas being seen in the Te Taitokerau area undertaking the work that was traditionally the domain of local experts. By 1831, it was reported by Laplace that:

³⁵⁴ See, for example, Fenton, 1879, p.73.

³⁵⁵ Ballara, 1990.

³⁵⁶ Mead, 1995, p.39.

³⁵⁷ 1995, p.35.

³⁵⁸ Brown, 2003, p.36.

Today the [carving] tools are of iron, and the natives work more quickly and easily, but they do not do any better for that. It appears that, on the contrary, their industry is deteriorating instead of improving. At least, I have not seen in New Zealand anything comparable to the superb huts or to the funeral monuments about which the navigators spoke last century³⁵⁹.



Figure 9 : Waka tūpāpaku/bone chests.

Thus it was that the Musket Wars heralded a major decline in carving in the Te Taitokerau area, with a major “shift that guns initiated *from cultural production to destruction*”³⁶⁰. Brown suggests that the missionary influence was twofold – firstly that they denigrated the ‘obscene’ and ‘heathen’ nature of the carvings seen, which often depicted, for example, figures engaged in copulation, or male figures with rampant and enlarged erections³⁶¹. The second influence was connected to Māori funerary practices. At that time and before, the traditions of haahu meant that bodies were left to decay, cleaned, and then placed in funerary caskets. Over time however, interment of the deceased became the regular practice, lessening yet another common carving task. In later years, the influence of the Ratana religion (which discouraged

³⁵⁹ In Brown, 2003, p.53.

³⁶⁰ Brown, 2003, p.39; my emphasis.

³⁶¹ 2003, pp.53-4.

carving practices) the loss of many whare during the New Zealand wars (1860s-1880s), added to the earlier shift from production to destruction, depopulation and missionary influence, meant that by the time of Renaissance Period Three (late twentieth century), carving was “largely abandoned” in Tai Tokerau³⁶². John Cresswell’s 1977 survey of Tai Tokerau meeting houses showed that only 12 of the 146 surveyed included carved embellishments³⁶³.

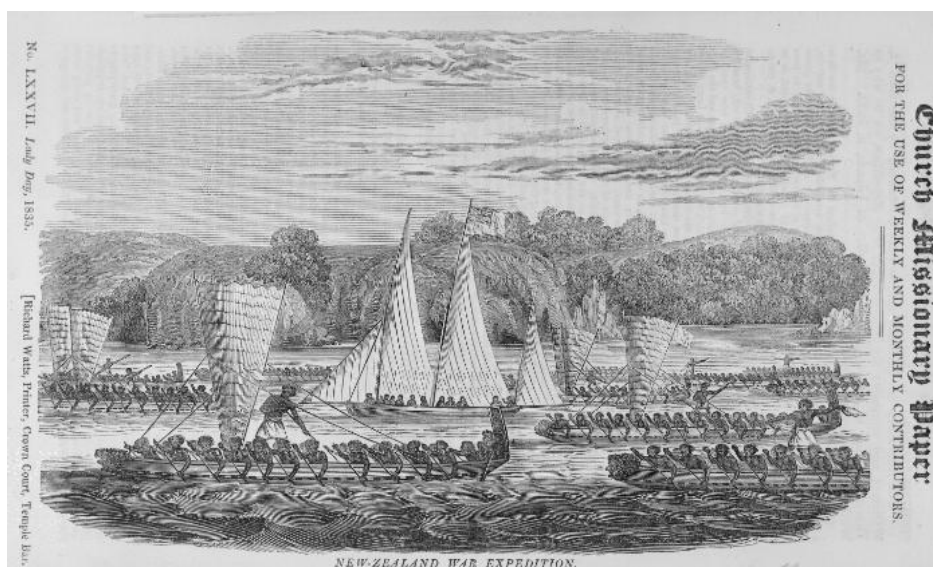


Figure 10 : Ngāpuhi war expedition to Tauranga, 1833.

Nevertheless, the arrival of European traders and settlers from the late eighteenth century heralded some quite profound changes in the spatial arrangement of villages and the size of houses. For a start, the increased number of visitors meant that permanent rather than temporary visitor lodgings were built³⁶⁴. Indeed, the introduction of new food crops such as potatoes lessened the need for seasonal movement, and the main villages themselves took on a more stable and substantial aspect³⁶⁵. So while the origins of marae are ancient, the form today has developed from contact with other cultures. For example, in 1820 Cruise described a house built specifically for any ‘white men’ who might wish to visit, and in 1840, a house

³⁶² Brown, 2003, p.63.

³⁶³ Brown, 2003, p.54.

³⁶⁴ Simmons, 1997, p.11; R. Walker, 1987, p.144.

³⁶⁵ Simmons, 1997, p.11.

sixteen metres long and nine metres wide was built for E.G. Wakefield of the New Zealand Company³⁶⁶.

Whare runanga (meeting or council houses) began to appear, eventually becoming the focal point of a marae *complex*³⁶⁷. This was a post-European development³⁶⁸ that nevertheless maintained strong links to pre-European tradition. Here we see the beginnings of the shift from defining the marae as an open space for community gatherings, to marae as a *complex of buildings* in which the whare runanga (also known as the whare tupuna or wharenui) was the central building. As inter-tribal meetings on issues such as land increased, meeting houses provided the political space for these discussions, although gatherings on the marae have always “played a central role in Māori policy-making”³⁶⁹.



Figure 11 : Wharenui at Otawhao Paa, built in commemoration of the taking of Maketu, 1847.

³⁶⁶ R. Walker, 1987, p.144.

³⁶⁷ R. Walker, 1987, p.143.

³⁶⁸ Simmons, 1997, p.11; R. Walker, 1987, p.144.

³⁶⁹ Salmond, 1994, p.29.

3.4.3 Missionary influence:

The missionaries were to instigate changes as well; firstly by requesting that houses be built for their use as a church. These structures were usually the largest in the village³⁷⁰, and were utilised for other purposes as well. Missionaries were very influential in areas such as the East Coast; with the return of some Ngāti Porou from slavery to Ngāpuhi tribes being negotiated successfully by missionaries in 1833. Newly converted to Christianity, these returnees were instrumental in paving the way for missionaries to establish mission stations on the East Coast, and the first service by an Anglican clergyman was held on the East Coast by Rev. Williams and Rev. Yates on 8th January 1834³⁷¹. In 1839, George Clarke Jnr accompanied Rev. Williams and his family to establish a mission station at Turanga (Poverty Bay). At Waiapu, Clarke wrote, they found “as wonderful a congregation as ever assembled for Christian worship”³⁷². Clarke described the church already erected there as “a fine specimen of Māori architecture”³⁷³, and Walker considered that “the villagers honoured the Church by building larger than normal houses for worship and decorating them in the manner of the houses of chiefs”³⁷⁴.

While the missionaries generally supported tribal interests however, they did not want to sustain Māori customs and beliefs; they may have supported Māori rights to self-determination, yet ultimately their goal was the assimilation of Māori people into European lifestyles and religions. Thus it is no surprise that many missionaries took offence at the supposedly ‘barbaric’ artwork embellishing large whare; not only for their ‘frightening’ physical aspects, but also for the ‘heathen’ stories they portrayed. Some whare were stripped of their carvings, especially in the north of the North Island where the missionary influence was first established and very strong. Other whare were denuded of carvings during the New Zealand Wars by government troops, with whare often being burnt down. These carvings were often buried in places such as swamps, as due to their sacred nature, they could not just be arbitrarily discarded³⁷⁵.

³⁷⁰ Simmons, 1997, p.15; Walker, 1987, p.144.

³⁷¹ R. Walker, 2001, p.40.

³⁷² 1903, p.30.

³⁷³ 1903, p.31.

³⁷⁴ 2001, p.41.

³⁷⁵ Mead, 1995.

3.4.4 Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi:

The loss of thousands of lives through disease and warfare, the increasing lawlessness of the visiting sailors and initial settlers in places such as Kororareka in the north, intensifying demands for lands and increasing conflict, led to calls from both Māori and colonial leaders for some form of legal and governing structures. Māori themselves were not passive in this process, and already many debates had taken place on marae throughout the country. Tribal leaders recognised that some control had to be put on colonisation, having already experienced major losses in people and resources.

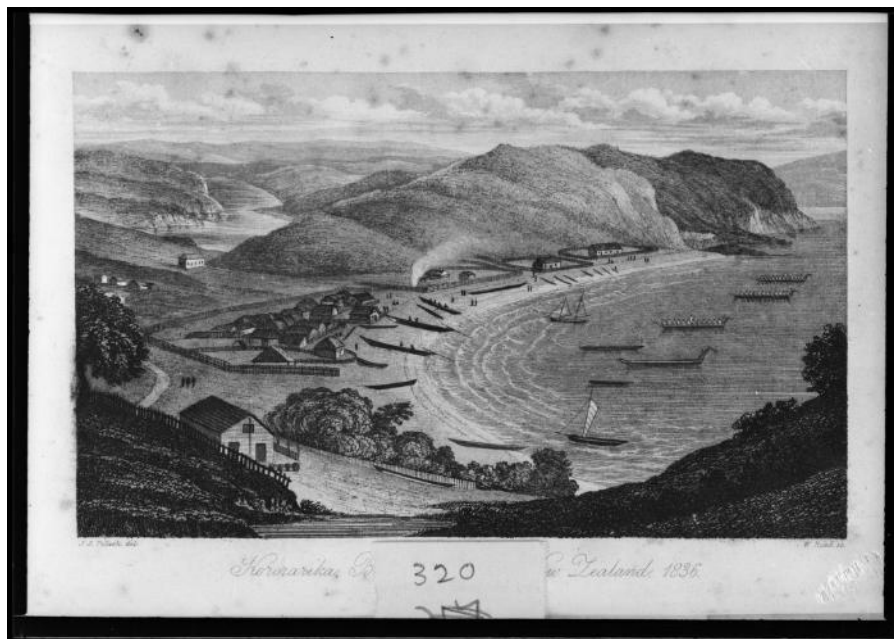


Figure 12 : Kororareka, Bay of Islands, 1838.

The Declaration of Independence, formulated with the aid of James Busby, was signed by the Confederation of Chiefs (mainly northern chiefs) in 1835. This move was partly influenced by the actions of Frenchman, Charles de Thierry, who sought to set up a “sovereign and independent state” in the Far North³⁷⁶. It soon became clear however, that this wasn’t enough. Although formally acknowledged by the Crown in 1836, the Declaration of

³⁷⁶ State Services Commission, 2005a, p.6.

Independence nevertheless “had very little practical effect”³⁷⁷. Further negotiation between Busby and tribal chiefs led to the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. The British agenda was fourfold – to keep other European nations out, control the land trade, control settler activities and colonisation, and protect Māori³⁷⁸.

Governor Hobson arrived in 1839, expressly for the purpose of claiming New Zealand for a British colony with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Many chiefs saw the Treaty as working well in their favour where they would retain control over all their taonga (treasures) and maintain their rangatiratanga (chieftainship/autonomy), while enjoying the new technologies and other advances contact brought them. The Treaty was signed by around 500 Māori chiefs during nine months from February 6th 1840, although there were also those who wouldn’t sign. There were also differences in translation between the Māori and English versions of the Treaty, and those Māori who signed, did so on the strength of the Māori version. Unfortunately it was the English version that took precedence over the coming decades, and it is also important to note that there were at least five English versions sent to England by Hobson over those initial months³⁷⁹. There were different treaties signed on different days by different chiefs in different parts of the country in different languages.

There were however, three main articles to the Treaty – Article One transferred Māori sovereignty to the British Crown in the English version, but kawanatanga (governorship) in the Māori one. Article Two promised Māori “full exclusive and undisturbed”³⁸⁰ property rights in English compared with tino rangatiratanga in Māori – two quite distinct and different concepts. Tino rangatiratanga contained references to Māori retention of control over all their ‘taonga’ (treasures/resources), which includes intangibles such as culture and language, as well as economic rights. Article Three promised Māori all rights of British citizenship.

The Treaty of Waitangi had the potential to unite at least two peoples in one land, within a society where the needs of all were considered. However, as Kelsey wrote in 1984 – “For a century and a half, British imperial and colonial legislators have passed a sequence of laws which consistently violate guarantees given to Māoris under the Treaty”. She goes on to say that within the governmental system that arose here, “there was no place for things

³⁷⁷ State Services Commission, 2005a, p7.

³⁷⁸ State Services Commission, 2005a.

³⁷⁹ See, for example, Ruth Ross 1972, and Claudia Orange 1987 and 1992, for a full discussion of the difficulties and conflicts regarding the Treaty of Waitangi in its conception and translation.

³⁸⁰ Cited from the original Treaty text, in Te Puni Kokiri, 2001, p.10.

Māori”³⁸¹. In that century and a half, Māori suffered immense land alienation, severe cultural decimation, and many other negative effects associated with colonisation. Māori were marginalised in their own land. It was an overt intention of the colonial government to gain control of land and resources, and also the detribalisation of the Māori; or as said by parliamentarian Henry Sewell in 1870 – “to destroy, if possible the principles of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions”³⁸². The Treaty came to have little meaning in this new world, and indeed was described by Chief Judge Prendergast in 1877³⁸³ as a “legal nullity”. By 1900, there were an estimated 40,000 Māori left, and the colonial administration saw it as their task to ‘smooth the pillow of a dying race’³⁸⁴. Urbanisation post-World War II saw many of those Māori left move to the cities for work, and the lessening of Māori culture and all its inherent practices, including language and art, continued.



Figure 13 : First Government House at Auckland, 1842.

³⁸¹ In Spoonley, Pearson & MacPherson, 1996, p.136.

³⁸² Cited in Webster, 1998a.

³⁸³ In ‘Wi Parata V Bishop of Wellington’ – a landmark case concerning the gifting of land for a school by the NgātiToa tribe; land which was later given to the Bishop of Wellington by the Crown, although a school was never built there. C.J Prendergast wrote that “On the foundation of this colony, the aborigines were found without any kind of civil government, or any settled system of law” (NZJR, 1878, Vol 3: 77) – evidence to help support his contention that the Treaty of Waitangi was a ‘legal nullity’ without “any judicial or constitutional role in government” (State Services Commission, 2005c, p.14).

³⁸⁴ Durie, 1998.

3.5 Post-treaty Conflict:

3.5.1 Warfare:

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi was to bring many social and economic benefits to many Māori tribes, with participation in the newly arisen society through production of labour and resources. Contributions to internal supplies of produce as well as export products, aided in helping to fill the fledging government's coffers. However, there were those who became increasingly concerned that British rule was of more detriment to tribal rangatiratanga and mana. For some leaders of northern tribes, dissatisfaction grew as economic losses were incurred with, for example, the shifting of the capital from Kororareka to Auckland, increased levies and customs duties, and loss of land sales through the Treaty's pre-emption clause³⁸⁵.



Figure 14 : Ngāpuhi chiefs Hone Heke and Patuone, 1847.

Noted Ngāpuhi leader, Hone Heke, was one of those who protested against British dominion in the 1840s³⁸⁶. Heke attended the missionary school at Kerikeri in 1824-25, and was baptized into the Anglican faith along with his wife, Riria, in 1835, as well as being the first of

³⁸⁵ Kawharu F.R., 1990.

³⁸⁶ Although this example of post-Treaty warfare focuses on northern chiefs, there were others throughout the country who expressed similar dismay at British rule, such as Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha of the Wellington areas, as well as other chiefs in Wanganui.

the Northern chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi on 6th February 1840. Nevertheless, by 1844, it “became evident to Heke that chiefly authority was becoming subservient to that of the British Crown. The British flag became a symbol of Māori despair”³⁸⁷. Thus it was that Heke cut down the flagpole and its offending symbol four times on 8th July 1844, 10th and 19th January 1845, and 11th March 1845.



Figure 15 : Attack on Okaihau pa of Hone Heke, May 8th 1845.

Prior to this, Heke had joined forces with Ngatihine chief Kawiti; an experienced war chief who had fought alongside Hongi Hika in the Musket Wars. Tawai Kawiti³⁸⁸ stated that their joining was preceded by Heke’s taking of a “ngakau”³⁸⁹ - a dung-smeared mere - to Kawiti, meaning that “Someone had defiled the mana of Ngāpuhi and such a challenge must be met!”. Heke and Kawiti, along with Te Kapotai troops of Waikare, engaged with British troops in the sacking of the town of Kororareka on 10th and 11th March 1845, causing Governor Fitzroy to call on New South Wales for yet more troops. Chiefs such as Tamati

³⁸⁷ Kawharu F.R., 1990.

³⁸⁸ Kawiti, T., 1956, p.38.

³⁸⁹ Kawiti (1956, p38) explained that the ‘ngakau’ was a “signal for the mobilization of all fighting men”, and could be in a variety of forms such as the mere given to Kawiti, or in the form of a pig that was killed and dispersed to warriors throughout the district.

Waka Nene, who were sympathetic to their Pākehā contemporaries as well as wanting to settle old scores³⁹⁰, joined in the fight against the troops of Heke and Kawiti however. Waka Nene attacked Heke's pa in a series of skirmishes in April/May 1845, with British attacks at Puketutu, Okaihau and Ohaewai.



Figure 16 : Landing of British troops to attack Waikare paa, Bay of Islands, 16th May 1845.

Although wounded in the battle at Omapere, Heke continued his fight, penning several letters to Governor Fitzroy and his replacement Governor George Grey (in November 1845), as well as missionaries. Governor Grey took a tougher stance against the native rebels than did Fitzroy, and thus Heke was more demanding of Grey. He wrote in one letter:

God made this country for us. It cannot be sliced; if it were a whale it might be sliced. Do you return to your own country, which was made by God for you. God made this land for us; it is not for any stranger or foreign nation to meddle with this sacred country³⁹¹.

The last battle between British troops and those of Heke and Kawiti was to occur at Ruapekapeka pa in early 1846. This well fortified pa ensured that this battle was not be an easy

³⁹⁰ Kawiti, 1956, pp.41-42.

³⁹¹ Cited in Kawharu F.R, 1990.

one, and Tawai Kawiti³⁹² described pihareinga, or dugouts shaped like underground calabashes capable of housing up to 20 warriors. However, Colonel Despard along with 1100 British troops assaulted Ruapekapeka, eventually taking the almost empty pa on 11th January. Clarke stated that “Heke’s war stands quite alone in the history of our struggles with the Māori race; alone in its magnanimity, its chivalry, its courtesy”³⁹³. Heke and Kawiti were pardoned by Governor Grey, although peace wasn’t made with Kawiti until June 1846, with Heke finally accepting peace offers in 1848 – two years before his death - with the presentation of his greenstone mere to Governor Grey. While this peace offering acknowledged an acceptance by Heke of the British presence and governance in New Zealand, Heke also saw that by Grey’s receipt of the gift, “Grey was also accepting the responsibility of trusteeship”³⁹⁴.

3.5.2 Te Hau-ki-Turanga:

Thus it was that continuing change was inevitable for Māori tribes within the rapidly expanding and transforming social and cultural landscape they shared with European visitors who could now claim to be people of this land, if not exactly tangata whenua. Some Māori tribes and individuals prospered, while others declined; falling prey to warfare, disease, poverty, land alienation, and cultural negation. An informant of George Grey, Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke (Ngāti Rangi-Wewehi, Te Arawa), appears to lament the passing of much of the old knowledge in a manuscript written in 1853. Although he details many of the ancestral traditions, Te Rangikaheke wrote:

The customs written in this book were extremely important customs in their own right, at the time when the hearts of the men observing these customs believed in them....At this time the enlightenment of the exceptional man who was crucified reached this part of the world. The heart followed those doctrines immediately....And so, [those traditions of former times] are without power today³⁹⁵.

Moves of resistance such as that of Heke and Kawiti continued from the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, yet resistance to overwhelming change was implemented

³⁹² 1956, p.42.

³⁹³ 1903, p.92.

³⁹⁴ Kawharu F.R., 1990.

³⁹⁵ Translation in Curnow, 1985.

through other mediums as well. Changes in cultural customs included those in art and material culture, which were “the more obvious expression of deeper changes in Māori thought and attitudes towards the natural and supernatural worlds”³⁹⁶. A noted chief of Rongowhakaata, Raharuhi Rukupo, was initially welcoming of the missionaries, but before long he came to distrust them after seeing the ways in which mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) was crumbling following indoctrination to Christianity. Walker writes that Rukupo “saw no benefit in gaining Pākehā knowledge if in the process Māori people lost pride in their own traditions”³⁹⁷. This was despite Rukupo’s own indoctrination into Christianity, and that he was acting as a lay-teacher for the Turanga mission under Rev. Williams from 1843³⁹⁸.

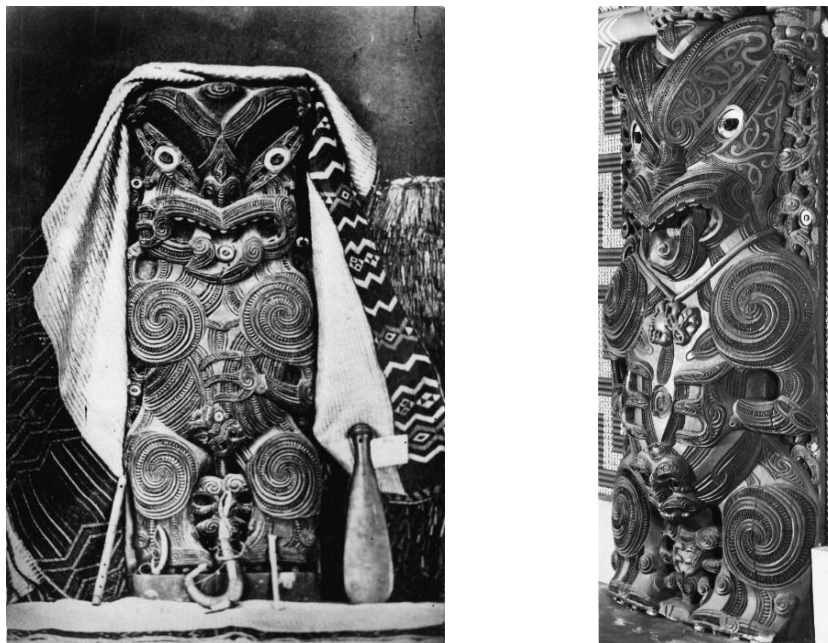


Figure 17 : Carvings from *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* whareniui, while in the Dominion Museum.

In 1842, Rukupo began carving the meeting house, *Te Hau-ki-Turanga*, as a statement of his resistance and a “symbol of mana Māori Motuhake”³⁹⁹. The whare was 16.9 metres long and 5.5 metres wide. It is recorded in oratory and literary history that Rukupo carved *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* in commemoration of his brother, Tamati Waka Mangere; a former prominent rangatira of Ngāti Kaipoho. Harrison and Oliver state that “Te Hau ki Turanga was the

³⁹⁶ Neich, 1994, p.89.

³⁹⁷ 2001, p.43.

³⁹⁸ Brown, 1996, p.10.

³⁹⁹ Walker, 1990, p.188.

embodiment of the spirit, which drove him [Rukupo] after his brother's death, and a symbol through which Rukupo inspired his people”⁴⁰⁰.

Te Hau-ki-Turanga was later confiscated in retaliation for war against the British, although there remains controversy surrounding the confiscation or possible forced sale of Rukupo's wharenui. *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* now resides in the Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa (Mana Whenua exhibition) as the only remaining example of carved meeting houses from the 1840s. Although suffering cultural decontextualisation in its early years at the then-Dominion Museum, *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* came again to prominence through its use by Sir Apirana Ngata as the prototype for his “re-invention of the Māori meeting house” during Renaissance Period Two⁴⁰¹.



Figure 18 : Carved self-portrait of Raharuhi Rukupo,

Te Hau-ki-Turanga is now considered to be the ‘prototype’ of the modern meeting house, as the underpinning philosophies guiding Rukupo's work was to preserve tribal histories and genealogies for future generations, thereby ensuring that the knowledge would

⁴⁰⁰ Cited in Rongowhakaata Trust Board, 2001, p72.

⁴⁰¹ Brown, 1996, p16.

not be lost⁴⁰². Over 40 carved pou depict noted ancestors of Rongowhakaata, while tukutuku panels and kowhaiwhai rafter patterns also conserve tribal knowledge in their designs. The frontal pillar, the poutokomanawa, symbolizes the chief, the “living embodiment of the tribal ancestor”⁴⁰³, thereby also affirming the unbroken connection through the generations to that of the present.

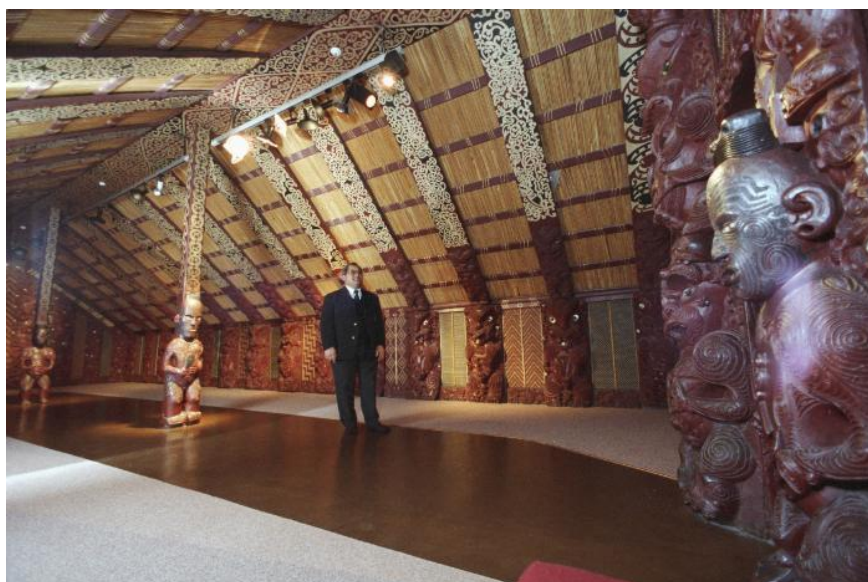


Figure 19 : *Te Hau-ki-Turanga*, 1992.

Rukupo continued to be an influential carver, being involved in the carvings for the church at Manutuke, and was instrumental in the carving and erection of the first fully carved meeting house for Te Arawa⁴⁰⁴. Brown writes that Rukupo and his fellow carvers appropriated aspects of Pākehā culture into their carving practices. New competence in literacy enabled the addition of written names under some of the carvings. Brown also cites Neich’s 1993 discussions on the symmetries of some of the kowhaiwhai to show the possible use of templates in the construction of *Te Hau-ki-Turanga*. Reverend Williams recorded that chalk was used by carvers in the construction of the earlier Manutuke church in 1842⁴⁰⁵. Although these carvers were trained in traditional wānanga (schools of learning) and learned traditional

⁴⁰² Walker, 2001, p.43.

⁴⁰³ Walker, 1990, p.189.

⁴⁰⁴ Simmons, 1997, p.19.

⁴⁰⁵ 1996, pp.10-12.

methods, they were not averse to using these traditions innovatively and adding to them as the creative process unfolded.



Figure 20 : *Te Mana-o-Turanga*.

Te Mana-o-Turanga was carved by the people of Rongowhakaata as a replacement for *Te Hau-ki-Turanga*, in order to “assist the iwi in overcoming their grief at the loss of *Te Hau-ki-Turanga*”⁴⁰⁶. Although some of the carvings were begun in 1843, with some of the carving being done by Rukupo, the whare was not completed and erected until after his death. This whare has “long been famous for the outstanding naturalistic carvings that tell many local legends in explicit and literal detail”⁴⁰⁷. One of the whare at Manutuke Marae is named *Te Poho-o-Rukupo*, and was built in 1878 by Rukupo’s younger brother in his honour. Thus, Rukupo came to influence aspects of carving and whare construction in important ways both in his lifetime, and as we will see, for generations after his death in 1873.

3.5.3 Manutuke Church(es) and the Influence on Whare Embellishment:

The incursions of missionaries such as Rev. William Williams into the East Coast directed a flurry of church building in the surrounding areas. All these were built along the

⁴⁰⁶ Rongowhakaata Trust Board, 2001, p.64.

⁴⁰⁷ Neich, 1994, p.276.

lines of classical Māori architecture, but of a larger and grander scale. Clarke⁴⁰⁸ described his visit to Turanga (Poverty Bay) and along the coast, with Rev. Williams and his family in 1837, portraying the church at Waiapu (near East Cape) as mentioned previously. Clarke considered that:

Mr Williams gave them a quiet sensible sermon, to which they listened in rapt attention. This was the place, and these were the people that gave name to the diocese, and Mr. Williams liked nothing better than to be known in after years as the Bishop of Waiapu⁴⁰⁹.

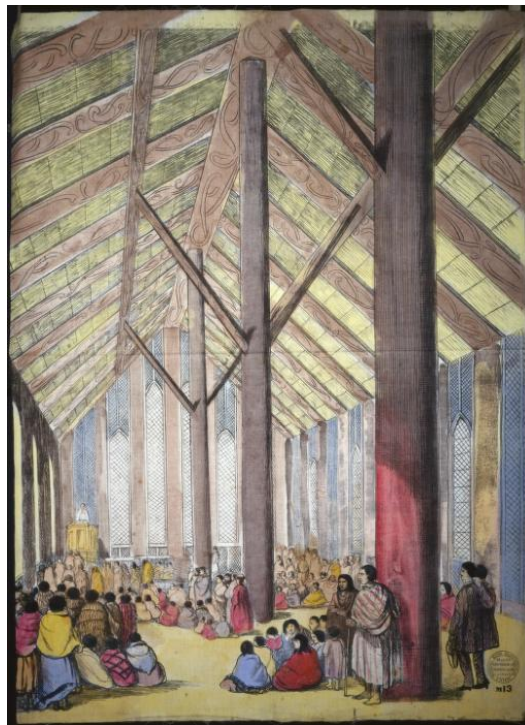


Figure 21 : View inside Rangiatea Church, Otaki, 1850s or 1860s.

A church was built at Kaupapa in 1840, and was used for services until it was destroyed by a storm at the end of 1842. James Stack, who visited the church early in 1842, described it as “the most striking object about the place. It was the loftiest building I had yet met with”⁴¹⁰. A church was built at Orakaipu Pa in 1841, and another at Otaki in the late 1840s. Williams considered that the latter church was the catalyst that pushed the Poverty Bay tribes to rebuild

⁴⁰⁸ 1903, pp.28-31.

⁴⁰⁹ 1903, p.33.

⁴¹⁰ Stack, 1935, p.1421; cited in Neich, 1994, p.81.

the church of Kaupapa at the nearby site of Whakatō (Manutuke)⁴¹¹. Unlike most of the other churches in the area, the people determined to produce a fully carved and embellished church, showcasing the art for which they were renowned.

Work on the church began ardently in July of 1849, but a controversy arose that was to mar the establishment of this church, as well as influence greatly carving traditions both there and nationwide. Initial enthusiasm waned as conflict arose between Rev. William Williams and the carvers working on the project. On August 23rd, Williams wrote that “The natives have a wish to carve the posts with hideous figures which would give more the appearance of a heathen temple than of the house of God”⁴¹². Williams considered that the “posts carved in the old native style....as being improper to a christian place of worship”⁴¹³. After much discussion, including one with chief Te Waka Kurei who said that they would be laughed at if they were to give up their usual style of carving⁴¹⁴, it was finally agreed to modify the designs to suit the tastes of the missionary and his church. Williams then wrote that:

At last your old friend Wakakurei gave way and recommended a new pattern which is quite non descript exhibiting neither man beast or creeping thing but giving a very good specimen of native carving⁴¹⁵.

Te Waka Kurei and others came up with a new design called ‘Te Pitau-a-Manaia’; a proliferation of manaia figures that were at once innovative while still tied to tradition. This innovation was to extend to carving as well, as many famed carvers and artists such as Raharuhi Rukupo (who had earlier carved *Te Hau-ki-Turanga*), Natanahira and Te Keteiwi worked on this project alongside Kurei. Neich considers that “Williams’ interference had forced them to question their traditional assumptions about artistic form” to produce something quite unique⁴¹⁶. This innovation produced carvings that were “purely decorative, without any human figures that would have represented ancestors”. The panels produced were

⁴¹¹ In Neich, 1994, p.82.

⁴¹² In Neich, 1994, p.84.

⁴¹³ August 24th, Williams’ journal notes, in Neich, 1994, p.84.

⁴¹⁴ September 6th, Williams’ journal notes, in Neich, 1994, p.84.

⁴¹⁵ Williams in a letter to his son October 1849, in Neich, 1994, p.85.

⁴¹⁶ 1994, p.85.

covered with an abundance of these manaia designs that nevertheless were not representational in the manner of earlier carvings or paintings⁴¹⁷.

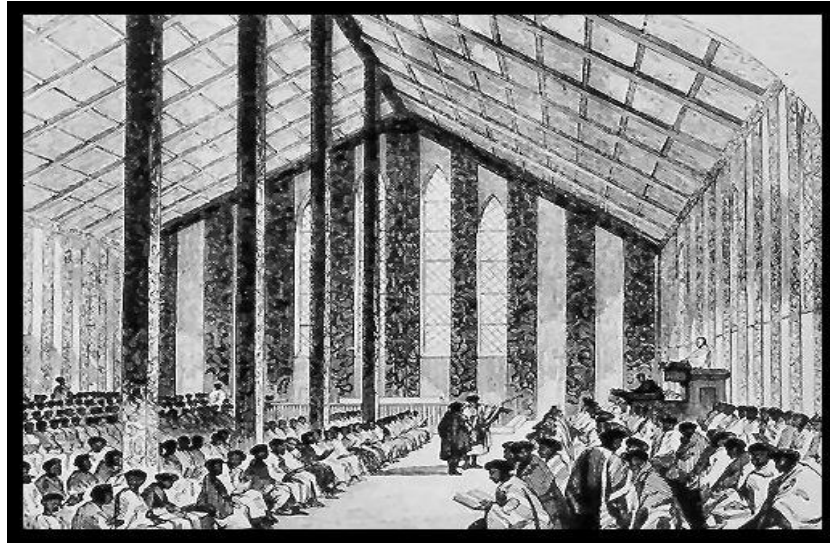


Figure 22 : Manutuke church, Turanga.

Nevertheless, the church at Manutuke did not profit overly from the constraints laid down by Williams. The church was not complete before Williams left for England in 1850, and indeed progress dropped-off until the 1860s, where a general refurbishment of East Coast churches encouraged the Rongowhakaata people to complete the Manutuke church. Although still incomplete, the church was opened in April 1863 to a large gathering of tribes from Poverty Bay, East Coast, Wairoa and Waikato⁴¹⁸. While Williams' objections and intervention came to influence artistic endeavours to a greater extent than he perhaps intended, it was Māori who had to make the compromise in order to 'fit' into the new context they found themselves in. Nevertheless, this 'artistic experimentation' was eventually to extend further afield from the local areas, and perhaps paved the way for further innovations which were to come.

While some of the earliest reports contain descriptions of highly decorated buildings that were usually the chief's house, social change wrought by the impact of new settlers to this land (especially political and religious changes), ensured striking and lasting changes to spatial and architectural designs of houses within tribal villages. They became larger, with more artistic

⁴¹⁷ Neich, 1994, p.85.

⁴¹⁸ Neich, 1994, pp.82-83.

embellishment that included changes to styles and symbolism of those embellishments, with “the development in the fully carved meeting house of the 1840s represent[ing] a major and dramatic change from the earlier period”⁴¹⁹. While retaining architectural traditions, the large communal meeting houses were no longer necessarily the chief’s house; a change that did not occur “until after some very drastic and revolutionary changes had altered the settlement pattern, the religion and the technology of the Māori”⁴²⁰. Large, embellished meeting houses came to be seen as a symbol of tribal honor and pride, as well as being a genealogical record for future generations. Drawing on the work of earlier scholars such as Groube (1964), Prickett (1974), and Mead (1984), Neich points out that while *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* is often considered the ‘prototype’ of the modern meeting house, it is perhaps more correct to see *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* as “just one stage in the ongoing development of the meeting-house concept”⁴²¹. More dramatic changes were to come in Renaissance Period One especially, whereas Renaissance Periods Two and Three called more for a return to the traditions of the past – some of which can nevertheless be said to have arisen post-contact.

3.6 Renaissance Period One:

3.6.1 The New Zealand Wars:

Durie writes that “Land is necessary for spiritual growth and economic survival”, and further, that a “key task for central government in the nineteenth century was creating and operating devices for separating Māori from their land”⁴²². Driven by the needs for funding infrastructure and the demands of increasing numbers of settlers, vast land alienation occurred, effected by government through legislation designed to hasten alienation of land from Māori into European hands. From 66,400 000 acres under tribal control in 1840, only 21,400 000 remained by 1860⁴²³. Māori leaders were increasingly agitated by these losses, compounded by the earlier and ongoing loss of life through warfare and disease.

In February 1860, martial law was declared by Governor Gore Browne. Unsuccessful efforts to purchase Māori land in Waitara were followed by the undermining of Waitara

⁴¹⁹ Neich, 1994, p.93.

⁴²⁰ Mead, 1984, p.71, in Neich, 1994, p.92.

⁴²¹ 1994, p.92.

⁴²² 1998b, pp.115 & 116.

⁴²³ Durie, 1998b.

rangatiratanga (chief) Wiremu Kingi, when Governor Browne announced that individual Māori could sell land without the consent of their chiefs. After Browne gained the agreement to sell part of the Waitara block by minor chief, Teira, Wiremu Kingi was left with no option but to defend the lands and mana of his people. Provocation of an “unjust war was set aside by Richmond’s [Taranaki land purchase commissioner] supremacist notions of European superiority over Māori, whom he was wont to dismiss in private as ‘niggers’”⁴²⁴.



Figure 23 : Donald McLean, Superintendent of Hawkes Bay, purchasing land in Wairoa, 1865.

The New Zealand Wars raged over much of the mid-North Island for around 12 years. Waikato, Bay of Plenty and East Coast tribes were also involved, with tribes (or parts of tribes) fighting for or against the Europeans⁴²⁵. Imperial troops were brought from England, although from 1865, the Colonial Office repeatedly called for withdrawal of these troops; a call consistently ignored by Governor George Grey, the penalty of which was loss of his governorship of New Zealand in 1868. Removal of British troops was seen as “the only way to cut costs and protect the Māori from overbearing treatment was to remove British troops,

⁴²⁴ R. Walker, 1990, pp.113-114.

⁴²⁵ For an in-depth look at the Wars, see, for example, James Belich’s *The New Zealand Wars* series (1986-2000), and *I Shall Not Die: Titokowaru’s War, New Zealand, 1868-9*(1989/93).

leaving the settlers with ‘the full burden of their own defence’ and responsibility for native policy”⁴²⁶.

3.6.2 Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki:

At this time, several Māori came to prominence, not least of which was Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki (Ngāti Maru of Rongowhakaata). Born around 1814, Te Kooti’s arrival was predicted by Te Toiroa of Nukutaurua, who said if certain events were to come to pass, “then evil would come to the land”⁴²⁷. Indeed, in his younger days, Te Kooti was denigrated by senior chiefs for his perceived lawlessness, which earned him prominent enemies of both races – thereby confirming predictions of “the evil from which he was to be rescued by divine intervention”⁴²⁸. This was despite Te Kooti’s early attendance of the Whakatō Anglican Mission, and his desire to become a lay preacher. While most of Te Kooti’s hapū, Ngāti Maru, had converted to the Pai Marire religion in 1865, he and prominent chief Tamihana Ruatapu, had not.

Initially, Te Kooti fought against the Hauhau ‘rebels’ on the side of the government, yet was arrested as a spy for the first time in November 1865, then again in March 1866. Shortly after this, despite appeals to government agent, Donald McLean⁴²⁹, for a hearing of the accusations against him, Te Kooti was sent first to Napier, then on to the Chatham Islands with other Hauhau prisoners. All were detained without charge.

It was there in 1867 that Te Kooti was said to have received the visions and revelations from which he created the Ringatu ministry. In one visit from a spirit, a voice told Te Kooti that his crying had been heard by God. Despite being placed in solitary confinement, Te Kooti led daily prayer meetings with the other prisoners⁴³⁰. Originally known as ‘Te Wairua Tapu, the Holy Spirit’⁴³¹, the Ringatu name was first used on 10th July 1868, on the day of Te Kooti’s return to Poverty Bay after escaping from the Chatham Islands, along with around 300 others.

⁴²⁶ Tyler, 1990.

⁴²⁷ Binney, 1990.

⁴²⁸ Binney, 1990b.

⁴²⁹ It was McLean, according to Ward (1990), who “clearly carries the responsibility for permitting Browne to accept the offer of land at Waitara”, and thereby providing the reason for the initial outbreak of war in 1860.

⁴³⁰ Binney, , 1990b.

⁴³¹ Binney, 1995, p.1.

Here, Te Kooti said the “people would no longer kneel at prayer. Their homage to God would be the raising of the hand [Ringa-tu] at the end of the prayers”⁴³².

Despite pleas from Te Kooti that the prisoners be allowed to peacefully settle inland, government forces, led by those such as Reginald Biggs (Gisborne magistrate), determined to recapture them. Biggs had also been involved in Te Kooti’s continued incarceration on Wharekauri, and had taken land previously owned by Te Kooti at Matawhero to settle on. In 1865, Biggs had deliberately shot Pita Tamaturi, protégé of Raharuhi Rukupo. These matters, along with Biggs’ destructive land administration, won him Te Kooti’s ire. On 10th November 1868, Biggs and several others including his family were killed by Te Kooti’s forces at Matawhero. On 12th November, Te Kooti killed Paratene Pototi and other chiefs, at Otewa pa. These deaths were said to have fulfilled Te Kooti’s need for ‘utu’ over the betrayal leading to his incarceration, although they gained him some significant Māori enemies⁴³³.



Figure 24 : Pai māriri karakia being held by Hauhau soldiers at Tataroa, regarding the fate of their prisoners, 1865.

From 1868 until 1871, Te Kooti clashed with government forces, including Māori parties such as those led by Rapata Wahawaha of Ngāti Porou⁴³⁴. Te Kooti was victorious in many instances, and his renown as a warrior grew. Concurrently, his Ringatu ministry grew

⁴³² Binney, 1990b.

⁴³³ Binney, 1990b.

⁴³⁴ Rapata Wahawaha was the mentor of Paratene Ngata, father of Apirana Ngata, and of Apirana himself. See R. Walker, 2001.

also, with some tribes such as Ngāti Maru becoming convinced of his “divine retributive power”, although some were prompted to support Te Kooti somewhat because of fear of him⁴³⁵.



Figure 25 : *Tokanga-nui-a-noho*, 1884.

Te Kooti’s relationship with the leaders of the Kingitanga was conflicted, with no initial support coming to Te Kooti. Although some Kingitanga adherents such as Rewi Maniapoto did support him at a later time, this support was withdrawn following Te Kooti’s defeat on 25th September 1869. Similarly, defeat in the battle at Te Porere on 4th October terminated his coalition with Tuwharetoa troops. Though Tuhoe hapū had made formal commitment to Te Kooti’s cause on 20th March 1869, the government’s ‘scorched earth’ tactics against Tuhoe villages in April of that year considerably lessened Tuhoe’s ability to provide a haven for Te Kooti and his followers. By 1873 however, Te Kooti came to abide by the pacifist policies of King Tawhiao and the Waikato tribes. In September of that year, Te Kooti began building the wharenui that was to be known as *Te Tokanga-nui-a-noho* (see above), which was gifted to chiefs of Ngāti Maniapoto⁴³⁶. Importantly, the history told on the wharenui walls

⁴³⁵ Binney, 1990b.

⁴³⁶ Binney, 1990b.

of *Te Tokanga-nui-a-noho* was done in figurative painting; a style that was to be influential in the decades following.

Binney writes:

Te Kooti is a figure in Māori 19th-century history around whom conflicting traditions have developed....one body of thought...that Te Kooti was a martyr, unjustly imprisoned by a colonial system which brought war to Māori tribes in order to dispossess them. There is another quite different view...that he was the most ruthless of Māori leaders⁴³⁷.



Figure 26 : Te Kooti's sacred house, *Ko Whakaari Eripi*, Urewera, 1891.

Te Kooti was the founder of the Ringatu religion, warrior, healer, preacher, and prophet. After being formally pardoned in 1883, Te Kooti founded religious communities at Otewa and Ohiwa, and continued to spread the messages of Ringatu. Several wharehau were built in his honour, including that of *Rahiri* (1885) at Te Waimana in Tuhoe country, as “a symbol of allegiance to Te Kooti Arikirangi”⁴³⁸. Others such as *Tutamure*⁴³⁹ (Whakatohea tribe, opened 1901) recorded battles with Te Kooti in figurative painting⁴⁴⁰. Regardless of how one may view

⁴³⁷ 1995, p.1.

⁴³⁸ Sissons, 1998, p.37.

⁴³⁹ For photos of the *Tutamure* paintings, see Neich, 1994, plate 30, and Amoamo, Tupene & Neich, 1984.

⁴⁴⁰ Amoamo, Tupene & Neich, 1984, p.7.

Te Kooti, it is undeniable that he will ever be a prominent figure in Māori and Aotearoa New Zealand history.

3.6.3 Carving:

Although there was an increase in the building of wharenui during and especially in the two decades following the New Zealand Wars, during the wars, many whare were destroyed in the fighting – often deliberately by government troops as punishment for ‘rebellion’. In Taranaki, most of the carved whare that survived the destruction of the Wars were deliberately buried, and there were few Taranaki carvers left⁴⁴¹. Mead wrote that all Ngāti Awa wharenui built before the 1860s were razed by Māori and Pākehā soldiers fighting for the government⁴⁴². The earliest Ngāti Awa houses still in existence today are *Mataatua*⁴⁴³ (1872-4), and *Hotunui* (1878). Not long after, carving by Ngāti Awa was “interrupted”, and they “virtually ceased carving”, leaving it to those such as the Kapua whānau of Ngāti Tarawhai to embellish the houses in their region⁴⁴⁴.

Nevertheless, there was an upsurge in building during and after the Wars with whare runanga (council houses) and the like, often symbolizing “Māori resistance to European encroachment”⁴⁴⁵. Spatial arrangements in less remote villages changed, with the building of more European-style houses, and the addition of shops, resulting in a shifting of focus from the chief’s house as the core of the village. Instead, although a “distinctly Māori meeting-house evolved”⁴⁴⁶, meeting houses and the marae they were part of became – deliberately or not – relegated to the periphery of villages. As Salmond notes further, “The marae was becoming a special place, deliberately set apart; a symbolic place which visibly stated the survival of Māoritanga”⁴⁴⁷.

Although carving and carvers had diminished in numbers through warfare and such, there were still several prominent carving schools in areas such as in Wanganui, and the Ngāti Raukawa school in Aotearoa pa near Te Awamutu. Both Te Arawa and the Wanganui tribes

⁴⁴¹ Simmons, 1997, p.22.

⁴⁴² 1995, p.26.

⁴⁴³ For photos of *Mataatua* wharenui, see Mead, 1995, p.95.

⁴⁴⁴ Mead, 1995, p.113.

⁴⁴⁵ Salmond, 2004, pp.80-81.

⁴⁴⁶ Salmond, 2004, p.81.

⁴⁴⁷ Salmond, 2004. p.81.

had fought mainly on the side of the government, and most of the lands of Te Arawa did not see much fighting during the Wars⁴⁴⁸. Because the economic base of the Whanganui tribes was more or less intact after the Wars, it therefore provided an environment in which “art could flourish”. By contrast, Taranaki lost many resources, which resulted in the “arrested development” of the carvings arts in this region⁴⁴⁹.



Figure 27 : Doorway of Government Tourist Department’s court – New Zealand International Exhibition, Christchurch 1906-1907.

Ngāti Tarawhai of Te Arawa has produced some of the most influential carvers and carving styles⁴⁵⁰. Neich notes that Christianity disrupted the authority of tohunga, and along with the early deaths of many tohunga through warfare, “some of the mantle of fear and awe normally reserved for the tohunga fell on the carvers”⁴⁵¹. As the tribe with the most information available on its carving traditions, carvers and carvings, Ngāti Tarawhai provided a priceless expression of the development of post-contact carving⁴⁵².

⁴⁴⁸ Mead, 1995, p.113.

⁴⁴⁹ Mead, 1995, p.64.

⁴⁵⁰ Mead, 1995; Neich, 2001. See also Neich, 2001, *Carved Histories: Rotorua Ngāti Tarawhai Woodcarving*.

⁴⁵¹ 2001, p.47.

⁴⁵² Neich, 2001, p.2. See Mead, 1995, p.119, figure 136, for photo of *Houmaitawhiti* built in the 1820s and carved by Wero of Ngāti Tarawhai and Pita Wharetoa of Ngāti Pikiao. *Houmaitawhiti* was

Some of these carvers moved around the country, carving houses in regions outside their own, because of the relatively low numbers of trained carvers. Mead provides a list of 38 structures carved by Ngāti Tararua, ranging from *Tumatawenga* (Otago, Bay of Islands) down to those carved for the 1906 Christchurch exhibition. They became “almost comparable to a guild of traveling craftsmen and...probably depended much more on carving for a living than any other group in the country”⁴⁵³. This helps explain why Ngāti Tararua carving traditions continued and flourished, where many did not⁴⁵⁴.

3.6.4 Figurative Painting:

While carving as an artistic medium continued, from the 1870s figurative painting came to be a popular embellishment for wharenui, especially in the eastern regions of the North Island. Following the New Zealand Wars, a revival of Māori arts and traditions (Renaissance Period One) unfolded as a reaction to the hardships of the Wars. As noted by Neich, this was “a period of intense political and religious realignment, as various tribal groupings sought to establish their historical identity”⁴⁵⁵, as well as deal with the losses and hardships resulting from the Wars. Although figurative painting was to become almost obsolete with a return to more ‘traditional’ arts⁴⁵⁶ in Renaissance Period Two, its influence as a means of expressing collective unity and identity amongst hapū and iwi is undeniable. Tribes were divided by war and religion, and the “ideology of group identity defined by a specific history replaced the expression of group identity based on descent”⁴⁵⁷. Through painting their successes and sorrows, tribes-people were able to record their historicity and therefore their place in that history.

Neich defines figurative painting as “that form of Māori representational painting that deals with figures of man, animals, plants and other objects of the natural and artificial world”⁴⁵⁸. Figurative painting then, “gave a new flexibility and eloquence” to the expression of

dismantled and removed from its original position at Maketu in 1860, and rebuilt at Otaramarae.

⁴⁵³ 1995, pp.119-120.

⁴⁵⁴ Neich, 2001, p.47.

⁴⁵⁵ 1994, p.2.

⁴⁵⁶ Neich, 1994, p.2.

⁴⁵⁷ Neich, 1994, p.15.

⁴⁵⁸ 1994, p.3.

“the people’s view of themselves and their place in the new world”⁴⁵⁹. Māori were exposed to European art from the early years of contact, and naturalistic drawings by Māori were common from that time. Neich posits that they learned this new form of expression – naturalistic paintings or drawings were not done before contact – initially through watching European artists and ethnographers such as those on the *Endeavour* (1769), Augustus Earle (1827) and George Angas (1844)⁴⁶⁰. The commonplace nature of figurative painting that arose from the 1870s however, took this expression to a new level, and there were also instances of combining the new medium of paint with the traditional arts of carving.



Figure 28 : *Kuramibirangi* meeting house, Ruatoki, Urewera.

Te Tokanga-nui-a-nobo was part of a ‘first phase’ of figurative painting that contained innovations carried to other regions, such as naturalistic flowers and plants, and use of polychrome colour schemes. *Te Mana-o-Turanga*, built in 1882, can be seen as signaling the end of the first phase, and the beginning of phase two. This wharehau combined naturalistic

⁴⁵⁹ Neich, 1994, p.2.

⁴⁶⁰ 1994, p.161.

paintings and naturalistic carvings. The wharenui *Rongopai* (1887) however, “emerges as the most important expression” of the second phase, as it “represents the first great synthesis of this diversity of traditions [and] because it inspired so many later houses”⁴⁶¹. While the paintings of the first phase mentioned above consisted of mainly naturalistic paintings, *Rongopai* combined the use of these as well as derivations of earlier figurative kowhaiwhai, and of figures used previously in carving.

A reason for the increased popularity of figurative painting was the fact that it was an art that one could literally begin by picking up a paintbrush. There were not the years of rigorous training as was required for carving, nor was there necessity for the learning of intricate rituals. As an emerging art, individuals could express themselves as they chose, and while painting styles developed, these occurred through the practice of the medium itself. There was no “long-established body of conventional symbolism that the student learnt and absorbed during his training”⁴⁶², so there was considerable freedom for self-expression.



Figure 29 : Kowhaiwhai patterns from *Porourangi* wharenui, Waiomatatini.

⁴⁶¹ Neich, 1994, p.185. For examples of painted embellishments in *Rongopai*, see Plate 29 in Neich, 1994.

⁴⁶² Neich, 1994, p.1.

For those same reasons however, figurative painting was viewed by some as “to be... tainted with European ideas and therefore...degenerate”⁴⁶³. Avid recorders of Māori society such as Elsdon Best and Augustus Hamilton virtually ignored figurative painting, with Hamilton being more interested in preserving ‘traditional’ Māori art. Even in later years, examples of figurative painting were given little notice, and by the second decade of the 20th century, figurative painting came to be “downgraded in a revival of ‘traditional’ Māori arts”⁴⁶⁴ by Apirana Ngata and cohorts. Nevertheless, there are many examples from the late 19th century of figurative painting, and while carving has again become more popular as ‘nga taonga o nga tupuna’, many wharenui built in the mid to late 20th century also feature figurative painting. When set amongst the context of the New Zealand Wars and the following two decades, figurative painting uniquely expressed the wider societal and historical context within which it arose.



Figure 30 : Exterior of *Te Whai-a-te-Motu* wharenui, Ruatahuna.

⁴⁶³ Neich, 1994, p.4.

⁴⁶⁴ Neich, 1994, p1.



Figure 31 : *Tanewbirinaki* built in 1886 for Te Kooti.

3.7 Renaissance Period Two:

3.7.1 Apirana Ngata - Early Influences:

In order to understand events in Renaissance Period Two, one must first look back again to the period of the New Zealand Wars. Apirana Ngata (Ngāti Porou) was one of the most significant and influential figures of Renaissance Period Two. There are many instances of historical convergence that came to influence the growth of the young Apirana, and that continued to influence his work as an adult until his death.

Apirana's father, Paratene Ngata, was born in 1849, and was adopted into the household of Rapata Wahawaha who was to become a prominent chief of Ngāti Porou. Paratene Ngata matured in a "rapidly changing social landscape of tribalism, traders and Christianity"⁴⁶⁵. The disparate tribes of Ngāti Porou were united under the direction of prominent chief, Uenuku, who also was the first to bring the Christian message to the Ngāti Porou region⁴⁶⁶. Several prominent Pākehā traders such as Jose Manuel established trading posts and stores in the area, which was to contribute to Ngāti Porou's propensity for agriculture, and the subsequent profits made from trading the produce in Auckland⁴⁶⁷.

Chief Uenuku's final decree before his death had included two guidelines – that the chiefs of Ngāti Porou must do all they could to keep the tribe unified, and that all strangers

⁴⁶⁵ R. Walker, 2001, p.41.

⁴⁶⁶ R. Walker, 2001, p.42.

⁴⁶⁷ R. Walker, 2001, pp.39 & 41.

(including Pākehā) to the Ngāti Porou region must be made welcome⁴⁶⁸. These factors were to impact on attitudes expressed by Rapata Wahawaha, and therefore on his protégé, Paratene Ngata. Wahawaha also “believed that education was important for the future wellbeing of his people”, and he therefore ensured that Paratene gained an education by sending him to missionary school at Waerengahika. Interestingly however, Wahawaha himself never learned to speak English⁴⁶⁹.

As relations between Māori and Pākehā degraded in the 1860s, movements such as Kotahitanga and the Kingitanga arose. Conflict developed in Ngāti Porou between those who supported such movements, and those who did not, such as Rapata Wahawaha. Walker wrote that the motives of those such as Wahawaha were aligned to the traditions of Ngāti Porou, such as “making alliances with other powerful chiefs to maintain the integrity of the tribe”⁴⁷⁰. By contrast, those who supported the Kingitanga “were doing something new, subordinating tribal politics under an overarching monarchy to generate sufficient inertia to counter the growing power of the Governor”⁴⁷¹. Nevertheless, the actions of those such as Wahawaha gained those who fought on the side of the Government the disparaging labels of ‘kūpapa’ (traitors) and ‘loyalists’ for years afterward.

Hoera Tamatatai of Te Whānau-a-Hinerupe (Ngāti Porou) and others who supported the Kingitanga, fought with Tainui in the final battle of the Waikato tribes in June 1864. While peace was made with some of these groups, others joined the Pai Marire movement that arose around prophet Te Ua Haumene and continued to fight against the government. Their war chant – “Te Atua Pai Marire, Hau! Hau!” – earned them the name they came to be most commonly known as; the Hauhau. When Hauhau forces arrived in the Waiapu Valley in 1864, civil war arose as opposing groups of Ngāti Porou (as well as members of other tribes) engaged in several battles, with Wahawaha and his contingent petitioning Donald McLean for government help⁴⁷².

Amnesty was offered to and accepted by Ngāti Porou fighters within the Hauhau in August 1865, but other Hauhau forces maintained their warlike stance, and participated in several other battles, such as that at Waerengahika in late 1865. Wahawaha and Paratene Ngata,

⁴⁶⁸ R. Walker, 2001, p.42.

⁴⁶⁹ R. Walker, 2001, pp.36 & 57.

⁴⁷⁰ 2001, p.44.

⁴⁷¹ 2001, p.44.

⁴⁷² R. Walker, 2001, pp.45-47.

along with 300 Ngāti Porou troops, fought with government troops at this battle. Te Kooti was at this time supposedly fighting on the side of the government⁴⁷³ and Paratene Ngata met up with Te Kooti as he was transporting food and munitions to the battlefield. Wahawaha and Ngāti Porou troops participated in several other battles for the government, such as that at Wairoa, and later pursued Te Kooti on his return to the area. They were part of the Māori and Pākehā troops who plundered the tribes of Tuhoe, following the ‘scorched earth’ policy of the government⁴⁷⁴.

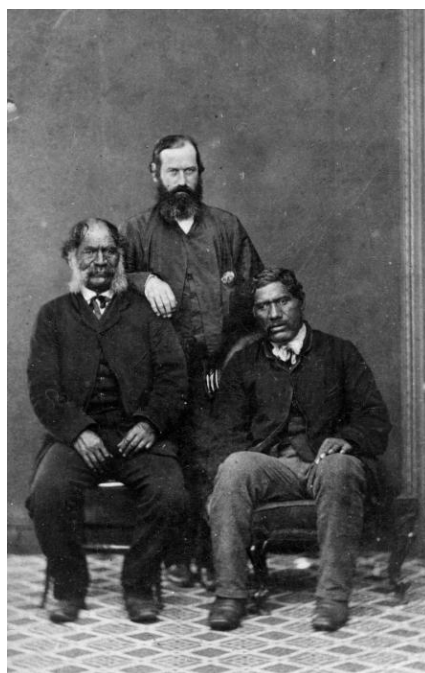


Figure 32 : Hori Kingi Te Anaua and John White with Te Ua Haumene (right); founder and prophet of the Pai māriri/Hauhau church, ca. 1860s.

In 1878, Major Rapata Wahawaha and other loyalist chiefs were presented with swords of honour from Queen Victoria by Governor George Bowen⁴⁷⁵. Mokena Kohere and Wiremu Tako Ngatata were appointed to the Legislative Council, and a general amnesty was recommended, with the release of political prisoners⁴⁷⁶. It is likely that events during this time,

⁴⁷³ Te Kooti was arrested as a spy in November 1865, and again in March 1866, after which time he was incarcerated on the Chatham Islands.

⁴⁷⁴ R. Walker, 2001, pp.48-52.

⁴⁷⁵ R. Walker, 2001, p.58.

⁴⁷⁶ Tyler, 1990.

which saw Rapata Wahawaha, Mokena Kohere and Paratene Ngata fighting in opposition to Te Kooti, influenced the actions of Apirana Ngata during Renaissance Period Two in the revival of Māori art. Apirana came to place emphasis on a return to the more ‘traditional’ arts of carving, while virtually ignoring figurative paintings which were closely associated with Te Kooti.

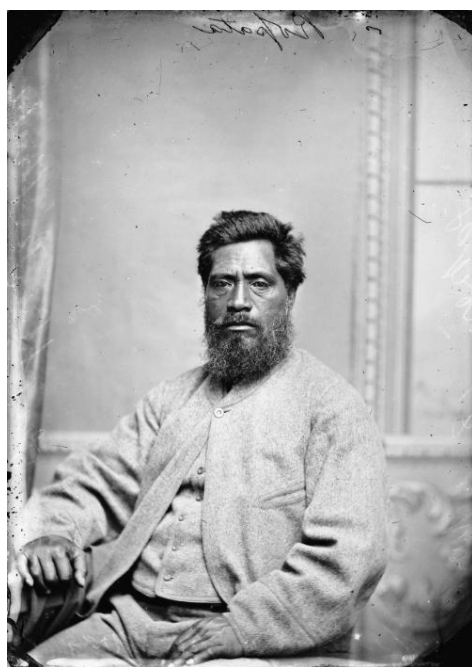


Figure 33 : Rapata (Ropata) Wahawaha – 1871

In December 1867, Paratene Ngata had married his relative, Katerina. Paratene served with the Armed Constabulary in the fight against Titokowaru in Taranaki in 1869. Despite his involvement in the wars however, Paratene had been industriously engaged in economic pursuits such as agriculture, trading and sheep farming. In 1873, Paratene and Katerina moved to Kawakawa, where Paratene set up a store, and with the improvement in the local economy, also supplied accommodation to visitors to the area⁴⁷⁷.

Although the couple started to flourish economically, they were still childless by 1873. Katerina was advised to seek the help of tohunga Hakopa, but as Paratene disdained the arts of the tohunga by this stage, he refused. She sunk into a depressive state following this – whakamomori – causing Paratene to reconsider, and shortly after they visited Hakopa at

⁴⁷⁷ R. Walker, 2001, p.53.

Rakaiwherehuka. After a complex of rituals was completed, Hakopa advised the couple that they would have only two children, sons, and cautioned Katerina to be careful during her pregnancies. He also predicted that upon the first son's birth, his own death would ensue. Apirana Turupā Nohopari Ngata⁴⁷⁸ was born on 3rd July 1874, and at the feast to celebrate his birth, word was received of the death of Hakopa. Walker wrote that:

These events surrounding the conception of Apirana Ngata, his birth and the death of the tohunga Hakopa, occurring as they did in the transition between te ao Māori and the world of modernity, are unlikely to happen again. They singled out Apirana Ngata as no ordinary person, unlike his brother Renata who was born two years later unheralded and unsung⁴⁷⁹.

The young Apirana grew amongst a wealth of knowledge, having Rapata Wahawaha and other members of his household to teach him the traditions of Ngāti Porou. Rapata Wahawaha and Paratene Ngata were “formidable role models” for Apirana, as they were now “the leading men of Ngāti Porou”⁴⁸⁰. Wahawaha became involved in the building of schools, establishing one at Waioamatatini, which Apirana attended when he was five years old. Through the efforts of his ‘grandfather’, Apirana learnt the importance of education, which was to continue throughout his life. Wahawaha had also been made a commander of the militia in Ngāti Porou, and became an assessor for law enforcement under the 1858 Native Courts Act⁴⁸¹.

When Wahawaha was presented with a British flag in 1871, he convened a meeting of Ngāti Porou hapū, including those who had fought with the Hauhau, during which loyalty to the Crown was affirmed. His goal was the reunification of Ngāti Porou, and when conflict seemed possible between adherents of the Ringatu faith (followers of Te Kooti) and Anglicans, it was decided to allow continued adherence to Ringatu, while all official ceremonies were performed by Anglican clergy. The whare tupuna, *Porourangi*, was built at Waioamatatini in order “to symbolise tribal unity across the religious divide”⁴⁸².

⁴⁷⁸ Apirana's first and third names came from the tuakana of Paratene, Apirana Nohopari, at that stage dead for five years. Turupā came from Paratene's foster sister, Meri Turei, after her daughter, Te Rina - R. Walker, 2001, p.56.

⁴⁷⁹ 2001, p.56.

⁴⁸⁰ R. Walker, 2001, p.56.

⁴⁸¹ R. Walker, 2001, p.58.

⁴⁸² R. Walker, 2001, p.58.

Meanwhile, Paratene Ngata was gaining mana through his dealings with the Native Land Courts, and his efforts to retain Ngāti Porou lands that were now under threat. Through his successes in this “new arena of battle”, Paratene was proving himself to be “the logical successor to Rapata Wahawaha in Ngāti Porou”⁴⁸³. Walker points out further that neither Rapata nor Paratene came from first-class chiefly lines of descent, but earned their standing and their mana through their deeds – “These men knew that mana derived from good breeding was no longer sufficient. Inherited mana now needed to be complemented with education and skills derived from the modern world”⁴⁸⁴. It is no surprise then that Apirana was sent to Te Aute College in 1883, at the age of nine. Apirana Ngata was molded from birth to take his place among the leaders of Ngāti Porou, and to help his people transition from Te Ao Kohatu (the old world) into Te Ao Hou (the new world).

3.7.2 Te Aute College and the Student Reformers:

Te Aute College was established by Samuel Williams (previously of the Church Missionary Society) in 1854, as an educational facility for Māori, initially from Ngāti Porou and Turanga. John Thornton’s appointment as headmaster in 1878 saw Te Aute move from primary education to a system that emulated English grammar schools, with an emphasis on pushing students towards university. Thornton was “the most influential role model in Apirana’s life”, and instilled in Apirana gentlemanly manners, the fluent and articulate use of the English language, the desirability of hard work, dedication to his Anglicanism, and a hearty appetite for learning⁴⁸⁵.

Ngata passed the university matriculation exam in 1890, and although some Ngāti Porou elders felt that alienation from his culture might result with further education in the Pākehā system, his closest elders – Rapata Wahawaha and Paratene Ngata – allowed him to go, with the proviso that Apirana return home for two years first. In this time, Apirana consolidated his cultural learning, before heading off to Canterbury University. Here, as at Te Aute College, Apirana excelled, eventually gaining a B.A. and LL.B, followed by an M.A. in 1894, and was admitted to the bar as a barrister and solicitor in 1897.

⁴⁸³ R. Walker, 2001, p.62.

⁴⁸⁴ 2001, pp.62-63.

⁴⁸⁵ R. Walker, 2001, pp.63-64.

While still at Te Aute College, Apirana's goal to "ameliorate the condition of the Māori people"⁴⁸⁶ was entrenched by the guidance of Thornton. Along with other past and present students, Apirana launched the Te Aute College Students Association (TACSA) in 1891, although it met with some apathy at the time. However, its re-launch a few years later was more successful, as with the added support and mentoring by those such as Thornton, Samuel Williams (NZ Archdeacon), the Bishop of Waiapu, and Apirana's elders, TACSA began to take off. Apirana Ngata was TACSA's "action man, who made things happen on the ground in Māori communities"⁴⁸⁷. When the draft constitution for the Association was approved at the Te Aute College conference in 1897, Ngata, along with many others, embarked on a programme of development for Māori communities. Retaining close connections to those Māori communities was recommended as an "antidote" to the possible alienating nature of Pākehā education⁴⁸⁸.

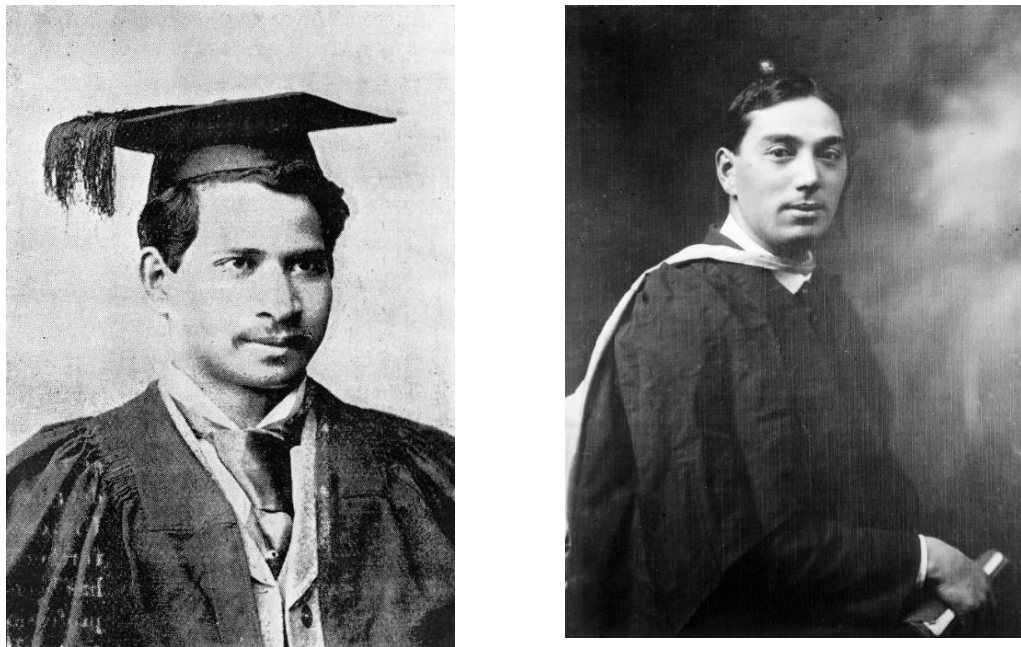


Figure 34 : Apirana Ngata (ca. 1897) and Peter Buck (ca. 1904) – the Graduates.

3.7.3 Cultural Depression and Revival:

The native schools had contributed to the decline in Māori cultural knowledge, as children attending these schools were forbidden to speak in their native tongue. Walker states

⁴⁸⁶ Sorrenson, 1982, p.8.

⁴⁸⁷ R. Walker, 2001, p.74.

⁴⁸⁸ R. Walker, 2001, p.76.

that “the agenda of the mission schools was broadened to accommodate the needs of the emerging nation state”⁴⁸⁹. The drive for assimilation was added to with the Native Schools Act of 1867, and the Education Act of 1877, with the need for assimilation of Māori being attributed to economic reasons such as the acquisition of land. As noted by parliamentarian Henry Sewell in 1870, the ‘twofold intentions’ of the Native Land Courts established in 1862 were to alienate land through individualization of title, and the destruction of communistic principles “which ran through the whole of their institutions”⁴⁹⁰.

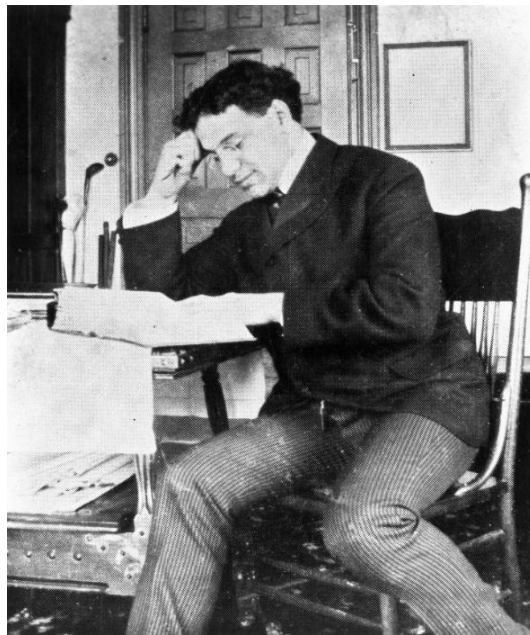


Figure 35 : Maui Pomare, 1899.

By the early twentieth century, the government considered it their duty to “smooth the pillow of a dying race”, as it was predicted the Māori would soon become extinct⁴⁹¹. In the midst of all this there was a general decrease in the building of meeting houses and the carving of embellishments⁴⁹². This “prolonged period of cultural depression” from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries⁴⁹³, was somewhat relieved by the efforts of Māori leaders such as Maui Pomare, Te Rangihiroa (Peter Buck) and Apirana Ngata. Rewiti Kohere had outlined

⁴⁸⁹ 1991, p.4.

⁴⁹⁰ Cited in Webster, 1998a: Note 6.

⁴⁹¹ Durie, 1996, p.190.

⁴⁹² R. Walker, 1987, pp.144-145.

⁴⁹³ Salmond, 1994, p.50.

details of a ‘model pa’ in 1897, which included elevated sites to encourage proper draining, and Pākehā-style houses, with a church, meeting hall, and public hall⁴⁹⁴. Indeed, in a relatively short space of time, marae complexes could now comprise a meeting house, a church, a native school, sometimes separate sleeping accommodation, cooking facilities and a dining hall, with the community cemetery nearby. Through the efforts and Apirana and his cohorts, more emphasis came to be placed on toilet and washing facilities, in keeping with the emphasis on improving Māori health⁴⁹⁵. Maui Pomare had been appointed as a Native Health Officer in 1900.

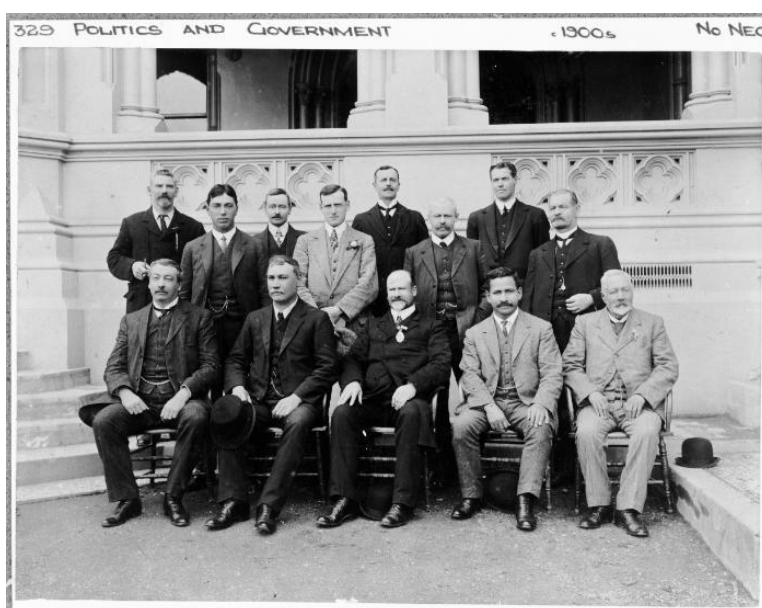


Figure 36 : ?Native Lands Committee, including Peter Buck, James Carroll, and Apirana Ngata, ca. 1905.

In 1905, Apirana Ngata was elected as an Member of Parliament (MP) in the Eastern Māori seat. He used his increasing influence to continue to reform Māori society, and this included the *Tobunga Suppression Act* of 1907, which complied with the earlier aim of seeking “not to turn Māori into Pākehā but to retain the good customs of the Māori and discard only those customs that were evil”⁴⁹⁶. In a drive to improve the status of Māori health as well as ensure the continuation of Māori culture, leaders such as Ngata, Buck and Pomare advocated

⁴⁹⁴ R. Walker, 2001, p.82.

⁴⁹⁵ Simmons, 1997, p.12.

⁴⁹⁶ R. Walker, 2001, p.91.

the creation of “pride in a Māori identity and Māori culture...[while using] that as a platform for accessing the best of Western technology and education”⁴⁹⁷. Apirana Ngata in particular, in his role as Minister of Native Affairs, headed the revival of Māori arts and “promoted a regeneration of Māori culture. [At the] heart of the revival was marae development and the building of superior carved houses”⁴⁹⁸.

By the early twentieth century, the carving arts had almost been lost due to war and other factors previously mentioned. A revival of these arts, and a return to the traditions of the ancestors was seen by Apirana as vital to ensuring the continuation of Māori society. His refurbishment of the ancestral house, *Porourangi*⁴⁹⁹, built in 1888 by Rapata Wahawaha, was used to “promote the revival of Māori arts and crafts”⁵⁰⁰. This enterprise, as with similar ones later, drew the community together, requiring many hands to do a variety of tasks. The Governor General and Prime Minister were invited to the re-opening of *Porourangi* in March 1909, and Ngata’s invitation “was a clarion call marking the cultural revival”⁵⁰¹.

3.7.4 Rotorua School of Māori Arts and Crafts:

In 1923, the Board of Māori Ethnological Research (later called the Māori Purposes Fund Board) was set up by legislation championed by Ngata, and he along with those such as Elsdon Best and Peter Buck were appointed to the Board. Part of the monies from this fund was used to support the Polynesian Society⁵⁰². In order to broaden the cultural revival further, Ngata set about to establish the School of Māori Arts and Crafts. Rotorua was chosen as the site of this School, as there was already an established school of mainly Ngāti Tarawhai carvers there. As well as reviving the carving arts, Ngata envisioned that the weaving arts such as those of tāniko, whāriki (mats) and kits would also be enlivened. From here, suitably trained experts could move throughout the country, as it was Ngata’s reasoning that “the desire to possess a carved runanga house, with suitable interior decorations, was latent in most tribes. The limiting factor to fulfilling the desire was lack of resources”⁵⁰³. This included trained people as the

⁴⁹⁷ Durie, 1996, p.190.

⁴⁹⁸ R. Walker, 1987, p.144.

⁴⁹⁹ For further information and photos of *Porourangi*, see Walker, 2001.

⁵⁰⁰ R. Walker, 2001, p.213.

⁵⁰¹ R. Walker, 2001, p.213.

⁵⁰² Henare, 2007, p.100.

⁵⁰³ R. Walker, 2001, p.215.

most necessary resource. The Māori Arts and Crafts Bill was passed in September 1926, with the support of Prime Minister Coates as encouraged by Ngata, which the State and partly through the Māori Purposes Fund Board and the Arawa Trust Board of Rotorua⁵⁰⁴.



Figure 37 : Master carver, Pine Taiapa, with items for Kahungunu meeting house, ca. 1940s.

Experts such as Eramiha Kapua of Ngāti Tararua were appointed to staff at the School. Two of the first students of the School were brothers Pine and Hone Taiapa, who were to become renowned experts in their own right. The Kapua whānau was one of the most prominent of Ngāti Tararua, having contributed to the carvings for the 1906 Christchurch exhibition. They included Anaha and Neke Kapua, and Neke's sons, Tene and Eramiha⁵⁰⁵. It was Pine Taiapa who had persuaded Eramiha Kapua to work at the School in 1930, as it was felt that there was no one to instruct the students in the traditional use of the adze, as well as the chisel. Eramiha Kapua was a tohunga whakairo (carving expert) of the old ways, steeped in the knowledge of carving and its associated rituals. He was instrumental however, in having "accomplished the transition from a traditional tribal art to a modern 'national' art"⁵⁰⁶. He did this partly by literally and symbolically separating himself from his students, who he encouraged to dispense with the usual tapu rituals. For Eramiha Kapua, he belonged to Te Ao

⁵⁰⁴ R. Walker, 2001, p.215.

⁵⁰⁵ Neich, 2001, p.39.

⁵⁰⁶ Neich, 2001, p.1.

Kohatu – the world of the past – while his students belonged to Te Ao Hou, the new world. Walker wrote that “he freed his students from the tapu restrictions by dividing off the carving space in the room with a rope....[which] [s]ymbolised the divide between the old world and the new”⁵⁰⁷.

Although the Rotorua School closed in 1938, the students had contributed to the building and/or refurbishment of 23 meeting houses, 12 dining and assembly halls, and six church buildings⁵⁰⁸. These buildings represent some of the most innovative and creative examples of the cultural revival, that included revival of traditional arts. The following two examples are significant representations of this.

3.7.5 Mahinarangi:

Tainui Princess Te Puea Herangi said:

“Me ka moemoeaa ahau ko au anake. Me ka moemoeaa e taatou ka taea e taatou...”

“If I am to dream I dream alone. If we all dream together then we shall achieve...”⁵⁰⁹

Te Puea joined with Ngata’s dream of cultural revival in order to fulfill her peoples’ dream of building the Kingitanga movement further with a strong economic base. Born in 1883 to the daughter of Tawhiao Te Wherowhero – second Māori King – Te Puea was raised with full knowledge of her peoples’ whakapapa and history, and that “the Kingitanga held the key to restoring their sense of purpose”⁵¹⁰. To this end, she moved the Kingitanga base to Ngaruawahia in 1921, which was its original home before the land confiscations following the New Zealand Wars⁵¹¹. Over many years of hard work clearing and preparing the site, Tūrangawaewae marae was established. Te Puea led the Tainui people in rebuilding the carving and other arts, as well as the arts of waiata and haka.

⁵⁰⁷ 2001, p.319.

⁵⁰⁸ Brown, 2003, pp.57-58.

⁵⁰⁹ Cited on http://www.tainui.co.nz/tridevunit/tribal_dev_unit.html

⁵¹⁰ Parsonson, 1996.

⁵¹¹ Parsonson, 1996.



Figure 38 : Doorway of *Mahinarangi* wharenui, ca. 1930s.

Te Puea was a close friend of Apirana Ngata, sharing the dream of land development schemes to build an economic base, and two had been launched at Waiuku and Onewhero⁵¹². While Te Puea initially planned on building an orphanage at Ngaruawahia, Ngata “persuaded her to build a carved meeting house instead as a symbol of her people’s mana”⁵¹³. Te Puea raised money for the meeting house by going on tour with the Te Pou o Mangatawhiri concert party in 1927. On further consultation with Ngata it was decided to call the new house, *Mahinarangi*⁵¹⁴.

Mahinarangi was the daughter of the great chief Tuaka of the Takitimu line. The story of her romance with Tainui chief Turongo is well known and well loved among the Tainui people. They met in the village of Kahotea (near where Te Aute College is now sited), when Turongo arrived on a journey from his own people in Kawhia, following a disastrous relationship. Their courtship was perfumed by the sweetness of the raukawa plant, and their marriage was long and happy, and occurred in a period of peace for the Tainui people. From their union came the tribes of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Whakare and several other Tainui tribes. King Potatau (first Māori King) is a direct descendant of this marriage, and

⁵¹² Parsonson, 1996.

⁵¹³ R. Walker, 2001, p.236.

⁵¹⁴ R. Walker, 2001, p.236.

therefore links the entire kingly line back to Mahinarangi and Turongo⁵¹⁵. Naming the meeting house *Mahinarangi* many years later, was very appropriate as it acknowledged the links between the Tainui and Ngāti Porou people of Te Puea and Apirana Ngata⁵¹⁶.



Figure 39 : Opening of *Turongo* wharehau, 18th March 1938.

The opening of *Mahinarangi* was planned as a great event by Te Puea and Ngata lasting for 12 days from 11th to 22nd March 1929, with over 6000 people attending, bringing together representatives of many Māori tribes. The official opening by ex-Prime Minister Gordon Coates occurred on 18th March 1929, with many other Pākehā dignitaries in attendance. Walker writes that the opening was “a resounding success in promoting the cultural revival of Māori arts, crafts and the building of meeting houses as the focal point of community sentiment and tribal pride”, marking “the beginning of the cultural renaissance on a national scale”⁵¹⁷. Tūrangawaewae continued to be further developed over the coming years, and again with Te Puea’s vision, King Koroki’s house was built in 1938, and appropriately named *Turongo*. The whole Tūrangawaewae complex is elaborately decorated and lovingly cared for, and has represented some of the best of Māori culture and art to many visiting dignitaries since its opening. As noted in *Te Ao Hou* - “Seldom can the Māori art of expressing ideas through the design of carvings, buildings and maraes have been more effective”⁵¹⁸.

⁵¹⁵ Pei Te Hurinui Jones, 1953.

⁵¹⁶ R. Walker, 2001, p.236.

⁵¹⁷ R. Walker, 2001, p.237.

⁵¹⁸ 1952, ‘Ngaruawahia: Fortress of Māori Culture’, in *Te Ao Hou*, p.28.

3.7.6 Te Tiriti o Waitangi Whare:

In 1932, Governor General Lord Bledisloe purchased 1000 acres in Waitangi at the site of the Treaty signing in 1840, which included the Treaty house. Lord Bledisloe then gifted this land to the nation of New Zealand, and remarked later the hope that “the sacred compact made in these waters may be faithfully and honourably kept for all time to come”⁵¹⁹. In December of that year, the Waitangi National Trust Bill was tabled, which would determine the board of trustees, their administration and authority. The three trustees were the Māori MP Tau Henare for Tai Tokerau (the district within which Waitangi is located), one Ngāpuhi representative, and one who represented the other tribes of New Zealand. At a meeting in 1933, Ngata, Henare and other Māori leaders agreed to hold a hui on 6th February 1934 as the first national celebration of Waitangi day, to recognize the gift of Lord Bledisloe⁵²⁰.



Figure 40 : Meeting of Waitangi National Trust Board in front of Treaty House, ca. 1930s.

Preparations for the day began in earnest, with Henare also using it as an opportunity to revive carving and other traditional arts for Tai Tokerau. Agreement had been reached that a carved house would be erected on the Waitangi site in the near future, preparations for which were begun by a donation of £2000 worth of timber by Henare’s Ngāti Hine people. This project reflected the earlier efforts of Hare Hongi Hika from Ngāpuhi for a Waitangi meeting

⁵¹⁹ New Zealand History Online, *Lord Bledisloe’s Gift and the 1934 Celebrations*, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/treaty/waitangi-day/the-first-waitangi-day>

⁵²⁰ R. Walker, 2001, pp.269-270.

house⁵²¹. Ngata arranged for two experts in performing arts to go to Waiomio to teach the people there, and Lady Bledisloe was persuaded to donate a trophy for the coming competition in performing arts. The roading infrastructure was also upgraded to enable easier access to Waitangi⁵²².

Despite the controversy surrounding Ngata and criticisms of the land development schemes in 1934⁵²³ and the resulting Māori unrest, the Waitangi hui was also a resounding success with nearly 10,000 Māori participating⁵²⁴. As well as the parliamentary dignitaries, in attendance were a Tainui party led by King Koroki and escorted by Tuwharetoa representatives, which signified “the end of isolation of Waikato from active participation at national gatherings”⁵²⁵. Te Tii marae and Waitangi echoed with the sounds of Māori voices raised in whaikōrero, waiata and haka. A kawa ceremony was held at the proposed site for the meeting house, and Lord Bledisloe laid the sacred foundation stone in a manner previously not followed – another example of innovating traditional practices. With the site thus sanctified, preparations continued for the building of the house *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* in time for the 1940 commemoration of the signing of the Treaty⁵²⁶.

Carving for *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* began at Motatau in the Bay of Islands in 1934 under the leadership of Hamilton, and then Pine Taiapa from 1938. Two carving groups with the first including Eramiha Kapua, Pine and John Taiapa and two others, and the second consisting of local Māori selected by Tau Henare, worked from 18th April 1934 until 14th January 1935, when the project was put on hold for reasons unknown today. Work began again from June 1935 until March 1936, and then was again postponed, with nothing further taking place until March 1939. In this group were Pine Taiapa, Rua Kaika, Hori Waititi, Hohaia Toko Mokoraka, and Wi Te Parihi Pou⁵²⁷.

As this was a national project, the house had to reflect the multi-tribal nature in the carving styles used in it. Ngata suggested that only those carving styles from ancient forms

⁵²¹ Brown, 2003, p.58.

⁵²² R. Walker, 2001, p.270.

⁵²³ For further details on this, see, for example, Sorrenson, 1982 and R. Walker, 2001.

⁵²⁴ New Zealand History Online, *Lord Bledisloe's Gift and the 1934 Celebrations*, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/treaty/waitangi-day/the-first-waitangi-day>

⁵²⁵ R. Walker, 2001, p.271.

⁵²⁶ R. Walker, 2001, p.271.

⁵²⁷ Brown, 2003, pp.58-59.

could be used⁵²⁸. To this end, Eramiha Kapua and others toiled in a corrugated iron workshop set up on top of the Auckland War Memorial Museum. Here they studied the styles as displayed in the tribal artifacts in the Museum, and practised carving these styles in order to take them back to the carvers at Motatau. Brown wrote that in this way, they “were able to ‘recover’ the Ngāpuhi style, which had not been practised for nearly a century”⁵²⁹. Brown also notes that waka tūpāpaku were the inspiration for most of the carving. She writes:

In much the same way that the waka and pātaka influenced the design and adornment of other parts of Māori buildings, it seems not unreasonable to suggest that another significant carving type, the waka tūpāpaku, was the precedent for ancestral wall figures⁵³⁰.

So while the carvings within *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* were innovative in some senses, they nevertheless held ancient connections, reflecting not only the revival of ancient culture in this period, but also the new environments within which this was happening. The shell of the house measuring 24 metres by 10 metres was erected between June and October 1939. Addition of the carvings – which included representations from the tribes of Ngāpuhi, Waikato, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Awa, Te Arawa, Ngai Te Rangi, and Ngāti Porou – ensured that the house was ready to be opened during the Waitangi celebrations on 6th February 1940.

All was not as peaceful as hoped however. A pageant re-enacting the Treaty signing commenced the centennial celebrations, and was followed by the opening of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* by Governor General Viscount Galway⁵³¹. For the government, it was an opportunity to build national pride and unity, while Māori leaders also used it as an opportunity to critique New Zealand race relations and Treaty breaches⁵³². Apirana Ngata remarked:

I do not know of any year the Māori people have approached with so much misgiving as this centennial year....In retrospect what does the Māori see? Lands gone, the power of chiefs humbled in the dust, Māori culture scattered and broken.⁵³³

⁵²⁸ R. Walker, 2001, p.351.

⁵²⁹ Brown, 2003, p.59.

⁵³⁰ Brown, 2003, p.60.

⁵³¹ R. Walker, 2001, p.356.

⁵³² New Zealand History Online, ‘1940 Centennial’,
<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/treaty/waitangi-day/the-first-waitangi-day>

⁵³³ In R. Walker, 2001, p.352.

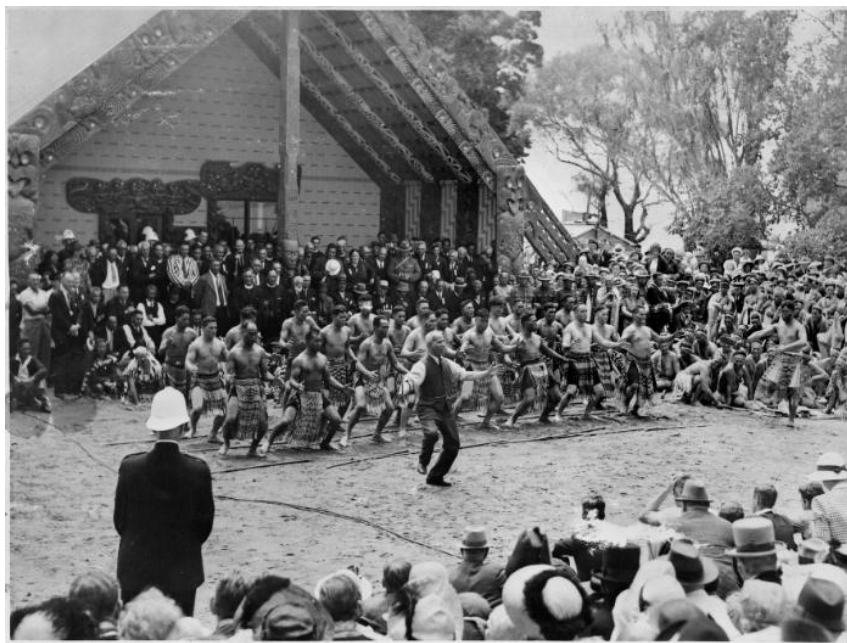


Figure 41 : Ngata leading a haka outside *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* at 1940 Centennial celebrations, Waitangi.

So although the cultural renaissance continued with the carving of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, Māori nevertheless could still see all that they had lost through colonisation, as well as what continued to be lost. Waitangi Day⁵³⁴ would continue to be marked by Māori protest in the coming years, often negating or at least disrupting governmental ideologies of seeing this day as celebrating “racial equality, a unique history of harmonious race relations and a unified nation”⁵³⁵; ideologies that would be heavily challenged in the coming Renaissance Period beginning in the early 1970s.

Māori leaders such as Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck, Maui Pomare and Te Puea Herangi worked tirelessly and long for Māori throughout their lifetimes. For those such as Ngata, this was best achieved by bringing together the best of the Māori and Pākehā worlds to ensure Māori had a place in the future of New Zealand society. Walker wrote that “Ngata was the first to define biculturalism as an alternative to assimilation”⁵³⁶; a sentiment, hope and dream that are perhaps best expressed in Ngata’s oft-repeated whakataukī:

⁵³⁴ Declared as such by the 1960 Waitangi Day Act.

⁵³⁵ New Zealand History Online, ‘*Waitangi Day Act 1960*’, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/treaty/waitangi-day/the-first-waitangi-day>

⁵³⁶ 2001, p.223.

E tipu e rea, mo nga ra o tou ao. Ko te ringa ki nga rakau a te Pākehā hei ora mo to tinana, ko to ngakau ki nga taonga a o tupuna Māori hei tikitiki mo to mahuna ko to wairua ki to atua nei nga mea katoa.

*Grow, child, in the days of your world. Your hands to the weapons of the Pākehā, as an existence for your body. Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors, as a topknot for your head*⁵³⁷.

3.8 Renaissance Period Three:

3.8.1 Māori Urbanisation Post-World War 2 – 1960:

Urbanisation has had a massive impact on Māori, both as a culture and as a people. Major mobilisation to the cities began predominantly post-World War Two. Several imperatives contributed to this drive; such as increasing inclusion in a money economy; loss of land, culture and language and therefore our traditional way of being; and an intensifying marginalisation and detribalisation assisted by increasing ideologies and practices of domination and subjection. Metge cites reasons for the movement of Māori to cities as including the “search [for] higher standards of living and work that was more congenial or more highly paid than that...in the country”⁵³⁸. This urban drift began before World War Two for some, such as the parents of former Governor General Sir Paul Reeves:

My parents shifted from the country to the city in 1921. Theirs was not so much an urban drift as a conscious decision to go where the work was, to be city rather than rural people. My mother had grown up on the edge of the pā....For my mother, to marry and move to the city was to move away from the world of her home and her Māori relatives to a situation where she could not do Māori things in a Māori way⁵³⁹.

Moves to the cities in the late 1940s and early 1950s contained many of the same drivers, yet the imperative was enhanced by increasing inclusion in an industrial and capitalist society, coupled with the negation of tribal traditions. The loss of much of tribal lands also meant the loss of the means of subsistence and survival. Therefore, it became crucial for many to have paid employment in order to support themselves and their families. Urban Māori of

⁵³⁷ As translated in Henare, 2007, p.97.

⁵³⁸ 1964, p.251.

⁵³⁹ Cited in Ministry for Culture and Heritage, ‘Urbanisation’, source - www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/UrbanMāori/1/en

that time consisted mainly of adults between 16 and 30 years, which Metge points out to be the age group which has the “highest crime rates in all societies” with most having an “emphasis on good-time patterns and individual autonomy”⁵⁴⁰. Most of those individuals were single young Māori, with almost as many women as men, seeking a more modern life away from the constraints of rural tribal life. The cities presented opportunities for adventure in new and exciting ways, in what has been described as ‘the Big Three’: work, pleasure and money⁵⁴¹. Figures from the 1951 Census estimates numbers of Māori living in Auckland city to be between 8,000 and 15,000, although at this stage, 77% of Māori generally still resided in rural areas⁵⁴².

While by 1953 Māori were more incorporated into the New Zealand economic system, disparities in terms of standards of employment, housing and health showed a negative picture of Māori overall⁵⁴³, which many attributed to the ‘problem’ of Māori urbanisation. According to Forster, writing in the late 1960s, awareness of this ‘Māori problem’ created “a new view of the Māori which runs counter to the traditional romantic myth” of the noble savage and harmonious cross-cultural relations⁵⁴⁴. Despite an increase of Māori in Auckland of 177.6% between the 1936 and 1951 Census’, Māori were still very much a minority population of only 2.3% in 1951⁵⁴⁵.

The tangata whenua tribe of Ngāti Whatua had suffered heavily through the processes of colonisation, and by 1950 only a ¼ acre of a supposedly inalienable 700 acre tribal estate remained. Of the burning of their marae in 1951, Kawharu wrote:

At the time, the wells of anguish in the hearts of those who gathered mutely about the cinders of their meeting house seemed likely never to run dry. And perhaps those who came to pass judgement on the ensuing apathy of these people need not have looked further for causes⁵⁴⁶.

⁵⁴⁰ 1964, p.251.

⁵⁴¹ Cited in Ministry for Culture and Heritage, ‘Urbanisation’, source – www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/UrbanMāori/1/en; originally from Metge 1964, p.128. Also of importance to these immigrants were medical service and education.

⁵⁴² Metge, 1964.

⁵⁴³ Metge, 1964, pp.2, 7-8.

⁵⁴⁴ 1968, p.110.

⁵⁴⁵ Metge, 1964, p.111.

⁵⁴⁶ Kawharu, 1975, p.11.

Ngāti Whatua were left a people who were “alive and comfortably housed, but with no marae they had little heart for things Māori, indeed there was little left of their self-respect”⁵⁴⁷. Although the Ngāti Whatua community recovered slowly but surely from the devastation of these early experiences, their numbers remained relatively low in comparison to the influx of immigrant Māori, and their influence in Auckland in the 1950s and 60s was also relatively low.

One of the advantages to city life for many Māori then was that it was “to all intents and purposes, tribally neutral ground”⁵⁴⁸. Whereas in pre-contact times friendly visitors from other tribes were considered manuhiri and hostile visitors there as acts of war, many of the immigrants in the 1950s and 60s from other tribal areas were putting down firm roots in the new urban arena. Kawharu noted that “Tradition offers no precedent for this, no system by which ‘foreigners’ can be incorporated permanently into social activities”⁵⁴⁹. With the rapid increase in non-tangata whenua Māori⁵⁵⁰ however, incorporation of those different tribal groups had to eventuate somehow. Added to this was the fact that the presence of Māori from many different tribal backgrounds meant that intermarriage was common, and many of the earlier immigrants now had city-born children whose parents were more often than not, from differing tribes⁵⁵¹. Immigrant Māori far outnumbered local (tangata whenua) Māori from tribes such as Ngāti Whatua, and for many their status as immigrants was not something to be ashamed of, as nearly all were in the same position⁵⁵².

Despite this, and a desire from some to leave behind the traditions of the past in this new environment, there was nevertheless a tendency towards social organisation that mimicked that of rural kin. Some families tended to live closely together in certain urban districts, socialising in “urban ‘family’ clubs”⁵⁵³. Clubs organised around tribal commonalities did not often succeed however, as again there was no traditional precedent for bringing together people who were often separated by geography throughout the cities, the people were more numerous than they would be in a rural hapū, and leadership was not clear-cut, with no solid territorial base⁵⁵⁴. While there were changes in social organisation patterns enforced by

⁵⁴⁷ Kawharu, 1968, pp.176.-177.

⁵⁴⁸ Kawharu, 1968, p.179.

⁵⁴⁹ 1968, p.175.

⁵⁵⁰ Around 30,000 in Auckland by 1968, according to Kawharu - 1968, p.176.

⁵⁵¹ Metge, 1964, p.127.

⁵⁵² Metge, 1964, p.129.

⁵⁵³ Metge, 1964, p.179.

⁵⁵⁴ Metge, 1964, p.178.

the new urban environment, Metge contends nevertheless that these were “modifications in the rural pattern rather than a complete transformation”⁵⁵⁵.

The lack of marae around which Māori could congregate as they would have had in rural areas meant the necessity of arrangements that were at least somewhat familiar. Voluntary associations arose such as the Māori Women’s Welfare League (MWWL) and the Tribal Committees, with the latter established through the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act of 1945. This Act “acknowledged the severity of the social problems facing Māoridom and laid the foundations for a welfare system that would strive to tackle those difficulties”⁵⁵⁶. Welfare officers were appointed who were to work concurrently with local Tribal Committees in relation to health and welfare issues, particularly those related to women and children.

During the war period, of necessity women (including Māori women) took up jobs previously filled by men, and there arose “the flourishing and nurturing of Māori women as the leaders of their people”⁵⁵⁷. Some of these such as Rumataki Wright came to establish the Māori Women’s Welfare League in 1951. This was the “first truly national lobby group to address the social problems confronted by indigenous city dwellers”⁵⁵⁸. Building on the work of the Women’s Health League set up in the 1930s, establishment of the MWWL was sought as a way in which to achieve the goal of a “national, co-ordinated Māori welfare organisation”⁵⁵⁹. At the first conference in 1951, delegates from 214 branches were present⁵⁶⁰, presaging the prominent role the MWWL would have as a national body, as well as effective local organisations. Metge noted that of the all-Māori organisations in Auckland in the 1950s, the League was the “largest in respect of total membership and number of branches”⁵⁶¹.

In Auckland, there were six Tribal Committee areas, all of which were part of the Waitemata Tribal District and therefore controlled by the Waitemata Tribal Executive composed of two delegates from each Committee. In 1954 the Onehunga Tribal Committee area was separated from that of Waitemata, and included the southern district of Manukau. The result of this was that there was a lack of unitary co-ordination in the Auckland area.

⁵⁵⁵ 1964, p.180.

⁵⁵⁶ Rogers & Simpson, 1993, p.xiv.

⁵⁵⁷ Rogers & Simpson, p.xiv.

⁵⁵⁸ Sissons, 2004, p.67.

⁵⁵⁹ Rogers & Simpson, 1993, p.xvi.

⁵⁶⁰ Rogers & Simpson, 1993, p.xvi.

⁵⁶¹ Metge, 1964, p.205.

Further, the main task of the Waitemata Tribal Executive until 1954 was the running of the Māori Community Centre, another important organisation for Auckland Māori. Those Tribal Committees that were more effective primarily concentrated on providing youth recreational facilities. Coupled with the fact that very few Auckland Māori seemed to know of the Tribal Committees, their functions and powers, these committees were relatively ineffective in providing social services for those Māori they deemed to serve⁵⁶².

Despite the loss of the Ngāti Whatua marae at Okahu Bay, their relatively low numbers, and therefore their lowered ability to take a prominent role in Māori society, there was still some hope that Ngāti Whatua would provide a marae for the use of all those Māori now living in Auckland city⁵⁶³. However, when this had not eventuated the Māori Community Centre mentioned above was set up in central Auckland. According to Metge, this “symbolised the decision of the rest of the Auckland Māoris to establish a system independent of the tangata whenua, or at least on equal terms with them”⁵⁶⁴.

Although desirous of an establishment that expressed the ideals and functions of a traditional marae, restrictions on use of the Community Centre meant that these were superficial at best. While it could be hired for events such as birthdays and weddings, building size and financial constraints meant that instead of a general invitation that would go out to whānau and friends as in rural areas, here there had to be restricted guest lists. Catering was not undertaken by whānau, but by commercial caterers. Fire restrictions meant it could not be used for sleeping purposes, thereby precluding its use for tangi amongst other things. Also importantly, there was no marae aatea – that traditional space of ritual practice. There was also much criticism from Māori as to its non-traditional character, the restrictions placed on its use, and the behaviours of some who ran and frequented the establishment. Nevertheless, due to the lack of marae in Auckland, the Community Centre was very popular with Māori, with more than 800 Māori crowding into it on Saturday nights for entertainment purposes. Metge noted that “As the centre of Auckland Māori society, it was a symbol of its emotional solidarity and organisational disunity”⁵⁶⁵.

⁵⁶² Metge, 1964, pp.216-217.

⁵⁶³ Metge, 1964, p.214.

⁵⁶⁴ Metge, 1964, p.214.

⁵⁶⁵ Metge, 1964, pp.224, 227-228.

Urbanisation had, in many cases, forced the replacement of the whānau with the nuclear family, as this better fits the needs of an industrial society⁵⁶⁶. Members of kin groups were scattered far and wide as people relocated to find employment - an “accommodation to the forces of capitalism”⁵⁶⁷. Often, the elders who were the “repositories of mythology, folklore and traditions”⁵⁶⁸ remained in the rural areas, and it sometimes became increasingly difficult to maintain contact. This resulted for many Māori urbanites, in the loss of, not only a vital link to tradition, but also of the support and encouragement traditionally lent by the elders. Māori became increasingly isolated within cities, not only from elders, but from other wider kin networks that helped to share the load of family responsibility. With succeeding generations of urban born-and-bred Māori, links to rural kin were often ‘dissolved’ and forgotten over time. The development of urban marae, therefore, became one way in which Māori individuals and whānau could reclaim a connection to Te Ao Māori.

3.8.2 Racism and Notions of (In)Authenticity:

The 1950s and 60s continued with growing Māori unrest. In this time, negative stereotypes of Māori as idle, lazy and societal bludgers existed, without recognition that the stereotypes often “arose out of their poverty and the social conditions”⁵⁶⁹ created since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Ballara traced the roots of modern racism that contributed to notions of (in)authenticity to the colonial period. Early settlers formed erroneous attitudes that were “derived from the application of the values of their own society to Māori institutions or behaviour”, and which drew distinctions between the ‘civilised man’ and the ‘savage’, and the ‘superior’ and the ‘inferior’⁵⁷⁰. Nineteenth century stereotypes arose that saw Māori as lazy, irresponsible, wasteful and childlike; stereotypes to which was added ‘social welfare bludgers’ in the mid-20th century with the birth of the welfare state⁵⁷¹. By the beginning of the 20th century, notions of Māori as a ‘dying race’ were common, with these notions coming to be internalised by many Māori also. Māori themselves were held to account, with depopulation being blamed on the Māori propensity for war, their laziness and general inability to cope with

⁵⁶⁶ R. Walker, 1987, p.153.

⁵⁶⁷ R. Walker, 1990, p.186.

⁵⁶⁸ R. Walker, 1987, p.153.

⁵⁶⁹ Ballara, 1986, p.119.

⁵⁷⁰ Ballara, 1986, p.21.

⁵⁷¹ Ballara, 1986, p.122.

civilization. It was not recognised that the degeneration of Māori people and culture “was the outward symptom of a process in Māori society that was the direct consequence of their [settlers] own activities”⁵⁷².

While there were those who wished to safeguard the wellbeing of Māori in the post-Treaty settler society, inuring Māori to British culture was assumed by many as the best way in which to move Māori forward into civilization and in the process create model British citizens. It was considered a ‘moral duty’ to excise the native culture and replace it with one that was for their greater benefit, i.e. British culture. Amalgamation with Europeans through intermarriage and acculturation was preferred, and it was thought that the ‘Europeanisation’ of Māori was a ‘natural’ process that would occur over time. However, with the increase in Māori population by the 1930s, ideas around ‘assimilation’ began to be mooted. Ballara explains that this was similar to amalgamation in that it depended upon the continued blending of Māori into Pākehā society, but the increasing population growth made it evident that while a cultural homogeneity could occur, Māori as a distinct physical presence would probably continue⁵⁷³.

The Hunn Report, presented to government in 1960 and published in 1961, looked closely at the question – ‘What precisely is New Zealand’s policy for the future of the Māori race?’. It outlined four possible systems for co-existence of Māori and Pākehā: ‘assimilation’, ‘integration’, ‘segregation’ and ‘symbiosis’. Segregation (i.e. a form of apartheid), integration (i.e. fusion of both cultures with Māori distinction remaining), and assimilation (i.e. complete absorption of Māori into Pākehā culture) were, as Hunn later commented, a logical evolutionary process where segregation, integration and assimilation followed each other in a ‘natural’ way. The Report stated that:

Much of [Māori culture], though, has already departed and only the fittest elements (worthiest of preservation) have survived the onset of civilisation....[But] every Māori who can no longer speak the language, perform the haka or poi, or take his place on the marae, makes it just so much harder for these remnants...of Māori culture to be perpetuated⁵⁷⁴.

It seemed inevitable that Māori culture would disappear completely over time, and that this indeed would be best for Māori in New Zealand society. Ballara pointed out that the

⁵⁷² Ballara, 1986, p.84.

⁵⁷³ Ballara, 1986, pp.88-89.

⁵⁷⁴ Ballara, 1986, p.134.

Report was “accepted with enthusiasm by successive governments...because it allowed them to procrastinate in meeting demands for change by Māori leaders”⁵⁷⁵. This was not acceptable to Māori however, as was seen late in that decade with Māori protest increasing. It can seem somewhat of a mystery to see these situations arising following the superlative efforts of those such as Apirana Ngata, although the mystery is denuded when one looks at the continuing negative attitudes towards Māori and Māori culture by 20th century governments which still reflected colonial approaches.

In urban centres such as Auckland, Māori ‘anti-social’ behaviour came to be focused upon by the mere fact of their inclusion within the cities in rapidly increasing numbers, creating a correlation with a “resurgence of discrimination”⁵⁷⁶. Stereotypical ideas of Māori behaviour arose through a focus on those whose behaviour was most anti-social, or at least, counter to the normalised behaviours of their non-Māori counterparts. While Metge stated that “acts of discrimination and prejudices...were...individual and unsystemised”⁵⁷⁷, Ballara however, contends that the “mirror image held up for the Māori to internalise was of themselves as an inferior species of human, inherently less capable than Europeans”⁵⁷⁸ and that this was a continuation of colonial assertions of the inferiority of Māori. Walker declared that “the urban milieu itself spawned the brown proletariat which has generated so much paranoia and occupied considerable media space”⁵⁷⁹. Assimilationist policies in themselves, and notions of New Zealand as having ‘one people’ denied the relevance and reality of Māori culture. This in itself was one of the most insidious forms of racism.

Sissons contends that today relationships between the original and immigrant peoples in post-settler states such as Aotearoa New Zealand can be likened to the “heads and tails images” of local coins which are “mundane assertions of the inseparability of the two identities and of the subordinate status of the colonized native”⁵⁸⁰. He gives a wide ranging discussion on the roots of indigenous ‘authenticity’ – or “oppressive authenticity”⁵⁸¹ – which are grounded in colonial racism when a binary demarcating indigenous from settler was first put

⁵⁷⁵ 1986, p.136.

⁵⁷⁶ Metge, 1964, p.2.

⁵⁷⁷ 1964, pp.257-258.

⁵⁷⁸ Ballara, 1986, p.121.

⁵⁷⁹ 1987, p.155.

⁵⁸⁰ Sissons, 2005, p.12.

⁵⁸¹ 2005, see *Chapter Two: Oppressive Authenticity*, pp.37-60.

into play. Elsewhere, authenticity was enforced by legislation such as the 1876 Indian Act in Canada, the 1886 Victoria Act in Australia, and the General Allotment Act 1887 in the United States. Developed from these Acts were notions of “blood mathematics”⁵⁸² whereby authenticity was assigned to indigenous peoples according to the quantum of indigenous ‘blood’ they had. If they didn’t reach these state-assigned levels, they were considered ‘inauthentic’ and therefore did not qualify for the dubious fruits of citizenship, such as the allotment of land in the General Allotment Act 1887. They were subjected to “biological exclusion”⁵⁸³ and discarded as neither indigenous nor white, thereby becoming lost in a no-mans-land of “anomalous categories”⁵⁸⁴ or an “excluded middle”⁵⁸⁵. These and other legislative and political acts were “intended to facilitate the assimilation and cultural elimination of indigenous people”⁵⁸⁶.

3.8.3 Indigenous Renaissance of Culture and Peoples:

The processes of colonisation and dislocation have been similar for many cultures throughout the world, and include “detachment, deracination and cultural reconstruction”⁵⁸⁷. Emerging political action of some groups in other nations gave credence to what has been an ongoing struggle for Māori leaders since the signing of the Declaration of Independence (1835). In the face of the continued denigration of Māori culture, and reflecting changes worldwide as indigenous and other marginalised peoples protested against their imposed positions, Māori in New Zealand raised their voices against the continued injustices perpetrated since the signing of the Treaty. There was a “series of mobilizations and responses which can be seen as a whole ethnic movement”⁵⁸⁸, resulting in a renaissance of Māori culture.

⁵⁸² Sissons, 2005, p.43.

⁵⁸³ Sissons, 2005, p.43.

⁵⁸⁴ Sissons, 2005, p.50.

⁵⁸⁵ Sissons, 2005, p.53.

⁵⁸⁶ Sissons, p.50.

⁵⁸⁷ Hazlehurst, 1993, pp.xiv-xv.

⁵⁸⁸ Webster, 1998b, p.28.



Figure 42 : Te Roopu o te Matakite Land March protestors, College Hill, Auckland, 1975.

Increased availability of western education had exposed some Māori to the works of Karl Marx, Paolo Friere and others, which introduced knowledge of class struggles and cultural revolution into the realities in which Māori lived. Māori scholars were able to integrate an international language of struggle into their own. The emergence of ‘activists’ such as Nga Tamatoa, Donna Awatere, and Syd Jackson, assisted in highlighting societal inequities and injustices experienced by Māori. The relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding document of New Zealand was also highlighted and vigorously debated. For the revival of Māori culture, activities such as these were necessary as an “animating impulse” to ensure that Māori “attachment” to our culture did not remain “passive sentiments”⁵⁸⁹. One of the results of this was the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 to hear claims against the Crown for breaches of the Treaty. It seemed possible that Māori culture and language would be reclaimed and gain a new space in Aotearoa New Zealand society, ameliorating the negative social indices that Māori featured far too often in.

⁵⁸⁹ Hazlehurst, 1993, p.vi.



Figure 43 : ‘Mother’ of the Land March, Dame Whina Cooper, Hamilton, 1975.

Oppressive authenticity, however, continues to be enacted amidst the contemporary recognition of indigenous peoples. One of the notions of indigeneity that organisations such as the UN Working Group in Indigenous Populations and the World Council of Indigenous Peoples supported was that of integral connection to the land to which the peoples belonged. This, which Sissons calls ‘eco-indigenism’, “seeks to revalue primitivism and tribalism in relation to destructive western rationality and individualism⁵⁹⁰”. What is invoked is “a distinctive cultural community living close to nature in a specific environment that is threatened with destruction...[with the] community portrayed as having an overriding moral responsibility to care for the threatened environment and to defend it”⁵⁹¹.

While a deep connection to the land is certainly meaningful for many indigenous peoples, what definitions such as this do not sufficiently recognise however, is that the majority of indigenous people in settler states are urban-based, with the emergence of urban

⁵⁹⁰ Sissons, 2005, p.23.

⁵⁹¹ Sissons, 2005, p.23.

cultures⁵⁹². And while it is appropriate for indigenous peoples to define themselves as above, problems arise when non-indigenous organisations and governments take up these definitions and draw narrow boundaries around meanings of ‘indigenous’ and ‘indigeneity’, capturing for their own purposes what first arises as indigenous self-determining initiatives. Maaka and Fleras note that there are “more than 350 million indigenous peoples across 5000 cultures in seventy countries”⁵⁹³, giving a clear indication of the inherent diversity and complexity of contexts within this extremely large grouping. Efforts by indigenous peoples at defining shared characteristics have met with conundrums and challenges, exemplifying the diversity amongst them.

Those indigenous people who don’t adhere to the popular rendition of indigenous identity markers are therefore considered inauthentic. The oppressive nature of this is contained in tension between, on the one hand, expectations of unbroken connections to ancestral traditions and the essentially rural-based nature of those connections (authentic), and on the other, with that of the reality of urban living and reconstructed cultures (inauthentic). This has certainly been taken up in New Zealand with regard to Treaty fisheries settlements, where those urban-based Māori who could be considered non-tribal were excluded from a share of the settlement, which was divided among *tribal* entities. As noted by Sissons, “oppressive authenticity operates primarily as a mechanism for exclusion; those who cannot be placed securely within one or two categories – ‘native’ or ‘settler’ – become people out of place”⁵⁹⁴.

Many non-indigenous academics seemed to find the tensions of authentic and inauthentic cultures particularly unsettling. Theories of the contemporary ‘invention’ of culture and tradition were popular in the 1980s and 90s, originating from the works of, for example, Hobsbawm and Ranger⁵⁹⁵. By reaching back for ancestral traditions, the current or past inauthenticity of indigenous peoples was highlighted, because if they were authentic, then there would be no need to reach back – they would have their cultural features intact. By ‘inventing’ their cultures, indigenous peoples proved further their inauthenticity. The strictures created by the recording of indigenous cultures and histories by ‘others’ meant that authenticity became oppressive, as established by those who wrote about them.

⁵⁹² Sissons, 2005, p.28.

⁵⁹³ 2005, p.8.

⁵⁹⁴ 2005, p.39.

⁵⁹⁵ Hobsbawm, E, and Ranger, T, 1983, *The Invention of Tradition*.

For example, Levi-Strauss noted that “anthropology’s unsavoury association with colonialism...has not stopped people from turning to anthropological texts to reconstruct their cultural pasts...[with] Third World leaders...appropriating [them] for their own political ends”⁵⁹⁶. Marcus and Fischer contended that “the cultures of world peoples need to be constantly rediscovered as these people reinvent them”⁵⁹⁷. Keesing argued that “Pacific peoples are creating pasts, myths of ancestral ways of life that serve as powerful political symbols”⁵⁹⁸. Further, indigenous groups self-consciously select pieces of a supposedly ‘real’ past to bring forward to the present - “representations of their own cultures [that] have been shaped by colonial domination”. He purported that the politicisation of indigenous cultures arose as a counter-colonial reaction against domination, and therefore those parts of ‘traditional’ culture selected are those most oppositional to European culture⁵⁹⁹.

What comments such as these don’t acknowledge however, is the “dynamism of indigenous cultures and the increasing diversity of indigenous identities”⁶⁰⁰. Further – “what is being reclaimed is the ability to be *diversely authentic* in a rejection of the racism and essentialism that characterized settler regimes of identification”⁶⁰¹. The Māori cultural renaissance was part of a worldwide renaissance of indigenous cultures in the latter half of the 20th century. And as Sissons notes:

Those who interpreted indigenous cultural ‘revivals’ as simply unconventional strategies in the pursuit of conventional economic and political objectives were wrong. What they failed to recognize was that the cultural objectives were radically distinct ends in themselves⁶⁰².

Accusations of ‘essentialism’ were levelled at indigenous peoples without acknowledgement of the essentialism that was taking place around notions of authenticity and inauthenticity. While for Māori and other indigenous peoples, there *was* a kind of essentialist gathering and naming of those features of indigenous culture which most defined their uniqueness, essentialism can also be seen as a taken-for-granted characteristic of cultural

⁵⁹⁶ In Borofsky, 1994, p.8.

⁵⁹⁷ 1986, p.24; original italics.

⁵⁹⁸ 1989, p.19.

⁵⁹⁹ 1989, p.23.

⁶⁰⁰ Sissons, 2005, p.28.

⁶⁰¹ Sissons, 2005, p.148; my emphasis.

⁶⁰² Sissons, 2005, p.13.

growth and cultural reclamation, rather than having vitriolic charges laid against it. Notions of cultural ‘invention’ need not have negative connotations of cultures ‘made up’ for political and economic purposes. How it can be viewed instead, is as examples of indigenous cultural agency and self-determining efforts to reclaim some of what had been lost through colonization.

Leafa Wilson speaks of Professor Robert Jahnke’s use of “strategic essentialism as a discursive tool for indigenous artists to stand firm in their positioning”⁶⁰³. Wilson also draws from Spivak’s work on strategic essentialism which contains a warning that it is “addictive” and therefore must “be employed judiciously, only to deconstruct power structures and not purely for essentialism’s sake”⁶⁰⁴. But for Jahnke, strategic essentialism is a tool of hybridity that nevertheless stakes the claim for Māori art in a definitive Māori paradigm that has “an extant and definite structure of ‘otherness’ that doesn’t require approval from the West”⁶⁰⁵.

The cultural renaissance of Ngata and Buck’s generation called for the unification of Māori, while also emphasising tribal uniqueness through the development of marae and other cultural artefacts such as song and dance. The Māori cultural renaissance of the late 20th century showed similar initiatives, yet also differed due to the greater influence of burgeoning international indigenous movements, and the increasing urbanisation of Māori. The latter renaissance necessitated a kind of essentialist gathering and naming of Māori cultural values and identity markers. We needed to find ways in which we could be seen overall as ‘Māori’, while still acknowledging tribal differences. And it was this commonality as Māori, which was contrasted with mainstream or Pākehā culture. While this may sound similar to notions of ‘cultural invention’, emphasised here is *Māori cultural agency* in determining how we could generate pathways in the present to move forward into the future, while holding close the cultural treasures gifted to us by our ancestors. As noted by Sissons, “Contemporary indigeneity is not simply about preserving traditions and meanings; it is also about their ownership and the ability to transform them in contexts where indigenous authenticity is policed and regulated by outsiders”⁶⁰⁶. The establishment of marae in urban centres was just

⁶⁰³ 2005, p.10.

⁶⁰⁴ 2005, p.10.

⁶⁰⁵ L. Wilson, 2005, p.10.

⁶⁰⁶ 2005, p.16.

one of the ways in which Māori cultural agency has been expressed in the desire of Māori to retain and reclaim culture and traditions.

3.8.4 Urban Marae:

Despite the continuing negation of Māori cultural beliefs by government policies in the 20th century, marae became “a symbol of the renewed vitality of Māoritanga”⁶⁰⁷. With increasing urbanisation of Māori post-World War Two, many Māori found themselves isolated in the cities and towns, away from the supporting kin networks of their rural ties. Therefore the need arose for new ways in which to maintain the traditions of the past, and the vigour of Māori culture was still such that Māori were able to incorporate old traditions into new environments⁶⁰⁸. As stated by Bharucha – “it is not a matter of ‘using’ tradition...it is a question of *living* tradition and making the necessary adjustments to keep it going”⁶⁰⁹. This innovation of tradition has proved vital to the continuation of Māori culture in the midst of an often changing world.

Urban marae can be seen as a positive response by Māori to the stresses of city life, and they are “a powerful symbolic statement by the Māori of cultural continuity in the face of the new social order established by the Pākehā”⁶¹⁰. More than 80% of the Māori population now lives in urban centres such as Auckland. Although “in many ways [cities are] a hostile environment for the marae”⁶¹¹, marae have proved to be a vital necessity for the continuation of Māori culture. They are “places of refuge for our people and provide facilities to enable us to continue with our own way of life within the total structure of our own terms and values”⁶¹². Today however, marae are most often places for people to *go to*, rather than *live in*.

⁶⁰⁷ Salmond, 1994, p.50.

⁶⁰⁸ Metge, 1964, p.255.

⁶⁰⁹ 1993, cited in Greenwood, 1999, p7.2.

⁶¹⁰ R. Walker, 1987, p.145.

⁶¹¹ Salmond, 1994, p.84.

⁶¹² Awataha Marae Incorporated Society, 1987, p.12.

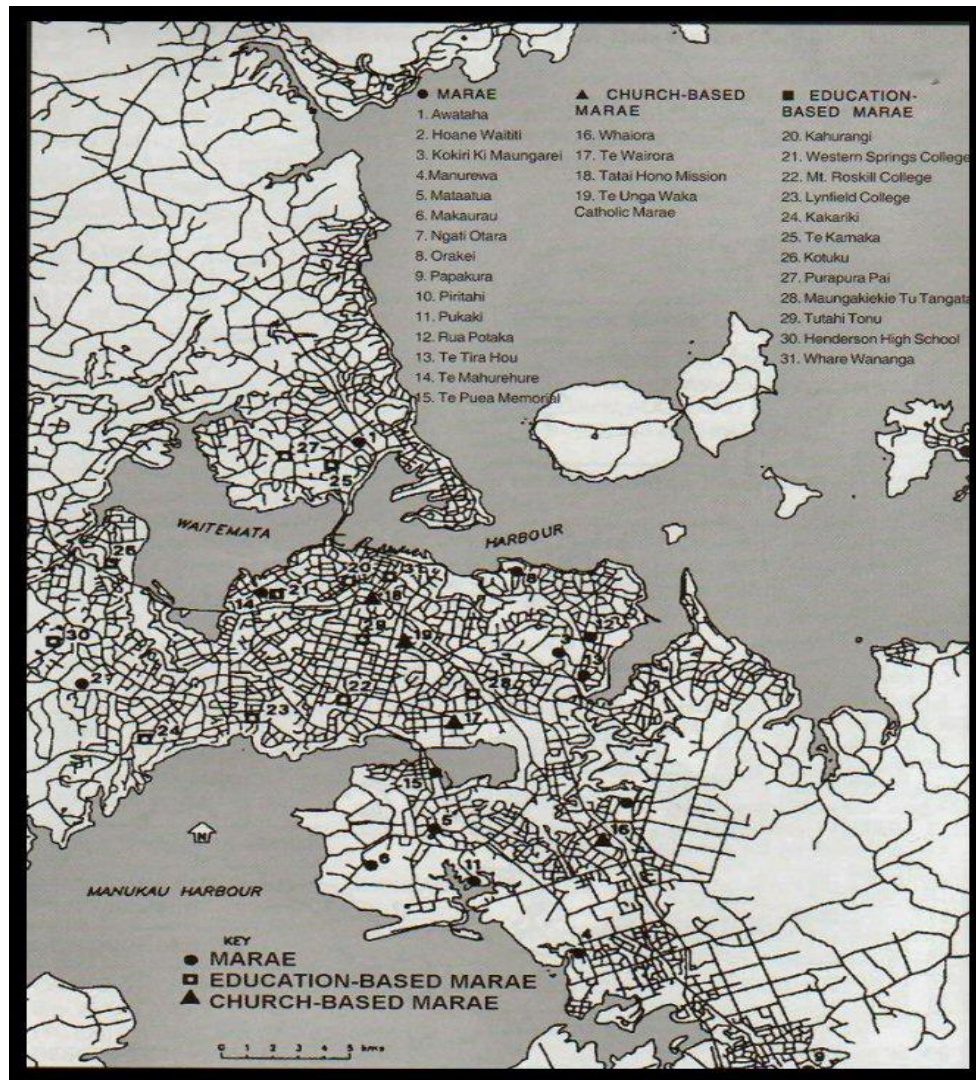


Figure 44 : Auckland marae as at 2005.

Marae in urban centres can take several forms other than that of the domain of a local tribe, as in the cities it is common that people from tribes across the country will reside there. Therefore, marae to support these different groups have developed in several ways. Descent groups may build their own marae after gaining the permission of the tangata whenua (locals), such as Te Tira Hou of the Tuhoe tribe in Auckland. Some marae are inter- or pan-tribal, that is, serving the needs of a variety of tribal groups who have worked together to develop and maintain the marae. Nearly all marae in centres such as Auckland are available for use by the general Māori population. Some marae were established by church groups, for example Te Unga Waka in Epsom, while many schools now have their own marae on site. Government

departments sometimes have their own marae too, in an attempt to express Treaty obligations⁶¹³.

Bennett argues that urban marae are in fact one of three marae types⁶¹⁴. The traditional marae, usually associated with a single hapū and their kin, are most often found in rural areas, with the wharenui usually representing an eponymous ancestor (although there are exceptions). The urban marae is the second type, although this can be separated into two sub-types. While some marae are located in urban areas, they are linked to local hapū and iwi, but the urban environment has encroached upon them to include them in the sprawling city environs. An example of this is *Obinemutu* of the Ngāti Whakaue people in Rotorua. In contrast yet still retaining traditional status are urban marae such as *Mataatua* of the Ngai Tuhoe people in Rotorua and therefore located outside their traditional land-base. These sub-types Bennett calls “*urbane marae*; a traditional marae which is surrounded by urbanity”⁶¹⁵.

The sub-type of urban marae has features that differ from traditional marae. They are “those which have been created in a metropolitan environment and which consequently have had modifications made in their matrix, while maintaining their clear basis in orthodox marae”⁶¹⁶. Some of their distinctive features include their recent construction, are pan-tribal, unlikely to be trans-generational, usually don’t have living spaces and cemeteries attached, and are often associated with another organisation such as a school⁶¹⁷. The third type of marae is “conserved marae” which reside in museums, such as *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* and *Rongomaraeroa* at Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand, and *Ruatapupuke II* at the Field Museum in Chicago. While these marae retain original physical and metaphysical features, “without the participation of active celebrants, [these] houses remain unactivated”⁶¹⁸.

For those city-dwellers who cannot access marae or whose separation from tribal society is a distance “both physical and psychological”⁶¹⁹, the *whare Māori* may provide a comfortable alternative. Gagne’s doctoral thesis “explores the complexity of Māori relationships to the urban milieu and the ongoing struggles to (re)affirm Māori

⁶¹³ Salmond, 1994, pp.82-89; Simmons, 1997, pp.13-14.

⁶¹⁴ Bennett, 2007.

⁶¹⁵ Bennett, 2007, pp.109-110, 116-119; my emphasis.

⁶¹⁶ Bennett, 2007, p.109.

⁶¹⁷ Bennett, 2007, pp.117-118.

⁶¹⁸ Bennett, 2007, p.31.

⁶¹⁹ Maaka and Fleras, 2005, p.68.

identities....[and] pays special attention to the ways Māori experience the city”⁶²⁰. For the urban Māori Gagne researched with, individual family homes – *whare Māori*⁶²¹ - fulfilled some of the functions of *marae*. Walker had written earlier about the propensity for some urban Māori to turn their homes into “mini-marae”, especially when conducting *tangi* (funerals) in the city⁶²².

Whare Māori are the site of regular gathering of *whānau* (family), either from the city or visiting from rural homelands. They have an ‘open door’ policy whereby people were free to come and go, but *whare Māori* can also be the site of more formal *hui*, as well as places of recreation and intergenerational learning. One informant described them as “our *kakano*, our seed...whenever...we are in trouble, we always come back to the seed”⁶²³. Gagne notes that although there are inevitable tensions for urban Māori to satisfy cultural needs in an urban setting that is sometimes alien and uncertain, the *whare Māori* fulfils some of those needs and “is thus about identity, and about going back to who one is, and can be at the very core of people’s identities”⁶²⁴.

Whether they are ‘mini-marae’ or fully developed *marae*, the *marae* is a cultural concept and reality that fulfill important cultural functions for Māori in urban situations. While not all urban Māori access local *marae*, their significance cannot be undervalued. Their presence in urban centres provides opportunities for the reconnection with and reaffirmation of, Māori cultural heritage – *nga taonga tuku iho*. No matter the form, what these all share is that they can provide urban Māori with a *tūrangawaewae* – a standing place – where the fullest expression of Māori life is enabled, as well as providing a meeting place for the negotiation of cross-cultural understanding. The following two examples of *wharenui* (urban and rural) reflect the variety and diversity of Māori cultural belief and practices, and also the conflict and tensions that can arise through innovation of tradition.

⁶²⁰ Gagne, 2004, p.2.

⁶²¹ See Gagne, 2004, pp.117-150.

⁶²² 1992, pp.23-34.

⁶²³ Gagne, 2004, p.128.

⁶²⁴ Gagne, 2004, p.128.

3.8.5 Waipapa Marae and Tāne Nui a Rangi:

Webster wrote that “the social and cultural situation [awakened by the Renaissance] is riven with contradictions and often with conflict”⁶²⁵, and offers the building of *Tāne Nui a Rangi*⁶²⁶ on Waipapa Marae as an example. This urban marae is situated at the University of Auckland. While plans for a marae at the University began in earnest in 1976, it took 12 years before it was finally opened in 1988. Webster cites the development of Waipapa Marae as a microcosmic reflection of the conflict and challenges of the burgeoning Māori Renaissance. Comparing the marae in 1988 to an archaeological dig where the great and small scuffles, labour and relationships grow fainter with time, Webster considers that visitors see only the outcomes and stare with awe, while not knowing the full story that is woven into each strand of tāniko, each notch of chisel, and each inch of paint⁶²⁷.

The support of the University administration was desultory when marae plans arose in 1976. Although this was post the Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975 which set up the Waitangi Tribunal, major protests throughout New Zealand, and the founding of Māori Studies departments at Auckland University and elsewhere, attitudes towards Māori and Māori issues remained ambivalent at best for several years. Funding for the marae was still a low priority, and this was partly based on the lack of recognition of the connection between Māori culture and academic culture. The proposed plan put forward by Anne Salmond and Meremere Penfold in 1979 however, separated the academic and cultural functions that the marae would have. This was achieved by the addition of an academic wing for the Māori Studies department; an ambiguity where “Māori culture could be both symbolically separated from academic culture and symbolically joined to it”⁶²⁸. It also separated the usual esoteric nature of the wharenui from the day-to-day usage of the rest of the complex.

Issues came to a head however in 1983 after what Webster calls “a series of public embarrassments” from 1979⁶²⁹. These culminated in two main events, the first of which was Māori dissent in the form of a ‘tent marae’ set up on the Registry steps in early 1983. The Waitangi Tribunal had also heard and supported the Motunui case against Synfuels ejecting

⁶²⁵ 1995, p.5.

⁶²⁶ For pictures and further detail of *Tane-nui-a-rangi* and Waipapa Marae, see Harrison, 1988.

⁶²⁷ 1995, p.6.

⁶²⁸ Webster, 1995, p.9.

⁶²⁹ 1995, p.8.

sewage and industrial waste into the local river. The University Vice-Chancellor was also on the Synfuel's board, and Webster considered that the Vice-Chancellor, along with others in likewise positions, found themselves embroiled in ethnic politics in ways that they could no longer ignore⁶³⁰.

So although surrounded by conflict and controversy, the shell of the meeting house was opened in 1985, the academic wing in July 1986, with the grand opening in February 1988. By this time, Webster contends, the Vice-Chancellor “was claiming credit for having promoted it [the marae] since 1976”⁶³¹. The gala affair of the opening was attended by the Governor General, the King of Tonga, and many other political, corporate and Māori leaders.

The superbly carved whare whakairo – *Tāne Nui a Rangi* – is a wonderful testament to carving as “the supreme artistic achievement of the Māori people”⁶³². Pakariki Harrison, a well respected tohunga whakairo, was in charge of the project, later became staff at the University and was eventually awarded an honorary doctorate. Harrison came into conflict however, with those who had set up the initial plans for the marae and who had specific ideas about the ethnic politics as well as cultural factors. While Ranginui Walker requested the meetinghouse be seen as a statement of Māori resistance, Harrison chose to use “the coordinated symbolism of the carvings, weavings, and paintings which adorn the meetinghouse [to assume] the integration rather than separation of academic ideals”⁶³³. Further, they encompassed both Māori and Pākehā expertise. The artworks - which included representations of Māori cosmology, captains of the original canoes, and other symbols prevalent in Māori culture – were to be used as research challenges for students.

Additional conflict came into play with Harrison taking a similar approach to Eramiha Kapua, in that tapu restrictions did not apply for his workers and students as in the traditional sense. Harrison determined that the esoteric mystery often present around ‘things Māori’, usually meant that these same things could become inaccessible. *Tāne Nui a Rangi* was meant to have an educational purpose, instead of being something that could only be looked at and not touched. Despite the horror expressed by some Māori (and associated Pākehā), the workers were allowed to work in the dining room, and to smoke and eat in the same room. While the

⁶³⁰ 1995, p.8.

⁶³¹ 1995, p.8.

⁶³² Harrison, 1988, p.18.

⁶³³ Webster, 1995, p.12.

associated conflicts and challenges of Waipapa Marae and *Tāne Nui a Rangī* may reflect the ethnic politics and cultural reification as suggested by Webster⁶³⁴, they also show the tensions – internal and external – experienced by Māori at a time when cultural revival was a necessary battleground.

3.8.6 Ngatokowaru II:

*Ngatokowaru II*⁶³⁵ was opened in 1978 and belongs to the Ngāti Pareraukawa tribespeople; a constituent of Ngāti Raukawa situated near Otaki and the Rangiaatea church. The latter is of significance in that many of the Pareraukawa people belong to the Anglican church. Octavius Hadfield of the Church Missionary Society came to Ngāti Raukawa in 1839 at the invitation of two chiefs. While there are other churches present in the districts, Anglicanism is the dominant religion. This was to become an important issue in the building of *Ngatokowaru II* as a replacement wharenuī for the original *Ngatokowaru* built in the early 1900s⁶³⁶.

As with many Māori groups, the whānau of Ngāti Pareraukawa are scattered throughout New Zealand, and it is a large extended family. One of the influential factions of the whānau, especially four brothers, were instrumental in developing the marae site, building *Ngatokowaru II* and designing the artwork. Most of the carving was carried out by the leading brother, Hapai Winiata⁶³⁷, who later became an Anglican clergyman. Because of their strong Anglican ties, the artwork combines traditional Māori designs as well as the incorporation of religious figures such as Hadfield and a Catholic priest. Kowhaiwhai is used in some places to represent the pilgrim's progress of a Christian, while a cross is superimposed on an ancestral figure, denoting "the triumph of Christianity"⁶³⁸.

These designs were to cause some major tensions between different factions of the whānau, making Winiata realise that "the new ideas he introduced caused such pain that his compassion for the people alerted him to the fact that as the artist-designer he was pushing his

⁶³⁴ Webster, 1995, pp.16-17.

⁶³⁵ For pictures and further details of *Ngatokowaru II*, see Kernot, 1983.

⁶³⁶ Kernot, 1983.

⁶³⁷ Mead, 1995, p.6.

⁶³⁸ Kernot, 1983, p.192.

community too far”⁶³⁹. Some of the whānau were very traditional in outlook and therefore felt very uneasy about the compromising of tradition. Erosion of Māori culture was of great concern; a factor that was increasingly highlighted in the media due to Māori protests at that time. These whānau wanted the project to be governed by strict laws of tapu, such as not eating in the unfinished wharehau and the exclusion of women. These restrictions however, were not of as great importance to those who were “oriented towards change rather than conservation”⁶⁴⁰, especially the restrictions around the disposal of wood shavings from the carvings.

For those such as Winiata and his brothers however, their religion was an important part of their identity as Māori. To them, the Māori and Pākehā worlds could work in harmony rather than opposition. When articulating their designs, they spoke in terms of “creativity, imagination and innovation”⁶⁴¹, and saw the introduction of Christianity to the Raukawa people as “the single most important event in tribal history”⁶⁴². From their viewpoint, there was no dilemma in combining figures representing ancestral figures such as Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi (the two chiefs who had invited Hadfield) alongside Bishop Hadfield and Father Delach. Christianity and their Māori culture were so entwined that they could not be easily separated, nor did they wish to do so.

Despite the tensions between the whānau factions however, compromises were sought and attained in a bid to retain whānau unity. While some may argue that the house more resembles a church than a meeting house, it nevertheless has integral and undeniable connections to Māori tradition, both pre- and post-Christianity. Kernot noted that because of the kinship structure within which these tensions occurred, they were more easily controlled. Therefore - “Ngatokowaru II helps the whānau resolve these tensions by allowing a dialogue to develop between its opposing sections and thereby to preserve its essential unity”⁶⁴³. As with many instances in Māori society, there arose the necessity to innovate traditions in order to meet the new circumstances and environments, and to incorporate the increasing diversity of that society.

⁶³⁹ Mead, 1995, p.6.

⁶⁴⁰ Kernot, 1983, p.188.

⁶⁴¹ Kernot, 1983, p.191.

⁶⁴² Kernot, 1983, p.192.

⁶⁴³ Kernot, 1983, p.197.

3.8.7 Ihenga and Te Hono Ki Hawaiki:

Ihenga and *Te Hono Ki Hawaiki* are included here as examples of the incredible beauty of late 20th century wharehau, and as the continuing transformation of Māori art as it persists in expressing changes to the environments surrounding Māori today. *Ihenga*⁶⁴⁴ was conceptualised and carved by noted Māori artist, Lyonel Grant. Skinner considers that *Ihenga* deals with whakapapa on two fronts – the first is the whakapapa of the Te Arawa tribe “embodied within Ihenga’s open arms”⁶⁴⁵. The other whakapapa story being told however, is that of Māori art.

Lyonel Grant was trained in the Rotorua Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, under master carver Hone Taiapa. Staying for postgraduate study, Lyonel finally left the Institute in 1984 after ten years there. He realised that in order to ‘court the corporate client’, he would have to diversify his knowledge base and skills. In 1987 he attended a carving and sculpting symposium in Finland, where he developed an interest in bronze-casting. On his return to New Zealand, and over the next few years, Lyonel continued to expand his artistic repertoire to high acclaim. He now combines his considerable training in the traditional carving arts with a wide ranging incorporation of contemporary knowledges. Lyonel offers this advice:

[The] optimum pathway must be: honour the past masters, retain one hand on the plough, be market savvy, be able to read the grain of any given piece of timber, be connected at 56k or better, pretend to like wine and cheese, know that the rock drill is not a seventies band – and all this in the name of contemporary art expression⁶⁴⁶.

*Te Hono ki Hawaiki*⁶⁴⁷ is situated in Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand on the marae there. Conceptualised by Cliff Whiting, *Te Hono ki Hawaiki* speaks of identity, as does any other wharehau and marae. However, in this instance what is embodied is “the spirit of bicultural partnership that lies at the heart of the Museum, and is based on the idea that Te Papa is a forum for the nation”⁶⁴⁸. The name of the wharehau relates to our spiritual origins, and to accept that idea is to accept that all peoples can claim the marae as their place to stand

⁶⁴⁴ For pictures of *Ihenga*, see Skinner, 2008, p.192.

⁶⁴⁵ Skinner, 2008, p.184.

⁶⁴⁶ In H. Smith, 2002, p.49.

⁶⁴⁷ For pictures of *Te Hono ki Hawaiki* at Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand, see <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/TePapa/English/WhatsOn/LongTermExhibitions/TheMarae.htm>

⁶⁴⁸ Te Papa Tongarewa, online source - <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/TePapa/English/WhatsOn/LongTermExhibitions/TheMarae.htm>

and belong, and therefore to have a place in and on this land. Through the remarkable carvings, all cultures can feel at home on the marae, as the carvings link to people of all walks of life since our conjoined history, and all peoples⁶⁴⁹. While *Te Hono ki Hawaiki* is indubitably Māori in origin, it also speaks of enduring resilience of the Māori people in moving with, rather than being swept aside by, the metaphorical winds of change.

3.9 Renaissance Periods Further Defined:

As mentioned previously, while all three Renaissance Periods share features such as reclaiming ancestral traditions and giving them meaning in the present period, there were nevertheless subtle yet distinctive differences between them. These three periods can be seen in another way that connects more directly with mātauranga Māori. Using the symbolism of the wharenuī, the three Renaissance periods can be likened to three pou (supporting poles) found in the wharenuī – Te Poutuarongo, Te Pouteaniwa, and Te Poutewharau. These pou can be seen as indicators of time within the wharenuī⁶⁵⁰, which is relevant for the current project.

Te Poutuarongo (Renaissance Period One) is located on the back wall of the wharenuī, which is where the mauri of the house and people is buried (in the case of Awataha, literally in the form of a stone). This wall relates to the past; to the origins of the people. It is also connected to Paatuuwatawata, which in the old days were fortified pa, which were about resistance. Renaissance Period One was mostly about *resistance* to loss of land and other resources, and to a lesser degree, loss of culture. Those such as Te Kooti were literally and metaphorically fighting for people and culture. The innovation occurring in this period occurred through resistance to those losses, and to the imposition of European culture and ideals. Paradoxically however, part of this innovation was articulated through the use of new technologies and tools in the building and embellishment of wharenuī built specifically as expressions of resistance.

Te Pouteaniwa (Renaissance Period Two) is the pou on the front wall inside the house. This is joined to Te Poutuarongo by the tahuhu – the ridgepole or metaphorical backbone of the whare. So it is joined to the past, but moving forward to the future. While the

⁶⁴⁹ Te Papa Tongarewa, online source - <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/TePapa/English/WhatsOn/LongTermExhibitions/TheMarae.htm>

⁶⁵⁰ Much of this information has arisen from discussions with Dr Rangi Mataamua in March 2009. I acknowledge Dr Mataamua for the gift of knowledge he gave me.

back of the whare where Te Poutuarongo stands is often quite dark, as you move forward to the front of the house there is more light – i.e. moving into Te Ao Mārama. Te Pouteaniwa is lit more by its proximity to a window and the door, so it is more exposed than Te Poutuarongo. This can be seen as a metaphor where Māori culture was exposed to a new culture, in the process becoming very vulnerable. But we had to let the light of the new world in; Māori had to break with tradition – while there were efforts to hold on to Te Ao Kohatu (the old world) there also had to be acceptance of some of the new.

Renaissance Period Two – Te Pouteaniwa - featured a more gentle process of *reclamation* through the efforts of those such as Ngata, Buck and Pomare. There was recognition of cultural loss, as well as resistance to continued losses and imposed culture. Whereas Renaissance Period One featured a kind of reaching to the future in terms of the use of new technologies, Renaissance Period Two enacted a reaching into the past, through reclaiming traditional carving arts and the use of *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* as a prototype for the modern wharenui. There was, however, a concerted effort to innovate Māori culture in order to create a better ‘fit’ with new environments through the weaving together of the best of both Māori and Pākehā cultures by those such as Ngata. This then, was the conscious creativity of blending past and present in order to build a better future for Māori people and culture. Therefore, Te Pouteaniwa is the interface between the old world and the new world.

Te Poutewharau⁶⁵¹ (Renaissance Period Three) is outside the whare, the pou that intersects the maihi (bargeboards), and usually has a tekoteko and/or koruru at the top of it. This pou is still joined to the others by the tahuhu, but is also the one that is most exposed to the elements and the metaphorical winds of change. In terms of Māori culture, we have been increasingly exposed to national and international influences, and if we didn’t allow ourselves to be innovative and creative to deal with that exposure, Māori cultural survival would be in jeopardy. We have had to move outside of tradition (which can be represented by the inside of the wharenui) and incorporate new ideas into our traditions and cultures that best served us in these new environments. While this can be and is seen by many as a negative indicator of the destruction of our culture and our traditions, it can also be seen as a positive concept where innovation and creativity is enabled, where the potential to re-create ourselves in new and exciting ways is also enabled, and where our resilience and strength can be celebrated.

⁶⁵¹ Not all wharenui feature this pou.

Renaissance Period Three showed both resistance to cultural losses, and reclamation of traditional culture. There was however, also a **rejuvenation** of people and culture. By this time period, much more of culture had been lost, and the effects of this were more negatively expressed in social indices – whānau were often shattered by dysfunction, many Māori were unemployed or in prison, and educational underachievement was prevalent, for example. Therefore the rejuvenation or revitalisation of Māori people and culture had to occur on a much greater scale than before. Conscious and continued innovation of culture to adapt more fully to new national and international environments and conditions has ensured that Renaissance Period Three has not receded as with previous Renaissances.

Part of the reason for this is the parallel resistance, reclamation and rejuvenation of the world's indigenous populations. We ride the wave together. It has become much more difficult to ignore indigenous rights, and indeed, human rights. Also, the speed of technological advances plays a part. We can now have contact with other indigenous peoples in the blink of an eye. Their stories and our stories are shared to a degree never before seen. Stories flash around the world often on the very same day they occur, rather than weeks, months, or years down the track as before. Māori are also seen as leaders in indigenous terms – leaders in research, indigenous struggles and theory, in indigenous growth and reclamation. This puts us firmly on the world stage, and brings us the support of others. So within all this is the weaving of Māori, indigenous and other world features. We innovate, we create; we have done more than merely survive.

We have come a long way, with a future of potential and possibility. Even though there are still enormous social problems, we have a better economic base than ever, political representation that is taken seriously, higher rates of tertiary educated people, international support with other indigenous communities, media representation where we can see our language and culture every day, and so on. All this urges continued growth. Urban marae as sites of cultural retention for urban Māori are one of the ways in which Māori culture continues to grow while incorporating features of the landscapes to which they belong.

3.10 Conclusion:

This chapter has concentrated on the changes to artwork and spatial arrangements associated with marae, and with some of the Māori people who were most influential in producing these changes to Māori society. My interest in art is not ‘for art’s sake’, but in how they reflect the changes – the innovations of tradition – arising from within the context of post-contact Māori society. Noted contemporary Māori artist, Cliff Whiting wrote that the “impact of a new culture presented difficulties to the carvers....Through all this, the art was constantly changing to meet the new conditions”⁶⁵². As with Neich, my aim was to integrate the art “as text with the social, political, economic and religious conditions of the times as context”⁶⁵³. In order to understand the art, one must understand the historical context, and the people that arose within those contexts who influenced the transformations in art. Art arises as the medium through which a people may express their joys and sorrows, their losses and gains, their history, their lives. And for Māori, the marae is the most appropriate site for this expression – “we realise that art is to do with people, with waiata, with whaikōrero and with the whole set-up of the marae”⁶⁵⁴.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I chose to perceive the changes as ‘innovations’ that maintained strong connections to the ‘traditions’ of ancient Māori society and culture, rather than as ‘inventions’ that arose in the latter part of the twentieth century to fulfill political agendas of indigenous peoples. I chose to see these ‘innovations of tradition’ as expressions of the dynamic and enduring nature of Māori culture; as something which Māori people, and all peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand, could celebrate as evidence of our uniqueness in a world with ever-decreasing boundaries. I chose to use this writing as an opportunity to rejoice in what we still retain, in the courage and tenacity of our ancestors, and the pathways that are provided to guide us into the future, while keeping our eyes firmly on the past.

People such as Hongi Hika, Hone Heke, Raharuhi Rukupo, Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki and Apirana Ngata are those who expressed their culture and traditions in ancient ways, yet were adaptable enough to reach forward into the future by embracing as much as possible, the new ways that were thrust upon them. The three Renaissance Periods were preceded by times of intense change and incredible loss, and by a realisation, therefore, of the necessity of

⁶⁵² In Neich, 1994, p.vii.

⁶⁵³ 2001, p.306.

⁶⁵⁴ Whiting, in Neich, 1994, p.viii.

moving with those changes, while reclaiming and holding firm to the teachings and knowledges of our ancestors. Awataha Marae and its people can be situated within Renaissance Period Three, and provides a microcosmic look at the wider context of Aotearoa/New Zealand in the latter parts of the 20th century and early 21st century. Their story reflects the joys and sorrows, the losses and gains, their history, their lives. The people of Awataha are ‘te manawa patukituki’ – the beating heart – of Awataha Marae.

CHAPTER FOUR : TE MANAWA PATUKITUKI O AWATAHA MARAE

*Te inī marae kore, e bara. Te marae inī kore, he moumou.
People without a marae are nothing...A marae without people, is wasted⁶⁵⁵.*

4.1 Introduction:

Awataha Marae stands purposefully, located on Akoranga Drive, Northcote; part of Auckland's North Shore (Te Raki Pae Whenua). Overlooking a motorway and surrounded by the accoutrements of urban life, it is a constant reminder for some who see it of the conflict and pain within our collective history. For some it offers a glimpse of hope, a gentle yet insistent karanga (call) of welcome as ancestral ties are reawakened and tupuna (ancestors) softly call them home. Others applaud its existence as a fervent message that our culture and our people, despite many decades of cultural marginalisation and domination, remain a vibrant and integral part of the social landscape of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Awataha Marae is many things to many people, not all of which is positively focused. Yet it is a potent symbol of the enduring nature of a dynamic culture striving to attain social, economic and political equality in the land to which it belongs.

It is emphasised that Awataha Marae did not develop in isolation, or in a vacuum. There is a history that reaches back at least a thousand years in the development and growth of Māori tribal culture, moves forward into a recent past of cultural domination, and looks intensely at the present situations and the tensions between continuing domination and the struggle for cultural reclamation, and finally casts tendrils into the future, seeking a positive vision of strength and regeneration. Contextualising the development of Awataha Marae within the history of our land may serve to promote greater understanding of our collective history.

⁶⁵⁵ Cited by Sir James Henare in 'Foreword', Awataha Marae Incorporated Society (AMIS), 1987, p.2.

The Awataha project arose in what can be termed Renaissance Period Three, in the latter half of the 20th century. Awataha Marae therefore has connections to wider social issues such as colonisation, urbanisation, loss of culture, and reclamation of culture. Although the drive by Māori for a marae on the North Shore began in the 1960s, the physical building of the complex did not begin until the late 1980s. An exploration of this history could reveal why it took so long to achieve tangible results, linking in to the issues cited above. The perceived need for a pan-tribal urban marae reflects the effects of urbanisation on Māori culture and people, including the presence in this area of people from many different tribal groups. However, tensions remain in the drive to complete the marae complex and firmly establish it as a base of healing and refuge for Māori people, and as a base for cross-cultural communication within the community in which it stands. Examination of these issues will place the formation and development of Awataha Marae within a wider social, historical, and political context.

4.2 Ancestral Trails⁶⁵⁶:

Many many years ago in the times of our ancestors, Matakamokamo lived in a cave called Ruamaunga. A descendant of giants (kahui tipua) and Mataaho (Kaitiaki of Volcanoes), Matakamokamo took as his senior wife, Matakerepo. Matakerepo also joined with the prisoner, Tukiata, to draw him under her protective cloak. As is the wont of men at times, Matakamokamo and Tukiata squabbled while weaving a whatu-korari. While they argued, they neglected the sacred fires of Mahuika, the Goddess of Fire, called into being by the incantations of Matakerepo. Mahuika rose up in graceful ire and called in fury to Mataaho to revenge this breach of sacred lore. Mataaho shivered and shook, and sent tremors to punish his neglectful descendants. The waters of Pupuke-Moana boiled and churned as falling rock exploded into its depths. Ruamaunga was utterly destroyed as its walls crumbled and fell. Matakamokamo, Matakerepo and Tukiata were turned to stone, and cast out by the explosive forces. Out of this was formed Te Kopua o Matakamokamo

⁶⁵⁶ This section draws its version of history mainly from the writings of the people of Awataha marae. The history surrounding the Tamaki Makaurau/Auckland area is very contested and complex, and beyond the reaches of this dissertation. The lands known as Te Raki Pae Whenua/North Shore today have been home to a variety of tribes, including Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Whatua, Hauraki, Te Taou, and Kawerau a Maki. As part of the negotiation of the setting up of the marae however, Kawerau-a-Maki was considered to be the tribe with rights to the Awataha whenua through the principle of ahi kaa, and the kawa of the Marae is that of Kawerau-a-Maki. Therefore this history favours a Kawerau a Maki perspective.

*and Te Kopua o Matakerepo*⁶⁵⁷, *Footprints of Mataaho which are constant reminders of the price of neglect of sacred duties. Rangitoto rose up as the seas of Hauraki were rent asunder by the eruption of molten lava from the depths of Papatuanuku; a sentinel of living rock watching over the lands of Tamaki Makaurau*⁶⁵⁸.

Rangitoto Island was formed by violent explosions approximately 600 years ago, making it the youngest of nearly 50 volcanoes in the Auckland area. Oral history considers that it gained its name following a battle between two chiefs in the 14th century, one of whom was Tama Te Kapua, captain of the Te Arawa canoe. During this battle, Tama Te Kapua's nose bled, thus giving the full name of the island as *Te-Rangi-i-Totongia-Te-Ihu-o-Tamatekapua* – the day the blood of Tama Te Kapua was shed. Early tribes did not utilise Rangitoto as much more than a war-time lookout and a parrot reserve, although there are also ancient burial caves there. Rangitoto was bought by the Crown in 1854, and is today a public reserve managed by the Department of Conservation⁶⁵⁹. This is the sacred mountain which watches over the people of Awataha today.

Te Raki Pae Whenua (The Good Fertile Lands to the North)⁶⁶⁰, was in earlier times a herenga waka – a place where many canoes landed to access the bounties of the Tamaki Makaurau area. The original name of this area was 'Te Pae o te Raki' – The Northern Horizon. Close to the site of Awataha is Nga Huru a Taiki, named by those of the Tainui canoe. Thus it was that tribes such as Ngāpuhi, Te Arawa, Tuhoe, and Tainui intermingled with those such as Kawerau-a-Maki, Te Taou, Ngāti Paoa and Ngāti Whatua. This at times erupted into inter-tribal conflicts. One of the most famous relatively recent conflicts was named Te Ika-Rangi-Nui in the early to mid-1820s. Led by Ngāpuhi chief, Hongi Hika, this invasion resulted in the decimation of most of the tribes in the Tamaki Makaurau area, with the remainder moving out from the area for several years⁶⁶¹.

Awataha – *the River Flowing at the Side* – was an ancient papakāinga (ancestral home) of around 1000 years duration for the Kawerau-a-Maki people, originally named Te Korekore. The Kawerau-a-Maki people were harried often by invading tribes, but always returned to

⁶⁵⁷ See Figure 1 for location of these basins.

⁶⁵⁸ Adapted from Shortland, 2004, p.2, and AMIS, 1987, p.6.

⁶⁵⁹ Department of Conservation, <http://csl.doc.govt.nz/parks-and-recreation/places-to-visit/auckland/auckland-area/rangitoto-island-scenic-reserve/>

⁶⁶⁰ Translation given by Shortland, 2004.

⁶⁶¹ George, 2004, p.28; and Verran, n.d., www.historicalbirkenhead.com/membersstories43.htm

“trespassers” were removed and their homes pulled down. Eruera Patariki had however gained agreement that the urupā (burial site) be set aside as a reserve⁶⁶⁴.



Figure 2 : Group of Māori children, ca. 1910.

Over the next few decades, the land including the Awataha site went through several changes of ownership and usage. In 1942, the Public Works and Health Department required that families remove the bones of their ancestors from the burial site, as the land was to be used as a fuel oil storage depot for the United States navy⁶⁶⁵. A party led by Princess Te Puea of the Tainui tribe moved their ancestors with proper ritual, although they were forced to keep it secret. Noted Māori poet Hone Tuwhare attended this event with his father in an incident that “became a burden which weighed heavily on me for many years”; a burden that was revealed somewhat in his poem “Burial” written almost 20 years later:

In a splendid sheath
of polished wood and glass
with shiny appurtenances
lay he fitly blue-knuckled
and serene:

*hurry rain and trail him
to the bottom of the grave*

⁶⁶⁴ Verran, nd, www.historicalbirkenhead.com/membersstories43.htm

⁶⁶⁵ Verran, nd, www.historicalbirkenhead.com/membersstories43.htm

Flowers beyond budding
will not soften the gavel's
beat of solemn words
and hard sod thudding:

*hurry rain and seek him
at the bottom of the grave*

Through a broken window
inanely looks he up;
his face glass-gouged and bloodless
his mouth engorging clay
for all the world uncaring....

*Cover him quickly earth!
Let the inexorable seep of rain
finger his greening bones, deftly*⁶⁶⁶.



Figure 3 : View of the Auckland Harbour from Northcote, site of the Awataha land.

Further parts of the Awataha site were sold to build the Hato Petera (St. Peters) College, the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation bought part from the Catholic Church, the North Shore Teachers College was established (later Auckland Technical Institute, and now Auckland University of Technology, sited next to the current Awataha Marae), while other parts were sold for residential housing and motorway purposes. In 1965 the remaining

⁶⁶⁶ Cited in AMIS, 1987, p.11.

land was reassigned as Crown land, including the nine acres of what was to become Awataha Marae. This was declared to be ‘surplus to Crown requirements’ in 1984, and the Crown agreed to lease that land to the Awataha Marae Incorporated Society in late 1985, with the lease signing in March 1986⁶⁶⁷.

4.3 Ordinary People, Extraordinary Commitment:

4.3.1 North Shore Māori Tribal Committees – Nga Wawata (The Dreams):

The North Shore Māori Tribal Committee⁶⁶⁸ (NSMTC) was formed in 1961, and was part of the Waitemata Tribal District. Representatives of the NSMTC to the Waitemata Tribal Executive in 1961 were Ben Broughton and Rangi Bailey, Chairman and Secretary respectively. Other committee members were Messrs Panapa, W. Eruera, C. Hawke, B. Kingi, Hutchison, and Mrs’ Aikhurst, Smith, Nikara, and Hutchison. The Committee functions were separated into the following areas – social, welfare, education, housing, and public relations⁶⁶⁹. Discussions at the meetings included appointment of Welfare Officers, the lack of recognition of the Committee and input from the wider community, communication with the Māori Affairs Department, and financial difficulties of some of the Māori community. For example, a shopkeeper at Northcote complained that several Māori families were behind in their payments, with average debts at £6-£16, with one family in debt for over £200. The committee felt this was a personal matter to the families however, and couldn’t help except with budget advice⁶⁷⁰.

At a following meeting, Mr Tupi Puriri considered that this was a “universal problem” for Māori and Pākehā on the Shore, when

big firms like Maple Furnishers, Smith and Browns, etc., who operate a form of Hire Purchase system, opened up an unlimited amount of credit to people moving from backblocks to city, who were mainly unsophisticated when it came to financial matters⁶⁷¹.

⁶⁶⁷ AMIS, 1987, pp.7 & 24.

⁶⁶⁸ Permission to use the Minute Books and Minutes of NSMTC, NSMC, Te Uruwao Trust, Awataha Marae Incorporated Society (AMIS), the Awataha Marae Governing Board (AMGB) and information regarding Waiwharariki granted by Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson, AMIS AMGB, and Waiwharariki.

⁶⁶⁹ North Shore Māori Tribal Committee (NSMTC), *Minute Book 1*: 1961-1967, 1974-1975.

⁶⁷⁰ NSMTC, *Minute Book 1*, Minutes for meeting held 28th February 1962.

⁶⁷¹ Cited in NSMTC, *Minute Book 1*, Minutes for meeting held 18th March 1962.

Māori were warned in an article in *Te Ao Hou* of the harsh reality of city life:

Life in the city is not easy: you have to work regularly, be very careful with money, accommodation often gives trouble, and friends and relations have a habit of getting themselves into difficulties you have to help them out of⁶⁷².

Obviously, although relatively few Māori lived on the North Shore at this time, the vagaries and hardships of city life were having an impact, as noted in the Minutes of the NSMTC.

At their first Annual General Meeting in April 1961, the NSMTC decided on the establishment of a marae on the North Shore⁶⁷³. Not much action ensued from this over the next few years, although in May 1965, members agreed that monies for a “Māori Centre on the Shore” would be set aside. However, the Committee went into recess in 1967, and the new North Shore Māori Committee (NSMC) was elected in July 1974. Mr. K. Hawke was elected as Chairman; Mr. C. Ellis as Treasurer; Mr. A. Pritchard as Secretary; and Mr. G. Ihaia, Mrs. T.A. Wiremu, Mrs E.P. Tapara, Mrs. B. Williams, Mr. J. Oswald, and Mrs. M. Te Rata were Committee Members. At their meeting of 21st July 1974, the Committee agreed that amongst their aims would be “To establish a marae on the North Shore”⁶⁷⁴. Also included in these Minutes was Census data stating that of the 107,000 North Shore populations, 2,989 were Māori, with 15% of those under 15 years of age.

From the Minutes of a meeting held in October 1974⁶⁷⁵ however, it seems that the marae being mooted was to be established on the grounds of Hato Petera College, with discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of having a marae situated under the auspices of the Catholic Church. A further meeting in December of that year had in attendance Dr Rangi Walker, President of the Auckland Māori District Council, and Mr Monty Wikiriwhi, District Officer for Māori Affairs. Inadequacy of facilities for Māori on the North Shore were discussed, noting that despite plans for a marae at Hato Petera being underway, given that there were now “5,000 Māori families from Devonport to Wellsford”, the situation was becoming critical. Dr Walker confirmed that even if the marae were built on Church property, government subsidies still applied, especially since Hato Petera accepted students from any

⁶⁷² *Te Ao Hou*, Number 36, September 1961; cited in www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/UrbanMāori/2/en

⁶⁷³ AMIS, 1987, p.24.

⁶⁷⁴ North Shore Māori Committee (NSMC), Minutes of meeting held 21st July 1974, in North Shore Māori Tribal Committee (NSMTC), *Minute Book 1*.

⁶⁷⁵ NSMC, Minutes of meeting held 10th October 1974, in NSMTC, *Minute Book 1*.

tribe. The marae would be the “responsibility of the North Shore Māori Catholic Society”, with the NSMC in support⁶⁷⁶.

At a meeting in February 1975, amongst discussion of the seeming increase in Māori social problems, Mr Bloodworth asked the Committee “in what way would a Marae benefit the second generation?”. The listed responses were as follows:

- A place to go
- Identity for those who are removed from their Tūrangawaewae
- Receptiveness of Māori to Māori – fearful of anything Pākehā-based rather than not interested.

Mr Fitzgerald agreed on the efficacy of a Marae on the North Shore, although also detailed was “a proposed Community Complex at Birkdale-Beachhaven”⁶⁷⁷. In March 1975, doubts were signaled regarding a marae at Hato Petera College, and as the situation seemed unsolvable at that stage, it was decided to approach the Takapuna City Council for possible sites⁶⁷⁸.

A Special Meeting was held on 21st April 1975, and at this time land at Akoranga Drive in Northcote was discussed as a suitable venue for a marae. As this was close to the North Shore Teaching College and there was a large concentration of Māori families in the immediate area, this site was looked at favourably. It was considered that one to five acres would be sufficient to build a wharepuni (sleeping hall), wharehui (meeting house), wharekai (dining hall) and ablution block, and the marae would be administered by a Board of Trustees. Also mentioned was a query from the Takapuna Council as to “who are the Tangata Whenua?”. The response was that “In view of the mixed Tribal population interspersed throughout the North Shore, and in the best interests of all peoples, perhaps an idealistic approach to the project be the concern of an Associated group of Different Tribes”⁶⁷⁹.

In May 1975, the marae was discussed further with discussion over the willingness of the Takapuna City Council to support a marae on the North Shore, however, several proposed sites were rejected as unsuitable for reasons such as lack of Māori people in particular areas⁶⁸⁰. Further meetings in that year raised issues such as the possibility “that the marae could

⁶⁷⁶ NSMC, Minutes of meeting held 5th December 1974, in NSMTC, *Minute Book 1*.

⁶⁷⁷ NSMC, Minutes of meeting held 13th February 1975, in NSMTC, *Minute Book 1*.

⁶⁷⁸ (NSMC), Minutes of meeting held 13th March 1975, in NSMTC, *Minute Book 1*.

⁶⁷⁹ NSMC, Minutes of meeting held 21st April 1975, in NSMTC, *Minute Book 1*.

⁶⁸⁰ NSMC, Minutes of meeting held 8th May 1975, in NSMTC, *Minute Book 1*.

become a political football”⁶⁸¹, as articles on a proposed marae appeared in the *Auckland Star*, the *New Zealand Herald*, and the *North Shore Times Advertiser*. Possible sites included those at Akoranga Drive, Rahopara at Castor Bay, Birkenhead Domain, and the Kauri Point Domain. These sites were inspected by Committee member, Bill Tapuke, and the preferred site at that time was that overlooking Tuff Crater. Further discussion was held over funding proposals, and the desire to finalise a site first, then look more comprehensively at fundraising⁶⁸².

Plans for the marae continued into 1976, although the proposed site of 22 acres at Akoranga Drive was then owned by the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC) – the NSMC was hoping to gain a small portion of this land for marae purposes - and plans were mooted that the site would also include television studios. Delays of two to three years were considered possible in order for the NZBC to consolidate its plans there⁶⁸³. Research into the history of the lands and peoples continued, including its seeming inclusion in the Mahurangi Purchase, as well as detailed information on the procedural activities of setting up Hoani Waititi Marae. Politicians such as Jim McClay, Duncan MacIntyre, Winston Peters and Matiu Rata were informed of the Committee’s efforts to establish a marae. It was decided to contact descendants of Tangata Whenua tribes – Ngāti Paoa, Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Tamatera, Ngāti Whānaunga, Ngāpuhi and Kawerau-a-Maki – to invite them to meet with the Minister of Māori Affairs, Duncan MacIntyre, on his proposed visit in November, and to consolidate tribal support for the marae⁶⁸⁴.

A Special Meeting of the NSMC on 28th October, dealt specifically with the impending visit of Duncan MacIntyre on 5th November 1976. Invitations had also been sent to those such as Matiu Rata, Archdeacon Kingi Ihaka, and Dr Rangi Walker, as well as local dignitaries. The mood expressed in the Minutes of this meeting is one of suppressed excitement, with the possibility of resolution to gaining space for a marae on the North Shore. Also discussed was the kawa (ritual protocols) for the visit, given that this was a multi-tribal effort. It was decided that tangata whenua would open and close the proceedings, with Bill Tapuke, George Parekowhai and Toby Rikihana speaking on behalf of the NSMC. Noted was the intention that in future, the “open kawa” procedures would be according to the specific peoples utilizing

⁶⁸¹ NSMC, Minutes of meeting held 12th June 1975, in NSMTC, *Minute Book 1*.

⁶⁸² NSMC, Minutes of meeting held August 14th 1975, in NSMTC, *Minute Book 1*.

⁶⁸³ NSMC, Minutes from meeting held 8th April 1976, in NSMC *Minute Book II*.

⁶⁸⁴ NSMC, Minutes from meeting held 12th August 1976, in *Minute Book II*.

the marae - i.e. if a Tuhoe function then Tuhoe kawa would eventuate⁶⁸⁵. According to newspapers reports of Duncan MacIntyre's visit, the Minister supported the proposal for a marae on the North Shore, stating that "he had never thought the concept of urban maraes would be so popular when he had introduced it in 1970"⁶⁸⁶.

Apart from reports on the Minister's visit and that of ongoing historical research, there is little mention of movement in terms of the marae for the next few months however, except occasional correspondence with the Minister. This included a request for the Committee to negotiate a much smaller area than the five hectares originally asked for, a request objected to by the Committee who felt this was not in the original negotiations⁶⁸⁷. When considering that Hoani Waititi Marae was situated on seven acres, and that the North Shore marae would serve a constituency at least equal to that of Hoani Waititi, "Anything less than 7 acres therefore is unacceptable for 1977 urban marae concept"⁶⁸⁸. A meeting was suggested with Jim McClay, MP of Birkenhead, to settle the land issue⁶⁸⁹.

Ian Cross, Chairman of the NZBC, met with the Committee on 31st August, and although "no firm commitment" was made, the Committee was optimistic about a positive result. The issue of how much land would be given for a marae, and difficulties in sharing the site with the NZBC remained in negotiation⁶⁹⁰. Correspondence from Duncan MacIntyre and Ian Cross in November 1977 suggested that due to NZBC concerns regarding their use of the land, it was probable that nothing further would eventuate until February or March 1978⁶⁹¹. Notice that the Northcote Borough Council was deliberating the rezoning of the land in question around Tank Farm to Residential, required urgent consideration by the NSMC and the NZBC⁶⁹². It seemed that the planned rezoning would not occur though, and plans for the reservation of land for a marae would go ahead, pending further negotiation of issues mentioned⁶⁹³. This did not eventuate however.

⁶⁸⁵ NSMC, Minutes from meeting held 28th October 1976, in *Minute Book II*.

⁶⁸⁶ *Auckland Star*, 6th November 1976, page unknown. Source – NSMC, *Minute Book II*.

⁶⁸⁷ NSMC, see Minutes of meetings held 4th May, 9th June, and 14th July 1977, in *Minute Book II*.

⁶⁸⁸ NSMC, Minutes of meeting held 14th July 1977, in *Minute Book II*.

⁶⁸⁹ NSMC, Minutes of meeting held 11th August 1977, in *Minute Book II*.

⁶⁹⁰ NSMC, Minutes of meeting held 8th September 1977, in *Minute Book II*.

⁶⁹¹ NSMC, Minutes of meeting held 10th November 1977, in *Minute Book II*.

⁶⁹² NSMC, Minutes of meeting held 16th February 1978, in *Minute Book II*.

⁶⁹³ NSMC, Minutes of meeting held 9th March 1978, in *Minute Book II*.

4.3.2 Phase Two – Te Uruwao and Waiwharariki:

Apart from the official meetings shown in the Minute Books, there were unofficial meetings happening on the ‘outside’. Arnold Wilson spoke of the marae proposals being discussed in depth at local ‘watering holes’ between himself and those such as Bill Tapuke, George Parekowhai, Jerry Norman and Toby Rikihana⁶⁹⁴. At this stage Arnold was working as a teacher and Advisor to the Department of Education and travelling often, therefore his involvement in the NSMC was limited until 1976, when he became a member of the Committee. In reference to why a marae on the North Shore was necessary, Arnold considered that it was to bring people together, especially those who didn’t know their tribal affiliations, so that they could learn their cultural heritage. A primary reason for the marae was as an “educational centre that works within the box and also outside the box”⁶⁹⁵ – i.e. utilised traditional Māori culture while seeking innovations to fit the new urban context.

In September 1979, the NSMC formed a subcommittee for the marae – later named Te Uruwao Marae Trust - comprised of Toby Rikihana (Chairman), George Parekowhai, Bert McLean, Harry Lambert, Hendon Stephens, Arnold Wilson, and later Winiata Tatana, Howie Wilson and Peter Tohill⁶⁹⁶. Te Uruwao was the first name suggested for the marae. In full the name *Te Uruwao Nui a Tāne* (Tāne’s grove of trees) “embodies the concept in an institutionalised form”⁶⁹⁷. During this meeting, the prospective marae sites that were rejected as unsuitable was that in Akoranga Drive mentioned above (owned by NZBC), Hato Petera College, Tauri Point, Smith’s Bush, and one at Albany. Architectural plans were presented, and discussion was held of the Marae as a site for cultural activities including arts and crafts, as an adult education centre, and that the Marae would house a plant nursery for the dissemination of cultural knowledge pertaining to native plants. At that stage, it was thought that \$600,000 would be needed to finish the complex⁶⁹⁸. Jerry Norman became Chairman of Te Uruwao in 1982, and Rangitiinia Wilson was elected to the position in 1984.

From the early 1980s, the members of Waiwharariki⁶⁹⁹, a local branch of the Māori Women’s Welfare League, became involved with marae establishment efforts. Both Māori and

⁶⁹⁴ Interviews with Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson occurred at their home in 2002 and 2003.

⁶⁹⁵ Taped interview, Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson, 7th April 2003.

⁶⁹⁶ Awataha Marae Incorporated Society, 1987, p.24.

⁶⁹⁷ Te Uruwao Marae Committee, Minutes of meeting held 6th July 1980.

⁶⁹⁸ Te Uruwao Marae Committee, Minutes of meeting held 6th July 1980.

⁶⁹⁹ The original name of the Milford/Takapuna foreshore, where flax grew abundantly. See Figure 2.

Pākehā women were involved with Waiwharariki, and Rangitiinia Wilson had become President in 1978. Waiwharariki was founded in 1972 at “a time for massive social change and the revival of Māori hopes for justice...[and] also a time of innovation in Māori health”⁷⁰⁰. Arnold Wilson often uses the following whakataukī in his whaikōrero:

Te kōrero a kui ma me koro ma; Whakakongia te tangata, kotahi tonu. Whakakongia te wahine, he mano he mano he mano – The words of our elders are this; Teach a man, you teach one. Teach a woman, you teach many.

His use of this whakataukī honours the contribution of woman to the development of Awataha Marae, all those – Māori and Pākehā – who were involved from 1961 through to the present day. Others integrally involved since the beginnings of Waiwharariki are Edna Batey, Mere Glozier, Nancye Yates, Bella Connell, Jean Wikiriwhi, Bette Cuthbert, Peggy Ashton, Doreen Farrimond, Deana Leonard, Peggy Hughes, and Tainamate Williams.

As well as being involved in health initiatives, Waiwharariki’s energies were directed towards educational projects such as pushing for the teaching of te reo Māori at local schools, and the establishment of a whare wānanga (Māori educational facility) at Birkdale College. They were involved with setting up the first kōhanga reo on the North Shore, and helped care for the tamariki (children) there. Health initiatives included involvement in the groundbreaking *Rapuora* report⁷⁰¹. Petitioning of the Health Department finally resulted in 1984 for mobile testing of ‘glue ear’ in Māori children. Rangitiinia Wilson was one of three original appointees to the Department of Social Welfare’s Māori Advisory Unit in 1983. Waiwharariki were instrumental in gaining a Māori social worker for North Shore Hospital; an effort which took several years before coming to fruition. One of their most praiseworthy achievements (apart from development of the Marae) was the setting up of a cervical screening service that although it was hampered by inadequate and hard-to-source funding, eventuated in a fully sourced health clinic by 1995⁷⁰². This clinic is run today as Te Puna Hauora – a Public Health Organisation – which has a large client base that draws from many ethnic groups, and is now more closely associated with local iwi, Ngāti Whatua.

⁷⁰⁰ Ashton, n.d., p.3.

⁷⁰¹ “Rapuora was a professional survey of Māori women, conducted by Māori women (mostly league members) and written by the late Elizabeth Murchie. The research was carried out throughout 1982 and the report published in 1984 soon after Dr Eru Pomare’s Hauora – a succinct and alarming account of the poor state of Māori health” – Ashton, n.d, p.8.

⁷⁰² Ashton, n.d.



Figure 4 : Awataha members and supporters checking out site below North Shore Teachers College, 1986.

As shown, a marae had been a dream for Māori on the North Shore since the early 1960s. For those associated with Waiwharariki, the setting up of the whare wānanga at Birkdale College was the “first tentative step” towards enabling the dream, and the drive for a marae was led by those such as Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson in what was a long and frustrating journey towards fruition⁷⁰³. A possible site found in 1983 at Birkenhead did not flourish due to lack of support from the local District Council and the lodging of public objections. Anecdotal evidence cites these objections as including worries that a public dump would ensue on the marae site which would encourage rats, and that there would be many loud alcohol-fuelled ‘parties’ that would disturb locals. Other concerns were that pensioner housing be limited, that overnight stays also be limited, and that native trees be conserved⁷⁰⁴. Another possible site in Eskdale Road was an old horse paddock. Here Arnold and other Committee members discovered marijuana plants growing. When they told local police about this discovery however, it seemed as if the Committee members themselves were going to be incriminated for growing them⁷⁰⁵.

⁷⁰³ Ashton, n.d., pp.7 & 12.

⁷⁰⁴ Te Uruwao Marae Trust, Minutes of meeting held 29th March 1981.

⁷⁰⁵ Interview with Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson at their home, 12th March 2003.

A new marae committee chaired by Rangitiinia Wilson remained undeterred however, and a new site in Akoranga Drive called Awataha was eventually found. While working at the Department of Education in 1983, Arnold Wilson heard that part of the land currently occupied by the Auckland Technical Institute (later, AUT) was to be sold. After making enquiries, it was found that 9.5 acres would be available⁷⁰⁶. Meetings with Mr Wellington, Minister of Education, fueled hopes that this land would be available to the Committee. The options were to purchase the land (although a \$200,000 asking price was beyond the capacities of the Committee), or for the land to be gifted (unlikely), with the most probable option being for the land to be placed on reserve by the Department of Lands and Survey, and then leased to the Committee at ‘peppercorn’ rental⁷⁰⁷. Following much hard and arduous work, and with the support of those such as Jean Sampson (Mayor of Northcote), the marae site was formally leased to the Committee in March 1986⁷⁰⁸. Te Uruwao became Awataha (North Shore) Incorporated in January 1986 – taking on the name of the land it was to be sited on - and then Awataha Marae Incorporated Society (AMIS) in 1988.

Fundraising efforts began in earnest from 1986, mostly undertaken by Waiwharariki members – Rangitiinia Wilson remarked that their members had never spent so much time in church, as they went from church to church (as well as other community organisations) seeking public support and monies. The *Awataha Marae Project Booklet* was published in 1987 in an effort to raise public awareness of the venture. It included Forewords by Sir James Henare and Jean Sampson (Mayor of Northcote), maps and other historical detail, as well as detail on Māori culture and marae protocols. An ‘Artist’s Impression’ of the completed marae complex by Pepper Dixon Architects was included (see Figure 8 below), along with details of the buildings to be erected. At this stage it was believed that \$1,342,000 would be required to complete the complex, \$40,000 of which had already been raised. Community members were encouraged to join the ‘Friends (Kai Awhina) of Awataha Marae’ to receive regular updates on progress while donating to the marae efforts.

⁷⁰⁶ Interview with Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson at their home, 12th March 2003.

⁷⁰⁷ Te Uruwao Marae Trust, Minutes of meetings held 9th October 1983, and 16th March 1984.

⁷⁰⁸ AMIS, 1987, p.24.



Figure 5 : Visit by Sir Paul Reeves (Governor General), 1987. Upper – Rangitiinia and Arnold Wilson, Sir Paul Reeves; Lower – Tom Dixon (architect), Sir Paul Reeves, Rangitiinia and Arnold Wilson.



Figure 6 : Visit by Sir Paul Reeves 1987. Upper – Ani Blackman and Jean Sampson (Mayor); Lower – Brian Putt, Ani Blackman, Rangitiinia Wilson, Jean Sampson, Sir Paul Reeves.

Importantly, the *Project Booklet* established that the marae, while based on Māori cultural values, would also be a space of intercultural communication – “Many wish to allow the tides of the whole past to flow into the present and future. With the marae in its traditional role and place in Māoritanga we hope to see benefits to all North Shore residents”⁷⁰⁹. Also cited were the well known words of Hoani (John) Rangihau:

⁷⁰⁹ Awataha Marae Incorporated Society (AMIS), 1987, p.23.

The Māori people need a marae for a host of reasons:

“That we may rise tall in oratory,
That we may weep for our dead,
That we may pray to God,
That we may have our feasts,
That we may house our guests,
That we may have our meetings,
That we may have our reunions,
That we may sing,
That we may dance
And then know the richness of life
And the proud heritage which is truly ours.”⁷¹⁰

On the following page, the Awataha Marae Incorporated Society wrote:

Pākehā people on the Shore need a marae for these reasons:

That they may hear the oratory,
That they may appreciate the farewelling of the dead,
That they may share in Māori prayers to God,
That they may acknowledge their manuhiri status,
That they may join in the feasts,
That they may reduce the racist bias of their communities,
That they may feel comfortable with Māoritanga,
That they may enjoy the song,
That they may see the dancing,
And then know the richness of life in Aotearoa
And the proud heritage of the people of the land⁷¹¹.

⁷¹⁰ AMIS, 1987, p.23.

⁷¹¹ AMIS, 1987, p.24.



Figure 7 : Launch of Awataha Marae Project Booklet, 1987. Top – Rangitiinia Wilson (centre left in black) showing model of Awataha Marae to Awataha whanau and supporters; Bottom – Arnold Wilson, Peggy Ashton, Rangitiinia Wilson, Ani Blackman

The marae community then and now is primarily made up of Māori living on the North Shore, as well as quite a few Pākehā (non-Māori of European descent) and those from other ethnic groups. This reflects in great part the philosophies of influential elders at Awataha, who believe in notions of collaborative bicultural and cross-cultural partnerships as a fundamental way for Māori to successfully move forward into the future, while retaining firm ties to Māori culture and knowledge. And as noted by Walker – “the ultimate conjunction of the two cultures occurs on marae, especially those built in urban areas”⁷¹².

⁷¹² 1987, p.148.

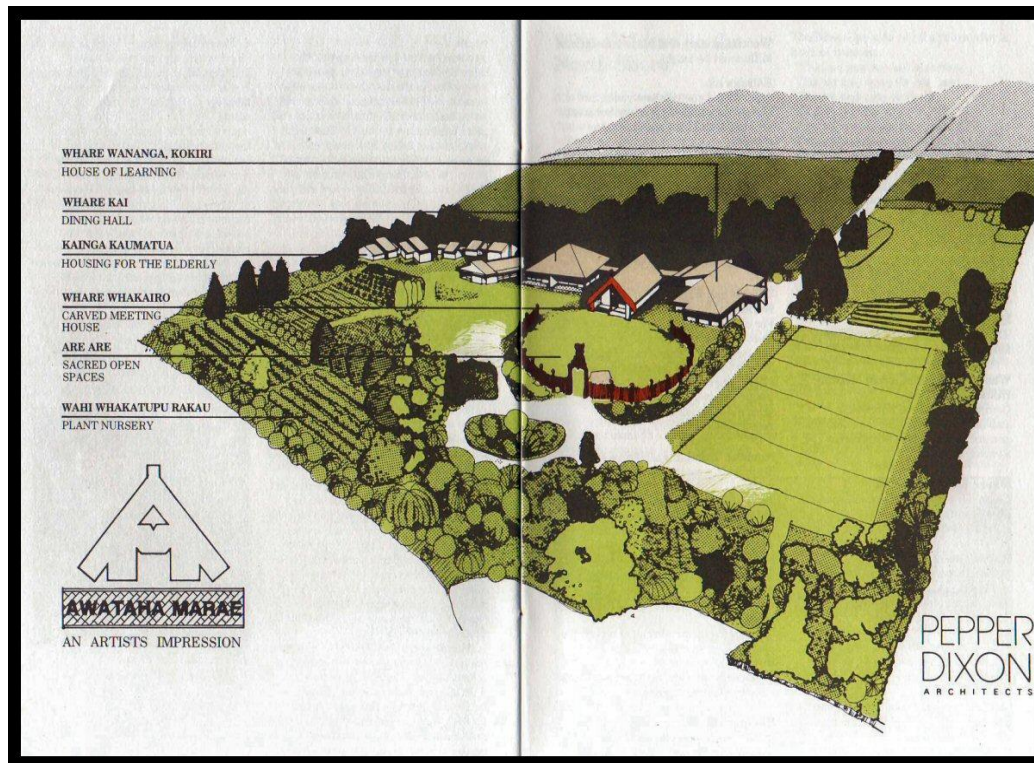


Figure 8 : Artists impression of the completed Awataha Marae Complex⁷¹³

Ideally, relationships are negotiated from a basis of mutual respect that honours and acknowledges similarities and differences. This then was not to be a blending of two or more peoples into one – it was the creation of a unity between different peoples on a common kaupapa sharing a common vision, which included the promotion of inter-cultural understanding. While there is still much work to be done in transforming the fullness of that vision into reality, this was a momentous beginning for Awataha that provides a model others may follow.

⁷¹³ Also note the Awataha Marae logo on the bottom left hand corner. The logo was designed by Christine Walters, and is defined as follows – “The meeting house symbolises the MARAE which is central to the Māori way of life. The weaving pattern refers to the coastal foreshore in line with the Awataha site which was called “Waiwharariki” meaning “water of the coarse flax”. This type of flax is used for making whāriki or woven mats” – Awataha Marae Incorporated Society, 1987, p.3.



Figure 9 : Awataha site before clearing, 1987.

In 1987, the Marae Committee were given office space at the Council Buildings at Birkenhead; the CEO at this time was Ani Blackman. The ritual blessing of the Awataha land also occurred in 1987. In 1988, Gregor Morgan was employed by Awataha to conduct a feasibility study and coordinate fundraising, which he began the following year, assisted by Anthony Paetawa Wilson. Over \$2million was eventually raised through these efforts, enabling the initial building of the administrative block and the kaumātua houses in 1990, followed by the whare tupuna – *Tāne Whakapiripiri* – in 1992, and the kura kaupapa opened on site in 1994⁷¹⁴. Arnold Wilson noted however that during a visit, Minister of Māori Affairs Koro

⁷¹⁴ The kaumātua houses were primarily funded and are administrated by the Department of Housing,

Wetere, had promised the government would match fundraising efforts ‘dollar-for-dollar’. The Committee then waited a year for only \$250,000; a disappointment for all involved.



Figure 10 : Onewa Road office. Middle – Visit from PM Geoffrey Palmer (left), June 1990.

although Awataha has a role in their administration also. The kura kaupapa was funded by the Department of Education.



Figure 11 : Visit by Koro Wetere (Minister of Māori Affairs), 1990. Upper – at Onewa Road office with Rangitiinia Wilson and Anne Hartley (Mayor); Lower – with Toby Rikihana at Awataha site.



Figure 12 : Dawn ceremony to bless Awataha site, 31st October 1987.



Figure 13 : Clearing the Awataha land, 1988 & 1989.



Figure 14 : Visit by Helen Clark (Housing Minister), 1989. Upper – Cherryl Hamilton, Jenny Kirk, Helen Clark, Ani Blackman, Paetawa Wilson; Lower – Rangitiinia Wilson, Jenny Kirk, Helen Clark, Arnold Wilson, Peggy Ashton

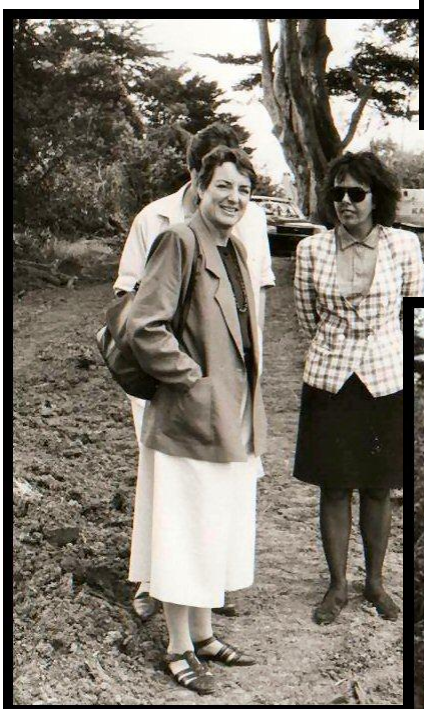


Figure 15 : On site at Awataha, 1989. Upper – Jenny Kirk & Rawinia McCullum; Lower – Rawinia McCullum, Rangitiinia Wilson, Cherryl Hamilton, Jenny Kirk, Arnold Wilson, Paetawa Wilson

4.4 Building the Dream:

4.4.1 Dreams and Visions:

It can be said that any project begins first with a dream which becomes a vision that makes more concrete the hopes and expectations of that dream. Visioning is a powerful step in making dreams reality – “The best way to predict the future is to create it. The first step in creating our future is to envision it. Creating a shared vision stimulates our imagination and aligns our energies as a powerful means of creating a better world”⁷¹⁵. An important factor in making visions real is the leadership that drives the vision forward. Mason Durie makes the following statement regarding leadership:

If, as suggested, Aotearoa/New Zealand is to become a curious mix of world energy and parochial dynamism, tomorrow’s leaders will have to be able to satisfy their followers that they can understand the small picture while helping to paint the big one. They will need to demonstrate effective advocacy on behalf of their constituents, not so much by drawing attention to the differences (from the rest of the world) as highlighting the commonalities (with their neighbours and potential friends)⁷¹⁶.

At the opening of the Whare Whakahaere i Nga Tikanga (Administration Building) in 1990, Rangitiinia Wilson noted in her speech that on completion the marae complex would include the whare tupuna (ancestral house), a whare kai (dining hall – which would also function as a community hall), the whare whakahaere i nga tikanga (multi-purpose exhibition and conference centre/administration block), a kōkiri (work skills area for artists and crafts people), a kōhanga reo (‘language nest’ for pre-school children), and the whare kaumātua (housing for elders). She noted further that:

Awataha Marae will make a unique contribution to the already diverse cultural identity of Auckland’s North Shore....For Māori and Non-Māori alike the Marae will provide opportunities to explore the depth of cultural and spiritual values which can best be experienced on the Marae. ...We see Awataha Marae contributing significantly to a N.Z. society which respects differences and appreciates in many ways the cultural values inherited from the past⁷¹⁷.

⁷¹⁵ www.anewnz.org.nz

⁷¹⁶ Article – *Defensive or Integrative Leadership*, n.d., source - <http://www.anewnz.org.nz/vision.asp?id=153>

⁷¹⁷ Wilson, R., unpublished speech given at Opening Day of Whare Whakahaere I Nga Tikanga,



Figure 16 : Opening of Whare Whakahaere i Nga Tikanga (Administration Building), 17th November 1990. Speakers: Upper – Sir Paul Reeves, Middle – Rangitiinia Wilson.

September 17th 1990.



Figure 17 : Opening of Whare
Whakahaere i Nga Tikanga
(Administration Building), 17th
November 1990 – Dance groups.



Figure 18 : Opening of Whare Whakahaere i Nga Tikanga (Administration Building), 17th November 1990.

As can be seen from the photos on the previous pages, the opening ceremony was a day attended by thousands of people from all ages and ethnic groups; all there to celebrate the presence of a marae on Auckland's North Shore. It was a day of whakapiripiri – of drawing together – in ways that held the promise of fulfilling the vision of Awataha Marae as a centre for intercultural sharing on a base of kaupapa Māori. The Administration Block was opened by Governor General, Sir Paul Reeves, and Rangitiinia Wilson, Chairperson of the Awataha Marae Incorporated Society, spoke in reply. Although not exempt from the tensions being enacted in the wider society, this day was one enjoyed by all who attended, raising the public profile of the Marae and its people even further.

In the Awataha Marae Vision document – *The Vision, the Hope, the Expectation*, it was noted also that:

We see the Marae being concerned with today's issues of racial tension, fear, anger and misunderstanding which currently concern a large number of New Zealanders. Anxiety about the future New Zealand can only be addressed when understanding and knowledge are shared by both urban Māori and others in our society. Excellent opportunities for shared knowledge will have their basis in the spiritual values embodied in the buildings, traditions and the people of the Marae. This knowledge can provide a source of security and strength for all who use the Marae. Appreciation of those aspects of taha Māori which will be useful and important to individuals and groups in the community will grow as more people experience the cultural richness of Marae life, and the strengths and wisdom are felt among their associates in their every day lives⁷¹⁸.

Notations in the Minutes of meetings held by the Awataha Marae Incorporated Society show that the leadership of those such as Rangitiinia Wilson was imperative to the success that was achieved in building the Marae. One such comment was that “Without her strength the project would never have reached this conclusion”⁷¹⁹. Rangitiinia always acknowledged that the successes of the project were achieved through a group effort however, including the support of her “hoa Rangatira”, Arnold Wilson. While the Committees since 1961 had endeavored to establish a marae on the North Shore as a base for Māori, they were always

⁷¹⁸ Awataha Marae Incorporated Society, 1987, unpublished document: *Awataha Marae – The Vision, the Hope, the Expectation*, p.1.

⁷¹⁹ In Minutes of AMIS Annual General Meeting, 14th November 1989.

aware of the wider national and international contexts that surrounded their efforts. Without this knowledge, including the necessity of making it a community-wide project rather than just a Māori one, it is doubtful that they could have succeeded in their efforts.

At the AMIS Annual General Meeting of 14th November 1989⁷²⁰, the following officers and committee members were elected: Chairperson – Rangitiinia Wilson; Executive Secretary – Ani Blackman; Treasurer – Euphymya Ngapo; Committee Members – Mani Te Amo, Peggy Ashton, Doreen Farrimond, Mere Roberts, Jerry Norman, Colin Griffiths, Dorothy Heap, Ewen Derrick, Hinemoa Xhhoru, Brian Putt, Rawinia McCallum, Bill Tapuke, Tainamate Williams, Edrys Armstrong, Dawn McKay, Donna Fenton, Roy Flight, Rihi Flight and Betty Woodard. In attendance were also Paetawa Wilson, Peter Tohill, Syd Kingi, Mack Tapuke, Margaret Clarke, Sarah Pickering, Gregor Norman, Ray McFarlane, David Norris, Gordon Jones, and Desma Riddle. These names reveal the multi-ethnic and multi-tribal makeup of those involved with the development of Awataha Marae in the late 1980s and 1990s, and the extent of the community support available at those times.

In her book, *Kōrero Tabi: Talking Together*, Dame Joan Metge discussed a 1961 meeting of the Māori Education Foundation in Auckland. The Foundation’s “chief architect”, Hoani Waititi, “insisted on its being a co-operative enterprise, involving Māori and Pākehā equally”⁷²¹. Dame Joan began the discussions, followed by Hoani Waititi who elaborated on her factual presentation with anecdotes from his life, thereby giving concrete and personal significance to her abstract arguments. This, for Dame Joan, led her to understand that

When Māori and Pākehā respect and trust each other, recognising our differences, we achieve our goals more effectively than we could alone, learn much that enriches us and have a great deal of fun in the process⁷²².

Those Māori and Pākehā involved with the development of Awataha Marae could recount many stories of how their shared purpose created cross-cultural and personal understandings of each other that would not have been achievable otherwise, as well as the many instances of “fun” engendered throughout the process.

⁷²⁰ It was also noted in these Minutes that the ASB Bank Community Trust had pledged \$500,000 towards the Marae development.

⁷²¹ 2001, p.1.

⁷²² 2001, p.1.



Figure 19 : Kaumātua houses, completed June 1990.

4.4.2 Planting Roots with Ritual:

As part of the vision, the grounds of the Awataha site were extensively planted with native plants. The planting was overseen by a Marae sub-committee chaired by Ann Halligan. Donations of plants came from within the North Shore community, and organisations such as Takapuna North Rotary also donated towards the project which sought to establish a nursery that would provide resources for weavers and other craftspeople, and as an educational resource. Along with the Awataha community and members of the Forest and Bird Society, ceremonial plantings were attended to by renowned botanist David Bellamy and other members of a Tree Conference at Auckland University, on 3rd June 1990.



Figure 20 : Tree planting at Awataha Marae, June 1990. Upper – Prime Minister Geoffrey Palmer.

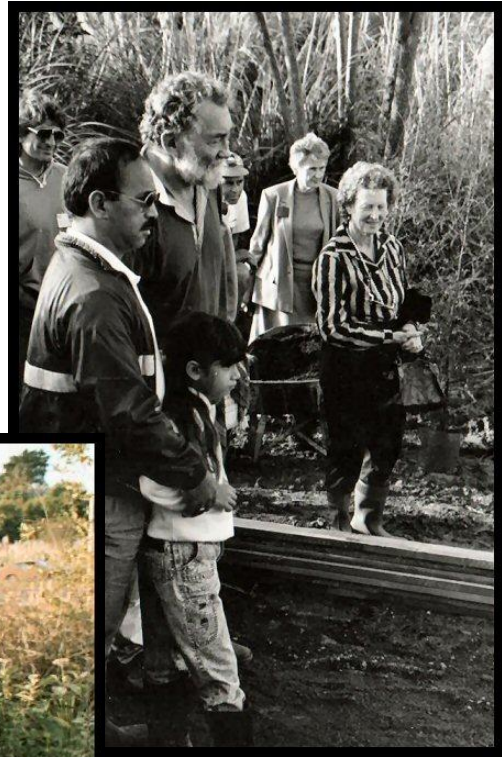


Figure 21 : Tree planting at Awataha Marae, June 1990. Upper two photos feature botanist, David Bellamy.

Tim Paul of Nuu-chah-nulth and Hesquiat (Vancouver Island origins) was commissioned by the Province of British Columbia and the Royal British Columbia Museum (at which Paul was employed as senior carver) to carve a totem pole to commemorate the 1990 Commonwealth Games to be held in New Zealand. Paul, along with other native artists Kevin Cranmer (Nimpkish), Dr George Louie (Nuu-chah-nulth) and Arthur Thompson (Nuu-chah-nulth), completed the majority of the pole in Vancouver, and then finished it upon its arrival in New Zealand. The totem pole symbolises the Nuu-chah-nulth creation story, and the figures represented are the First man and First Woman with their children, the Man of Knowledge (representing the combined wisdoms, philosophies and histories of the Nuu-chah-nulth people) holding a canoe, a wolf (representing the wolf pack from whom First Man learned much of his knowledge), the First-born Son, and at the bottom, the Box of Wisdom held by the Man of Knowledge. Paul recalled another ancient story of his people:

Three Māori warriors...came with the trade winds in their canoe to the Echanttenaht village of my grandfather. They stayed for three years waiting for the winds to change and carry them home. Two Nuu-chah-nulth canoes were carved and they were presented with three wives before retuning to Aotearoa, forever linking our two nations⁷²³.



Figure 22 : Totem pole arriving at Awataha Marae 4th February 1990. Nu-chah-nulth people and Canadian Mounted Police move with visitors onto the Marae.

⁷²³ Cited in Awataha Marae Library Document – *Totem Pole: Nuu-chah-nulth Pole for the Commonwealth Games New Zealand 1990*, p.3.



Figure 23 : Left – Raising the totem pole; Right – dawn ceremony.

Initially the totem pole was intended to go to Orakei to the Ngāti Whatua people. However, the Auckland City Council could not help with hosting the visiting group of tribal people from Southern Vancouver Island, Canada. At a meeting between Rangitiinia and Arnold Wilson, the North Shore City Council, Takutai Wikiriwhi (Ngāti Whatua), Pita Sharples, and Logan Brewer (Commonwealth Games Ceremonies Organiser) it was decided that although Ngāti Whatua were unable to accept the pole, Awataha Marae would be accorded the privilege. The Marae committee then decided to place around the totem pole, three pouwhenua from Kawerau-a-Maki, Ngāti Whatua, and Ngāti Paoa tribes as kaitiaki (guardians). Although there was dissension from some elders who considered that the totem pole would in a sense ‘take over’ spiritually, the placement of the pouwhenua around the totem pole effectively stated the manawhenua – the primary rights of guardianship – of Māori on that land⁷²⁴.

⁷²⁴ Conversation with Rangitiinia Wilson, 27th November 2008.

These pouwhenua originally encircled a totara tree that was planted in 1908 at Northcote point to commemorate the Borough-ship of Northcote. The tree was felled to accommodate the building of the new Harbour Bridge however. The pouwhenua were restored by the Marae committee in the 1980s, and in June 1987 it was agreed by Ngāti Whatua that the Marae site was the appropriate place for them to now reside. This “significant undertaking which will symbolise a bond between the tribal people of Southern Vancouver Island and the Māori people”⁷²⁵ was consecrated with a dawn ceremony on Sunday 4th February 1990. The totem pole is situated to face its sister pole in the city of Duncan, on Vancouver Island.



Figure 24 : Nuu-Chah-Nulth Totem Pole at Awataha Marae, surrounded by three pouwhenua.

Along with the totem pole, the Nuu-chah-nulth people gifted Awataha with other taonga (treasures) from the homeland. These included a wolf's head mask which later hung on the wall of the Marae library. When the Nuu-chah-nulth people returned home however, they

⁷²⁵ In a letter from Ani Blackman (AMIS Executive Secretary) to Warena Taua (Kawerau-a-Maki), January 1990.

were told by their chief that the wolf's head was too sacred for it to be left there, and they asked the Awataha people for its return. In the process of sorting out the correct ritual procedures, the wolf's head was taken by person/s unknown and returned to Canada. For Rangitiinia Wilson, this is an issue that remains unresolved and there is mystery around who returned it. That it has been returned is of the course main consideration, and the totem pole is a constant reminder of the links between the Awataha Marae people and the Nuu-chah-nulth people. The Marae library continues to receive copies of the Nuu-chah-nulth newspaper, *Ha-Shilth-Sa*.

As noted previously, at meetings of the North Shore Māori Committee it was decided to have “open kawa” at Awataha, with the primary protocols to follow those of the Kawerau-a-Maki tribe. Early in 1992, a dawn ceremony was held to bless the site of the wharenuī, *Tāne Whakapiripiri*. Part of this ceremony involved the laying of a mauri stone – a stone gifted by Kawerau-a-Maki to symbolise the life force of the tribe that would animate the wharenuī in its purpose. This stone came from a river in the Waitakere Ranges sacred to the Kawerau-a-Maki people.

Walker wrote that the kawa ceremony for the sanctification of the site for the wharenuī *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* in 1934 “set the precedent of laying a foundation stone,”⁷²⁶. Here was an innovation of tradition of the kind Apirana Ngata was famous for, i.e. drawing on tradition while taking into account changed contexts that required innovation of those traditions. For *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, Ngata directed the mauri stone to be placed where the outside poutuahu would be sited at the front of the house, while in the case of *Tāne Whakapiripiri*, the mauri stone was placed under the back pole along the wall. *Tāne Whakapiripiri* was opened with all due ceremony in November 1992.

The spiritual healing group, *Te Ohanga Ake Ki Te Puaotanga Hou* (The Awakening to the New Dawning) began at Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson's home in Beachhaven in 1994. It began through Rangitiinia and a Māori colleague at the Department of Social Welfare recognising that social difficulties sometimes required spiritual healing. As time went on the group grew, eventually outgrowing their home and moving to Awataha Marae. As with many activities at the Marae, the group had a basis of kaupapa Māori while embracing people and beliefs from many ethnic groups. Indeed, the Māori involved also had a range of belief systems they utilised. What was important here, apart from the healing engendered for those who

⁷²⁶ 2001, p.271.

participated, was that each healer was enabled to develop their unique gifts in ways that made sense to them, while being supported by the wealth of knowledge that surrounded them. Another positive feature of the group was that it involved several generations, with the children in attendance being surrounded by the warmth and support of many aunts, uncles, ‘nannies and poppas’, as well as benefiting from the intergenerational transmission of knowledge. The spiritual energies generated by the activities of the group added to the energies surrounding the Marae and its people.

Other significant ritual ceremonies undertaken by the Awataha community included the pōwhiri for Sir Paul Reeves (Governor General) during his visit on 20th July 1989, the opening of the kaumātua housing on 18th August 1990, the opening of the Marae library in 1990 and the Whare Rapu Ora in 1991. Each one of these ceremonies demonstrated for the community to which the Marae belonged, the beauty of the culture that had been in their midst but mostly ignored for many decades. With each ceremony, each ritual performed, each karakia spoken, the roots of the Awataha people sank deeper into the land on which they were being enacted, cementing the links between peoples and land, peoples and cultures.

4.4.3 The Awataha Community:

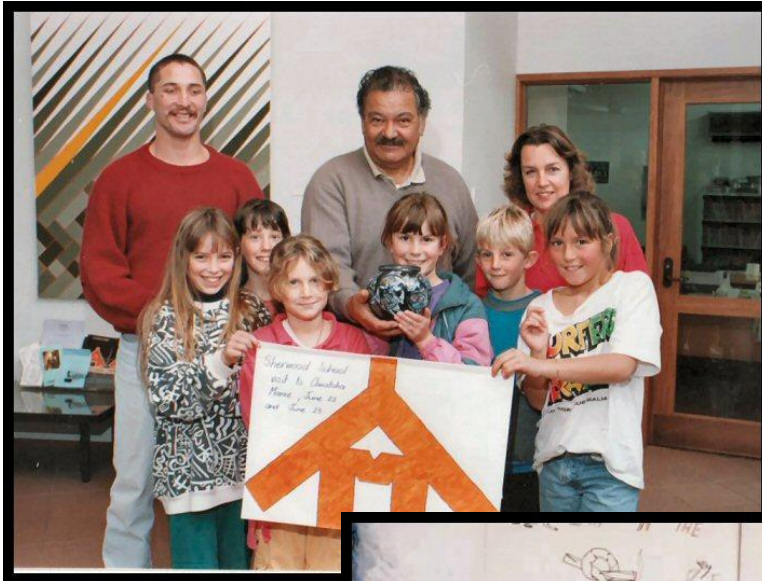
Awataha is an entity comprised of multiple levels of community. Community may be defined as “a network of people and organisations linked together by various factors”⁷²⁷. They may be geographic, share a common interest (such as identity or a social movement), be administrative or political⁷²⁸. Communities may be short-lived (e.g. come together briefly for a particular purpose) or long term, weakly or strongly linked, comprise of a few people or several hundreds. Community is about an internal process as well as an external one – that is, there is usually a sense of belonging to that group of people and/or organisation, as well as to the outer and often physical manifestation of that group’s purpose.

The Awataha community has its beginnings in the 1960s North Shore Māori Tribal Committee, and Te Uruwao Marae Trust of the 1970s. From their desire for a marae on the North Shore, these organisations pushed forward against many challenges, eventually the Awataha (North Shore) Incorporated gained the lease of the land from which they take their

⁷²⁷ Loomis, 2002, p.5.

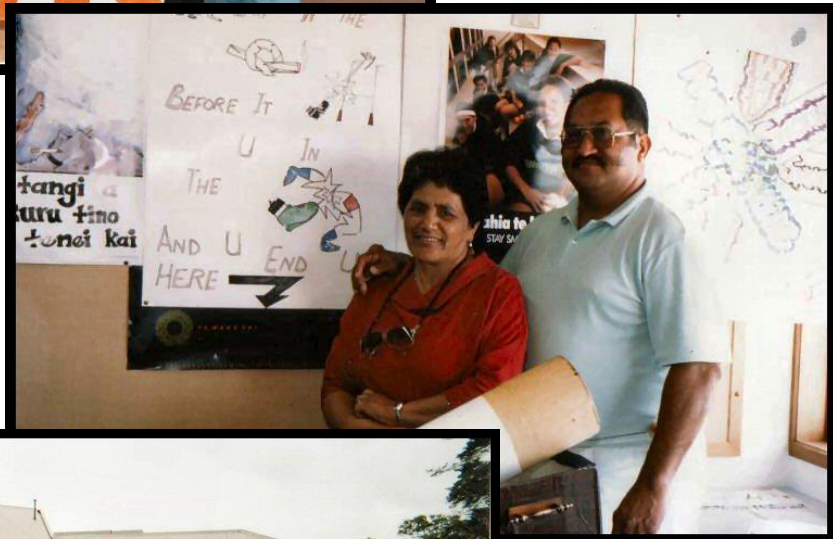
⁷²⁸ Loomis, 2002, p.5.

name, and the Awataha Marae Incorporated Society provides the final manifestation of this community. Over time, many people have come and gone from the marae environs, although a handful have been constant, with many others continuing to take an interest in marae affairs from a distance.



Visit by Sherwood Primary School

Wini and Wiki Pene,
No Smoking campaign,
1991



Visit by Waipareira Trust,
1993

Figure 25 : Awataha Community and Whānau

In this first decade of the 21st century, the primary community of Awataha is formed of those people who work at the marae on a more or less daily basis. These people may have permanent positions in the administration of the marae (either voluntarily or in paid positions), or are part of the governing body, primarily attending meetings when necessary. They comprise the heart of the marae, and ensure its continuation over time. Kaumātua and kuia who rent kaumātua flats on site are an integral part of this group and have contributed many hours of volunteer labour to the marae.

The Incorporated Society members form the next level of community membership. They may or may not be involved on a daily basis, and most attend meetings of the Society when they arise. Many have been involved with the Marae over a period of years, at some times integrally involved in its administration, but preferring to now contribute when necessary.

From here, those tenants who lease or rent premises on the marae grounds are the subsequent level. In 2005, these included Te Puna Hauora (the health clinic), a child care centre (owned and operated by Te Puna Hauora), Te Kura Kaupapa o Te Raki Pae Whenua, Taipari (a local division of Te Ataarangi total immersion language school), five counselors who rented rooms in the administration block on a full time basis, and a Māori Warden who has permanent space on the Marae. The activities of these organisations and individuals helped ensure that a constant stream of people goes to and from the marae complex, and the majority of the Marae's income comes from this source.

The next level consists of local Māori who may or may not participate in the life of the Marae. Rule 2 (d) of the AMIS Constitution states that the Marae Society was established “To provide a centre for recreational, social, cultural, educational and spiritual activities for the advancement of Māori”⁷²⁹. While the Marae was also formed “To promote, develop and encourage better understanding of Tikanga Māori to the wider community”⁷³⁰, its fundamental purpose is to provide a tūrangawaewae, and therefore serve as a marae, for the Māori people of the North Shore.

⁷²⁹ Awataha Marae Incorporated Society Constitution, 2004, p.1.

⁷³⁰ AMIS Constitution, 2004, Rule 2 (c), p.1.

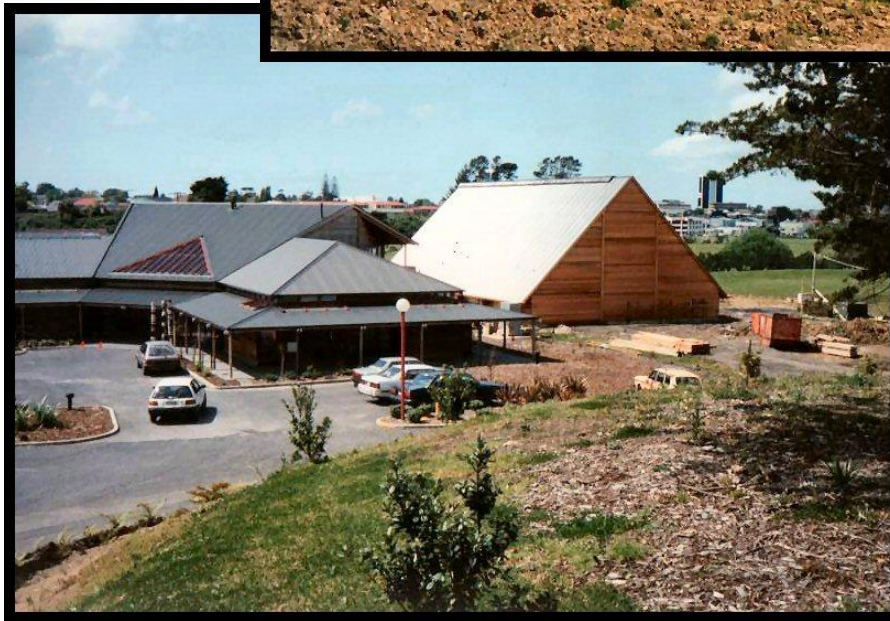


Figure 26 : Building *Tāne Whakapiripiri* – shell completed October 1992.



Cafeteria opening 1990

Grey Otene and Rangitiinia
Wilson, 1991



Planting by Ark Trust,
1991

Figure 27 : Awataha community and whanau, 1990-1991.



Arts and Crafts
shop

Admin Building foyer
- Portrait exhibition by
Jack Willets



ACCESS group;
Tutor, Valerie
Yates – left of
middle row

Figure 28 : Awataha Community and Whānau, 1992.

The wider community of the North Shore is the next level, and members at this level participate in a variety of ways. For example, they may utilise the hireage facilities for meetings and other gatherings, make use of the various services offered by the Marae and its tenants, attend community events at the Marae, or utilise the Marae library. Awataha Marae is a well known feature of the North Shore community, but it is uncertain as to what proportion of this community utilises the Marae and its services. Wider Māori society and general Aotearoa/New Zealand society comprise the outer levels, making explicit the context in which the core of the Awataha community carries out the everyday facets of their existence.

The network of connections between these multiple levels however is somewhat inconstant, rising and falling in strength over time. While some extremely dedicated people have worked over the past three decades or so to make real the vision held for the Marae, a variety of factors have influenced their success or lack thereof. The Awataha project has connections to historical events such as inter-tribal fighting in the 18th and 19th centuries, the effects of which are still manifest today, contributing to inter-tribal conflicts in the contemporary context. There are ties to more recent social issues such as the ongoing effects of colonisation, for example, urbanisation and loss of culture. Cultural reclamation following the cultural Renaissance of the 1970s and 1980s helped dispel some of the existing negative stereotypes and created an acceptance of a marae on the North Shore in the wider community. Conversely, Don Brash's 'Orewa Speech'⁷³¹ in 2004 combined with the Foreshore and Seabed issues to impact negatively on attitudes to Māori issues and development, and ways in which intercultural relationships were formed and maintained. Obviously Awataha Marae was not immune to events taking place in the communities and society around them. Nevertheless, the Marae has continued to develop and move forward in a variety of ways, despite instances of conflict.

4.4.4 Community Conflict:

Every dream or vision can include discordant notes which threaten to disrupt the ideal nature of its origin however. Relationships between Māori in the wider local community have been marked by conflict throughout the development of the marae, as well as that between

⁷³¹ Leader of the National Party at this time. This speech was delivered at the Orewa Rotary Club, and highlighted, amongst other things, the 'special privileges' accorded to Māori because of race, rather than need.

Māori and other ethnic groups. For example, the 1990 opening of the Administrative Block mentioned above was boycotted by some Māori because of the decision by marae kaumātua and kuia to enable women to speak on the paepae – a space of speechmaking usually reserved for men in most tribes. Chairperson of the Awataha Marae Committee, Rangitiinia Wilson, delivered the welcoming speech, and Anne Hartley – then Mayor of Northcote - was also given leave to speak.



Presentation of tv and video by Sony New Zealand

Plunket nurse, Hariata McSweeney



Third from left – Dr Kantha Soni, Hariata McSweeney, Livy Marsden (practice nurse)

Figure 29 : Awataha Health Clinic 1995.

Walker wrote that on Waitangi Day 1934, Apirana Ngata assigned Materoa Reedy to ritually welcome the vice-regal party of Lord and Lady Bledisloe onto the Te Tii Marae at Waitangi. According to Walker, “It was an historic moment that went unchallenged when she spoke on the marae according to the etiquette of Ngāti Porou”⁷³². For some tribes however, it is very much against tikanga (customs and practices) for women to speak in such a sacred space. But for those integrally involved with Awataha, giving women of mana this right was recognition of the incredible work the women at the marae such as Rangitiinia Wilson had undertaken to raise substantial funding and move the marae concept from dream to reality. It also reflects the changed context in which the marae arose, and the philosophies held by leading kaumātua that embraced gender equality⁷³³.

One of the ongoing major criticisms from the local Māori community has been that Awataha Marae does not hold tangihanga (funeral services) there. Tangihanga are considered one of the major events in Māori society, usually last over three days, bringing together large numbers of whānau and friends to mourn the passing and celebrate the life of a loved one. Here all the rituals associated with death are enacted. Drawing on Metge’s 1967 work, Gagne writes that “for a place to be considered a marae it should have tangihanga as an absolute priority over any recreational functions, should be equipped to provide beds and meals for mourners and...large numbers of guests at hui”. Further – “what determines a place can be called a marae is the scope of its functions”⁷³⁴.

While those administering Awataha Marae fully agree that tangihanga should take place there, their reasons for declining this are very practical ones which express the tensions between Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and that of mainstream bureaucracy. Although there is a kitchen/café incorporated into the administrative building, it does not have the facility to cater for large numbers of people. The ablution block was part of the kura kaupapa buildings, and again are insufficient to deal with large numbers of people. Although this may seem a petty reason, according to local council bylaws, in order to cater for the numbers of people usually present at a tangi would require the assignment of a certain number of car parks. Unfortunately, due to development of other buildings on site, such as the Health Clinic (Te

⁷³² R. Walker, 2001, p.271.

⁷³³ H. Smith, 2002, p.204.

⁷³⁴ Gagne, 2004, pp.144-145.

Puna Hauora) and the language school, there is insufficient land for these. The proposed dining hall, which would be large enough to cater for large groups, has not yet been built.

Many of the other marae situated in Auckland are available to the general public, or sections thereof, for tangihanga, including Tāne-nui-a-Rangi located at Auckland University. Yet difficulties remain, similar to those speculated upon by those at Awataha Marae. For example, the Ngāpuhi marae of Piringatahi o te Maunga Rongo Marae in West Auckland asked for a koha (donation) until early 2009. Those managing the marae found however, that more often than not, the associated costs were not being fully covered by the whānau of the deceased, and the marae was left with these. As the marae's own budgets were very tight, this was an economically untenable situation which has resulted in a mandatory deposit of \$500, with the whānau free to give koha or not on top of that⁷³⁵.

Te Taua Moana Marae is that of the Royal New Zealand Navy (RNZN), and is located in Devonport, North Shore. The stated mission of this marae is “to preserve, promote, protect and enhance the identity, integrity, interests and well-being of Māoridom within the RNZN”⁷³⁶. When opened in 2000, it was not intended that tangihanga would be held there. One of the reasons for this was the lack of human resources to support the marae, for example, kaumātua to sit on the paepae and conduct the ritual necessities associated with tangihanga. However, the situation was “forced”⁷³⁷ through the needs of the Navy personnel, and the marae now caters for the funerals of those who are current or ex-Navy, as well as a raft of other activities, including educational ones.

Marae such as Piringatahi o te Maunga Rongo and Te Taua Moana have worked through the difficulties experienced in having tangihanga in urban marae - including those of the lack of human, financial and cultural resources - in practice. Elders at Awataha Marae have chosen not to do so, desiring instead to have all resources in place before opening the marae for tangihanga purposes. There are those who would argue that community criticism is well-founded, and that the inability to “weep for our dead”⁷³⁸ at Awataha is greatly distressing. But as mentioned, tensions remain between the demands of culture, and that of bureaucracy. Kaumātua and kuia at Awataha consider they make the best decision they can, given their

⁷³⁵ Norma Hetaraka, personal communication February 2010.

⁷³⁶ RNZN, 2000, p.3.

⁷³⁷ Donald Ripia, personal communication, February 2010.

⁷³⁸ Awataha Marae Incorporated Society, 1987, p.23.

knowledge of the circumstances and situation, while continuing to work towards having a fully functioning marae, recognising the absolute importance of tangihanga to the people the marae serves.

Although Awataha is a pan-tribal marae, there are differing tribal perspectives of the iwi that lay claim to the whenua (land) Awataha Marae is sited on. These iwi include Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Whatua, Ngāti Paoa, Te Taou, Kawerau-a-Maki, Tainui and Hauraki. Added to this is the residence in the area of people from iwi outside the region. Cleve Barlow speaks of Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu, whose boundaries extend from Tamaki Makaurau (Auckland) to Cape Reinga. Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu, according to Barlow, incorporates the iwi of Te Aupouri, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāpuhi, and Ngāti Whatua⁷³⁹. The protocol of Awataha Marae at present follows the traditions of Kawerau-a-Maki. Thus, the Awataha site is literally highly contested ground, especially considering the current Treaty claims in the Auckland area. While on the whole relationships between tribes are congenial, negotiating the tensions that have arisen from time to time have proved challenging. As noted by Durie, Māori development is also about relationships between Māori – “between tribes, within tribes, between tribes and other Māori organisations, between Māori individuals and Māori collectives, and between leaders who carry the mantle of their ancestors”⁷⁴⁰.

Although there are many in the wider community who applaud the development of Awataha Marae, there are those who maintain stereotypes and prejudice against Māori. For example, a letter received at Awataha Marae and signed “Real New Zealander”, had this to say:

You Māori [sic] are a disgrace!...You strut around like you’re god’s gift to the planet, with your scruffy, unkempt hair, dark glasses, and ridiculous tattoos and you just look like you’ve stepped out of the gorilla cage at the local zoo! How can you even take yourselves seriously?...You’re so used to the government bending over backwards and giving you everything you ask for, you’ve forgotten what it means to be a responsible part of society. And all your fat, takeaway-eating, dole-bludging moochers won’t want to give **that** up, will they?...The common NZer doesn’t like you. You are lazy. You are primitive. You are arrogant....So, I just felt it necessary to tell you a few home truths....Don’t get above your station. Learn your place. Prepare for the time when people tire of amusing you and you have to join the real world⁷⁴¹.

⁷³⁹ N.d., p.12.

⁷⁴⁰ 2003, pp.2-3.

⁷⁴¹ Received by Awataha Marae on 25th January 2005.

While the Marae has received substantial funding in the past, necessity has meant the development in areas – such as with the Health Clinic and the language school - which are a wonderful asset to the local community, but are not part of the original plan for the complex. Conflicts over the years and disappointments with Marae administration by some in the wider local community have meant that there is sometimes insufficient community support for the Marae. Although those associated with Awataha today have worked incredibly hard over the last two to three decades, what is needed is a very large infusion of resources – financial and human - to develop the Marae to its full potential. This remains the dream of those who work there now, and they continue to strive to enable this.



Wiki Pene, Grey Otene and friend

Middle right – Peggy Hughes, Long-time Māori Warden at Awataha



Figure 30 – Awataha community and whānau.

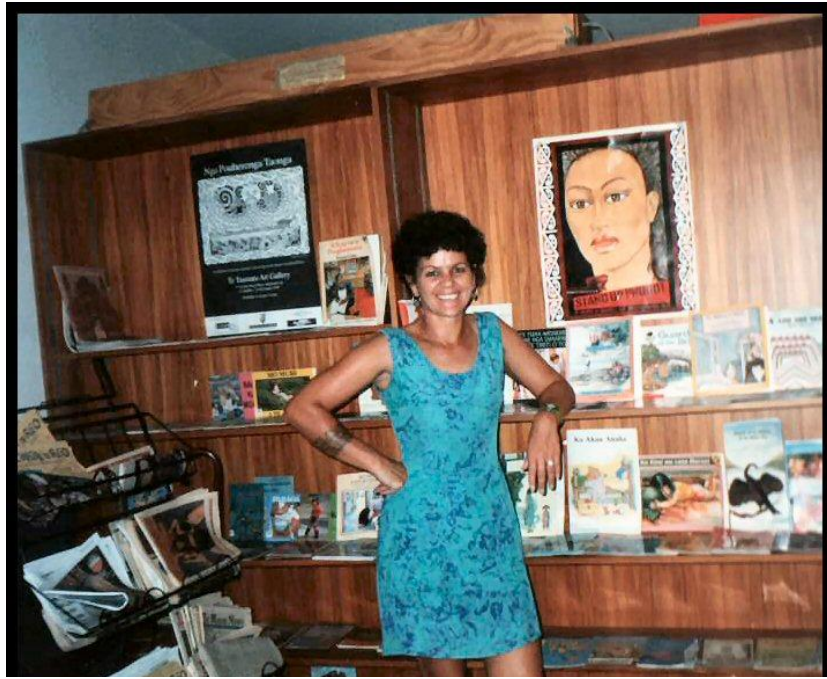


Figure 31 : Te Rihia Manning (Māori Health Promotion Worker) – organiser of Māori Youth Seminar 25th February 1992.

4.4.5 Bureaucratic Structures and Policy Making:

Although Awataha has been founded as a marae – i.e. a traditional gathering place with all the attendant ritual and ceremony – in the historical context of the late 20th century, the management of the Marae has had to adhere to a raft of legislation that govern how such a community project can be run. Collins notes that “Bureaucratic administration has...been imposed on Māori social organisation since 1900 and has been reinforced in successive legislation throughout the twentieth century”⁷⁴². The Māori Councils Act 1900 purported to establish pan-tribal councils that would govern geographical areas rather than iwi or hapū based organisations. These councils would institute measures to improve health and sanitation issues, and look at social problems relating to drinking and gambling. ‘Komiti Marae’ (Village Committees) were instituted, although these did not oversee any one particular marae as they do today. The Councils passed bylaws which the Komiti Marae administered, through income derived from fines and dog taxes⁷⁴³.

⁷⁴² Collins, 2005, p.64.

⁷⁴³ Collins, 2005, p.67.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 set up Tribal Districts, from which Tribal Executives and Tribal Committees were drawn to oversee Māori social needs. This Act “laid the foundations for a welfare system” that would address the social problems facing Māori at that time⁷⁴⁴. The Tribal Committees replaced the Komiti Marae established by the 1900 Māori Councils Act, as indeed the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 replaced the 1900 Act. In rural areas the Tribal Committees usually oversaw local hapū territories, while the Welfare Officers appointed for each Tribal District were the Committees representatives ‘on the ground’. There were similar organisational structures created by the two Acts however, and the later Tribal Committees were also able to make bylaws for the amelioration of local social issues and administer resources such as the reservation of fishing grounds and shellfish beds⁷⁴⁵.

Of course however, there were differences in urban contexts, such as that in Auckland where the tribal districts were geographically based rather than iwi or hapū based, reflecting the multi-tribal nature of the Māori gathered there. Although the Ture Whenua Act 1993 considered that pertinent Māori reservations included “a village site, marae, meeting place, recreation ground...or place of cultural, historical, or scenic interest”⁷⁴⁶, Awataha Marae does not come under these terms. The land was leased to AMIS by LandCorp – the government agency dealing with surplus Crown land. However, access to government and local body funding requires that a formal legal structure such as an Incorporated Society be set up, and the Marae be administered under such a system. Understandably, there has often been conflict and tensions between those legal responsibilities and institutions, and the cultural considerations that have most meaning for the Māori who utilise the Marae. While the Marae utilises cultural protocols in its interactions within the community and with visiting groups, in its administration it has to abide by practical and legal bureaucratic procedures. Nevertheless, despite the inherent tensions, the Marae administrators are able to combine the necessities of the two ‘worlds’ in a way that mostly works for them.

The North Shore Māori Tribal Committee was set up under the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 in 1961, and came under the auspices of the Waitemata Tribal District and Executive. Its later manifestation – the North Shore Māori Committee –

⁷⁴⁴ Rogers & Simpson, 1993, p.xiv.

⁷⁴⁵ Collins, 2005, p.68.

⁷⁴⁶ Cited in Collins, 2005, p.65.

was set up under the same auspices. Te Uruwao Marae Trust was not a legal entity as such, but was originally a sub-committee of the NSMC set up in 1979 to advance marae development. Te Uruwao was chaired by Toby Rikihana in 1979, Jerry Norman in 1982, and Rangitiinia Wilson in 1984. The committee became Awataha (North Shore) Incorporated in 1986, and Awataha Marae Incorporated Society in 1988.

Another option that had been discussed was to set the Marae up as a Runanga-a-Iwi. The Marae Committee considered that although a

Runanga has fairly limited objectives, an advantage is that the marae would be in a powerful position as regard to influencing local authorities, from grass roots to regional level. It can also influence social and cultural policy and benefit its commercial operations⁷⁴⁷.

The Runanga-a-Iwi Bill was introduced to Parliament in 1990 as a means of resolving some difficult issues in the government's attempts at devolution of services from government agencies to bodies such as iwi authorities. While iwi were generally accepting of government devolution, questions of the constitution of iwi and hapū, mandate and the power of decision-making, were hotly contested amongst iwi members. The Runanga-a-Iwi Bill purported to provide legal status as gazetted iwi authorities, but the conclusion of the National Māori Congress was that:

it was an unnecessary imposition which could lead the Crown to dictate the terms under which iwi organised themselves, and in the process remove from tribes their autonomy and any semblance of power which remained⁷⁴⁸.

Although the Runanga-a-Iwi Bill was enacted in August 1990, it was short-lived as with a new National government in office later in 1990, Māori Affairs Minister Winston Peters repealed the Act, arguing that there were already bureaucratic instruments such as trust boards and incorporated societies in place that provided avenues for iwi recognition⁷⁴⁹. The Awataha Committee eventually settled on the structure of an incorporated society as one that was best suited to their purposes. Also discussed in their meetings was making provisions in the Constitution for the setting up of a commercial entity when it was needed.

⁷⁴⁷ Minutes of AMIS meeting, 22nd May 1990, p.2.

⁷⁴⁸ Durie, 1998b, p.225.

⁷⁴⁹ Durie, 1998, p.225.

Since the opening of its administrative building in 1990, Awataha has been run on a daily basis by a variety of managers and administration staff. The backbone of the community has been kaumātua and kuia (elders – both Māori and Pākehā) who most often have served voluntarily at the marae, many of whom have been involved since the early 1970s. As noted, the marae now rented out part of its grounds to a kura kaupapa (Māori-medium primary school⁷⁵⁰), a medical centre, a daycare centre, a total immersion adult Māori language school, and six kaumātua houses. Rooms within the administrative building are rented out to a variety of community groups, individuals and families.

The bureaucratic structure is overseen by Awataha Marae Incorporated Society made up of interested community members who pay annual fees, and from that group members of the Management Committee, (this became the Awataha Marae Governing Board in 2004) are drawn. The Governing Board oversees the day-to-day business of the marae through a Chief Executive Officer and other managers. As noted by the Awataha Marae Board of Trustees in 1987, marae are “places of refuge for our people and provide facilities to enable us to continue with our own way of life within the total structure of our own terms and values”⁷⁵¹.

Since 1990, the development of Awataha Marae has waxed and waned, yet always moved forward. This undulating forward movement often reflected the philosophies and abilities of those in current positions of power, as well as the unfailing and unselfish time and energy given to the Marae by many of the kaumātua and kuia. In 2004 however, it was realised that policy making to that stage had been ad hoc, arising only as was necessary. Although the Constitution of the Incorporated Society provided a set of guidelines to follow, it was now vital to develop a formal written set of policies for the Awataha people to follow. In many instances, this was merely a case of writing down those things that were done every day that often were taken for granted. As pointed out by one AMGB member, policy development is in large part based on common sense.

⁷⁵⁰ The kura kaupapa moved off-site to its own premises in 2008, and these buildings are now being utilised by AUT for teaching some of its Māori arts and crafts.

⁷⁵¹ 1987, p.12.



Dr Mere Roberts on left

Saana Murray and Del Wihongi



Arnold Wilson and
Bishop Muru Walters



Figure 32 : Environmental Risk Management Agency (ERMA) Hui, 1999.

The Governing Board agreed that Awataha Marae is a place for Māori and non-Māori to come together to work, enhance, uplift and support each other. This sense of welcoming hospitality should be the pou that drives all policy development. It was about working with the

people on and of the marae to bring together thoughts, ideas, laws, lores and dreams. It was also about using those concepts, traditions, ideals and examples of the ancestors to enrich the bureaucratic realities that were now part of the Marae structure.

It had also been shown that without comprehensive policies for the community to follow, it was too easy to become embroiled in situations where there are no clear guidelines, no clear paths, resulting in confusion and angst. Therefore in 2004, a Policy Sub-committee was set up to deal with this issue. It was experienced however, that despite major efforts to do so, the formulation of comprehensive policies within an organisation that lacked sufficient resources – human and economic – was a very difficult task. While some policies were developed, development of a whole raft of necessary policies was at that time insurmountable.

Although there have been members of the Awataha community or those on the margins of the community who have spoken against having a ‘Pākehā’ entity such as an incorporated society overseeing the administration of the Marae, others have argued that although the current realities had no part in the world of their ancestors, they were now an unequivocal part of the contemporary world. These were not the tools that belonged solely to the Pākehā world – they are *their* tools to utilise in ways that *enhanced* their lives, rather than detracting from them. While a separate ‘Māori society’ can be spoken of, the reality is that Māori society is integrally embedded with a national New Zealand society, as well as part of an international context. As noted by Mason Durie previously, effective leadership must be cognizant of “the small picture while helping to paint the big one”⁷⁵². This includes taking note of the reality of utilising all the tools available for the advancement of Māori culture and Māori resources.

The legal and bureaucratic entity of Awataha Marae is the Awataha Marae Incorporated Society, yet the beating heart of Awataha Marae – Te Manawa Patukituki - is its people. The people interpret the rules and regulations of that system in their daily undertakings. It is they, in their multiple ways of being Māori and non-Māori, who have worked for up to 30 years and more to make real the dreams and visions held for Awataha Marae. While an incorporated society is a legal entity, it is the people who breathe life into the rules and regulations by joining together the two worlds that surround them, in ways that make

⁷⁵² n.d., source - <http://www.anewnz.org.nz/vision.asp?id=153>

sense to them. That is their tino rangatiratanga and innovative excellence as modelled by many generations of ancestors from the beginnings of time.

4.4.6 Education Facility:

One of the primary functions envisioned for Awataha Marae was as an educational facility. Education was a necessity in terms of restoring cultural knowledge for those Māori urbanites whose cultural ties had lessened, as well as ensuring the forward movement of mātauranga Māori to consequent generations. But by the 1980s and 1990s, the negative social indices for Māori in the areas of education, health and employment were well known. So also important was an education facility that could help ameliorate those negative social indices by providing a facility where education of all kinds could be fostered, including those of the arts and crafts of Māoridom.

As noted previously, Waiwharariki had begun education programmes relating to health as part of their focus as a League branch. For example, in 1991, Waiwharariki coordinated a stop-smoking hui at the Marae. In attendance were an acupuncturist, hypnotist, a psychologist, Chinese herbalist and representatives of firms who made stop-smoking products. Sexual health for young Māori women was also of importance, and also in 1991, Rangitiinia Wilson – now working for the specialist service unit of the Social Welfare department as a Māori therapist – facilitated a seminar on sexual abuse. Here the people in attendance reflected on their own experiences and considered possible healing processes for survivors of sexual abuse. Rangitiinia noted that one of the positive results of the hui was the men present agreed that dealing with this issue was the responsibility of all Māori, not just women⁷⁵³. In 1993, a joint project between Waiwharariki, the Family Planning Association and a local intermediate school delivered a sex education programme that included information on self esteem, independence and respect⁷⁵⁴.

⁷⁵³ Personal communication, 2002.

⁷⁵⁴ Ashton, n.d., p.11.



Figure 33 : Unveiling of Library Carving (Orea te Taniwha o Awatuna) – 26th September 1998. Upper – Phillip and Mere Roberts; Lower – Doreen Farrimond, Titinga Kerehoma, Mere and Phillip Roberts, Deana Leonard, Peggy Ashton.

In 1990, a substantial financial gifting from Mere and Phillip Roberts enabled a library to be set up at Awataha Marae. The library was to hold books and other educational resources primarily concerned with Māori culture and issues related to Māori. This important educational resource services those belonging to the Awataha community (including those in the total immersion Māori language school), college and university students, and others associated with the Marae. In 2003, an Internal Affairs grant enabled two qualified librarians – Margot Collins

and Josephine McElroy – to work at Awataha to catalogue the books further, and set up computer linkages with the Northcote library. Although primarily a reference-only library, through grants and public donations over the years, the Awataha Library now has a substantial collection that includes Apirana Ngata's *Nga Mōteatea* series, as well as holding all documents relating to the Marae development.



Figure 34 : Te Whetu kapa haka group, 1995.

In the mid-1990s, Rangitiinia Wilson stepped down as Chairperson, and was succeeded by Zella Morrison-Gilbert. By this stage, Jerry and Ruth Norman, Martha Hoani and others on the Education Sub-committee had been running a series of education programmes relating to

Māori culture at the Marae, including programmes for local schools. In 1995, Awataha gained status as a Private Training Establishment (PTE). Their mission statement included:

He Pou Herenga Waka	A Spiritual Centre for Canoes
He Pou Herenga Tangata	And for all People
He Pou Herenga Mātauranga	Towards the Empowerment of Knowledge ⁷⁵⁵ .

The Executive Members of AMIS overseeing this venture were Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson, Zella (Morrison) and Ken Gilbert, Jerry Norman, Denis Hepi and Raewyn Harrison. Administration staff included George McGarvey (Cultural Manager), Linda Aranga-Low (Education Manager), Benjamin Young (Financial and Marketing Manager), and James Hamiora (Marae Development). Other staff members were Adrienne Moetara (reception), and tutors Mate Webb, Norman Potts, Vicky Smith, Monica Kautai, Jean Wikiriwhi, and Kingi Biddle.

In 1996, Zella and Ken Gilbert were Directors of Whetu Corporation Ltd which joined with AMIS in a joint venture on cultural tourism. The objects of the joint venture were “the promotion and operation of cultural tourism and education of Māori youth using the Awataha Marae as a base” as well as to coordinate the bookings of marae facilities and the training schemes⁷⁵⁶. They had their own kapa haka group which performed at a variety of events around the Auckland region, as well as providing scenic tours and the provision of hangi. Many of the students came through the ACCESS and Taskforce Green programmes instituted by government for the unemployed. The purpose of this training at Awataha Marae was “to provide trainees with personal and vocational skills to improve their employment chances”⁷⁵⁷. Courses included those on tourism, Māori arts and crafts, literacy and numeracy, Māori drama and speech, and health.

Although these education programmes through the PTE came to an end in the early 21st century, Awataha continued to run education programmes, including school programmes that gave many primary, intermediate and college children the opportunity to enter a marae and engage with Māori culture. The Marae facilities were hired out to a wide variety of groups, many local community groups who needed extra space for courses. Sports groups often hired

⁷⁵⁵ AMIS, 1995, *Awataha Application for Registration as a Private Training Establishment*, p.2.

⁷⁵⁶ AMIS, 1996, *Awataha Application for Registration (Review) as a Private Training Establishment*, p.46.

⁷⁵⁷ AMIS, 1995, *Awataha Application for Registration as a Private Training Establishment*, p.34.

out the Marae for overnight stays during tournaments, while universities and other educational institutions did the same. A Summer Arts Festival featuring painting, sculpture, photography, and jewellery was held from February 6th to 11th 2001. Kuia such as Titinga Kerehoma and Deana Leonard ensured that the manuhiri (guests) were well cared for during their stays. The Marae was and continues to be a rich site of cultural learning and an important community resource, despite some ongoing conflicts within the community.



Figure 35 : Summer Arts Festival 2001 – inside *Tāne Whakapiripiri*



Figure 36 : Summer Arts Festival 2001 (middle artwork – Arnold Wilson).

4.5 2002-2005: Re-visioning the Vision:

4.5.1 Embellishment of Tāne Whakapiripiri:

In July 2002, a meeting of the Incorporated Society was held at Awataha Marae to discuss the proposed carvings and other embellishments for the wharenui, *Tāne Whakapiripiri*. These designs have been created by Arnold Wilson, and the meeting had been opened to the public with an invitation to comment on the designs. Arnold proposed that there be emphasis on the spiritual concepts and gods of Te Ao Māori such as Io Matua Kore and Tāne Mahuta, rather than on particular tribes, although pou within the wharenui would depict important captains of the associated canoes. Carol Munro, AMIS member and of the Ngāti Whanaunga tribe, spoke of how this ‘got around the sticky problem’ of which tribe was most important. She could therefore support an emphasis of bringing people together – whakapiripiri. The wharenui was named *Tāne Whakapiripiri*, honouring one of the manifestations of Tāne Mahuta (God of Forests) as ‘the gatherer of people’.

It was likely that there would be some dissension about the designs⁷⁵⁸, as they were innovative even while incorporating traditional concepts and ideas. Most innovative of all would be the materials used in some instances (e.g. polystyrene and bronze) as well as the form (e.g. an appliqué technique would be used for the maihi, rather than the usual whole-form length of carved wood). However, all those present expressed positive comments on the heart and spirit of the designs, and of the cultural beauty they represented. There was a sense that the meeting made concrete the concept of whakapiripiri⁷⁵⁹. Arnold noted further that:

It was agreed by most of the people on our many committees that this marae should become a pantribal, multicultural, creative arts centre with a holistic approach to education...from kōhanga to tertiary level. This marae talks to and reacts to the kaupapa ‘He aha te mea nui [o te ao], he tangata, he tangata, he tangata’. All people, not only iwi people, but for people who have come across to make the North Shore their home⁷⁶⁰.

⁷⁵⁸ See Section 4.4.4.

⁷⁵⁹ From my fieldnotes 16th July 2002. Much of the following information is taken from my fieldnotes over the period of July 2002 to November 2005 during my attendance at meetings and other involvement at the Marae. Other information is taken from Minutes of AMIS and Governing Board meetings.

⁷⁶⁰ Handout given at the meeting of 16th July 2002.



Deana Leonard and
Doreen Farrimond

Rangitiinia Wilson,
Doreen Farrimond,
Brenda Duxbury
and Lily George



Maria Amoamo, Margaret Boyd,
And Marlene Shrubshall

Figure 37 : Waiwharariki Christmas celebrations 2004.



Peggy Ashton and Bette Cuthbert

Peggy Ashton, Maria
Amoamo, Arnold and
Rangitiinia Wilson



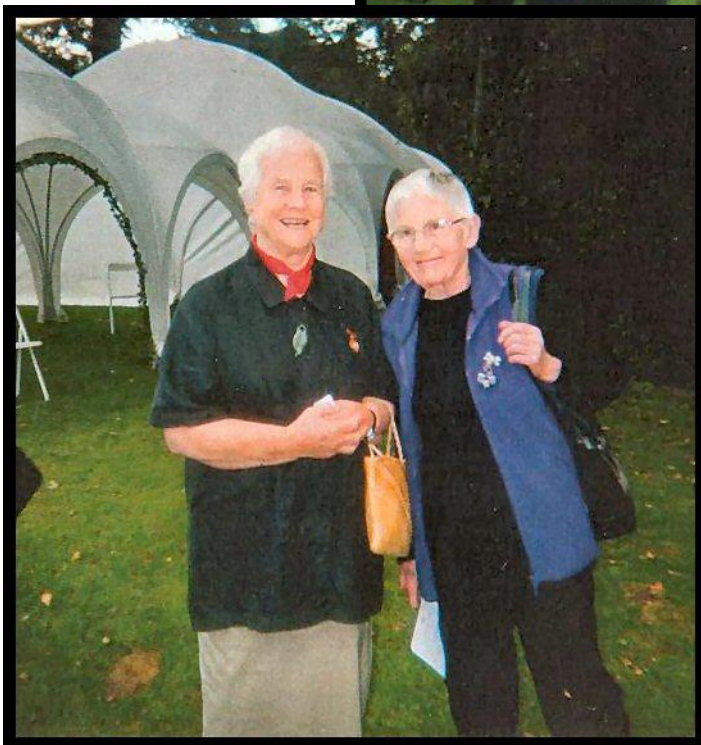
Rangitiinia Wilson and Lily George

Figure 38 : Waiwharariki celebration of Peggy Ashton and Bette Cuthbert – long service.



Rangitiinia Wilson at left

Deana Leonard, Maria
Amoamo and Rangitiinia
Wilson



Doreen Farrimond and Peggy
Ashton

Figure 39 : Waiwharariki – Celebration at Government House for Māori judges, 2004.

4.5.2 New Developments:

Keith Young had succeeded Zella Morrison-Gilbert as Chairperson of AMIS in the late 1990s, and Rangitiinia Wilson was re-elected into the position in 2003. This heralded a new phase of development for Awataha. By August 2003, it seemed the carving for *Tāne Whakapiripiri* would get underway, aided by a \$40,000 Creative New Zealand grant given to Arnold Wilson. Other grants were being sought to add to the large financial resource needed for this undertaking. The AMIS Management Committee at this stage were Rangitiinia Wilson, Arnold Wilson, Glenis Tierney, Linda Young, Hama Shortland, Peter Taurerewa and Jude McCarthy. Henare Waaka was Manager for the Marae.

At the AMIS meeting of 2nd August 2003, it was decided to reform the Sub-committees in three main areas – social (health, education etc), environmental (grounds and building maintenance), and governance (Constitution and policy-making). A Strategic Planning Hui was set up for later that month, with a Māori Economic Development Hui on 30th August. It seemed there was a new sense of life arising within the Awataha community, and a desire to move things forward with marae development. Of most importance was completing the marae complex as the heart of any further development.

A succession of hui were held at Awataha and were facilitated by Anthony (Paetawa) Wilson. These looked primarily at where the Marae was at presently, and how they could work to move it forward and build their capacity. These meetings were attended by members of the Incorporated Society, and they engendered the strengthening of whanaungatanga between those present. One important issue discussed was the need for the Marae to be self-sustaining, and that this would be achieved by careful planning in several areas, including movement towards a concerted business development plan. The Awataha project can be seen as a catalyst for change, and as a substantial creative investment which has potential effects at national and international levels as well as locally.

It was noted at the Strategic Planning hui of 16th August 2003 that one of the areas of real concern was the subsidence of the area in front of the wharenui. Over time, the land had subsided at least 1.5 metres, for reasons unknown initially. Investigation discovered that water pipes under that piece of ground had broken and were leaking continuously, causing the subsidence in an area that was previously stable. It would take a lot of financial resources to fix this problem, and as the Marae did not have those resources at that time, another solution was to build the atea on a wooden platform.

Carparking was another significant challenge, as mentioned previously. While it may seem a relatively minor difficulty, the reality was resource consent would not be granted by the North Shore City Council (NSCC) for further building if there were insufficient carparks allocated. Staff of Te Puna Hauora (TPH), including Director John Marsden, met with the AMGB on 20th September 2004 to discuss their planned extensions. A real concern raised by Pepper Dixon architect, Tom Dixon, was that the Governing Board would be reluctant to approve further extension to TPH as that would affect the future growth of the Marae complex as a whole, partly because of the issue of carparking. A recent resource consent application for the wharehoroi and wharekai submitted to NSCC was denied due to the lack of sufficient carparks.

At present there was little spare room to place these carparks, although there was the possibility that carparking could eventuate on the bank above the administration building. This however, would require nine large macrocarpa trees on the bank to be cut down. This was something the Board wanted to do, but this in itself required resource consent because of the size and age of the trees, requiring an arborist's report, and that was taking a long time to achieve.



Figure 40 : Meeting with Housing New Zealand, 7th September 2004. Back – Maria Amoamo, Peter Taurerewa, Rangitiinia Wilson, Will Wilson; Front – Arnold Wilson, Lily George and two Housing New Zealand representatives.

Earlier that month, the AMGB had had a meeting with Housing New Zealand (HNZ) representatives. Discussed at this meeting was the possibility of a joint venture under HNZ's 'Housing Partnerships' scheme. HNZ stated the absolute necessity of the Marae having a comprehensive strategic plan and people with necessary skills on board. It was possible however to construct a development plan to meet both the Marae's and HNZ's needs. The plan discussed was for developing a multilevel building on the bank site, with kaumātua housing, room for social service delivery, and two stories of carparking. This multiplex would enable the Marae's participation in the mainstream housing market, contributing greatly to goals of self-sustainability, with the carparking problem also being taken care of. At this stage however, while both Awataha and TPH wanted to develop further, this was hampered by bureaucratic necessities, which while not insurmountable were challenging to achieve. Despite these challenges however, plans for the marae development continued.

Considerable and long term funding therefore had to be a vital part of the development plan. This had been noted at all previous Strategic Planning Hui of 2003 and 2004, and would remain an important consideration. One of the primary avenues for funding was government agencies such as Te Puni Kokiri (Ministry of Māori Development). A meeting was held with TPK Regional Director for Auckland, Pauline Kingi, on 2nd November 2004. Here Ms Kingi indicated that there was provision for funding the Marae under their capacity building programmes.

TPK developed 'four enablers of the Māori potential approach' – 1) Rawa – "the resources to realise potential"; 2) Mātauranga – "the knowledge to realise potential"; 3) Whakamana – "the authoritative capacity to realise potential [which] recognises that success for Māori relies on their personal and collective to lead, empower, influence and advocate for the benefit of themselves and others", and 4) Te Ira Tangata – "the quality of life to realise potential"⁷⁶¹. Capability was defined as "the ability of Māori groups to participate in Resource Management Act 1991 processes on the basis of available skills and knowledge", while capacity was defined as "the ability of Māori groups to participate in Resource Management Act 1991 processes on the basis of existing financial, institutional or structural support"⁷⁶². If that capacity was not sufficient for the needs of the organisation, then TPK was able to provide some assistance in building that capacity.

⁷⁶¹ Te Puni Kokiri, 2005.

⁷⁶² Te Puni Kokiri, 2005, p.2.

At the meeting of 2nd November, Maria Amoamo presented Awataha's strategic plan entitled "*The Hope, the Expectation, the Future – Ordinary People with Extraordinary Commitment*". Ms Kingi affirmed Awataha Marae as the tūrangawaewae for the North Shore, and the role of the Marae as bridging the gap between communities on the Shore. She invited Awataha to present a comprehensive plan to TPK in order to build their capacity to meet goals of self-sustainability through delivery of services as a commercial venture while retaining their spiritual heart as a Marae. This plan was presented to TPK in 2005, asking for a 3 year investment from TPK to enable further fundraising capability and project management for completion of complex, and operational costs of ACL. Such funding would facilitate the flourishing of Awataha "as people within a strong culture, creating and maintaining health families, being innovative models for other businesses, organizations, communities or countries"⁷⁶³.



Deana Leonard and Kristy Tipene

Deana Leonard, Brenda Duxbury and Maria Amoamo



Figure 41 : Awataha Whānau Christmas Party, 2004.

⁷⁶³ AMGB notes from meeting with TPK, 2nd November 2004.

The goal of improved communication with stakeholders and client groups was also part of the activities of the Board and other staff during 2003 and 2004. As well as meetings with Te Puna Hauora, the AMGB members met with Taipari (Māori language school) and the kura kaupapa staff on site. The planned developments were reported, and support from these groups sought. At a successful social event for clients and stakeholders in December 2003, the Board presented the new Strategic Plan to attendees in a powerpoint production. Strategies for ‘re-branding’ Awataha in order to raise the community profile of the organisation were also underway.



Figure 42 : Awataha whānau at birthday celebration for Titinga Kerehoma, 2004.

4.5.3 Education Initiatives:

As part of Marae development, the Education Sub-committee (consisting of Ani Blackman, Lily George and Brenda Duxbury) worked towards initiating excellence in education programmes for the Marae. One of the programmes was a joint venture with Massey University regarding Awataha Marae as a site for social work student placements. A proposal was sent to Massey's Placement Officer, Lindsay Thompson, in May 2004. Part of the proposal stated that:

We believe that we offer a unique and inherently valuable opportunity for social and community work placements in that we can provide access to a wide variety of networks within the areas of social service practice and delivery. Further, students are provided with the opportunity to participate in and contribute to this exciting phase of growth and development, and therefore develop useful tools in the creative search for excellence in education and practice.

Students were expected to be able to contribute in a variety of ways, including through small research projects, the development of educational and future social work programmes, and to participate in the life of the Marae as a valuable member of the community. Lily George was to be the point of contact between the University and Awataha Marae, and acted in the capacity of Field Educator.

The proposal was accepted by Massey University, and the first placement was third year student Brenda Duxbury in July 2004. As noted, Brenda was co-opted onto the Education Sub-committee, and helped produce and deliver a survey to local schools. Brenda was such a wonderful asset to the Marae and came to be considered in such high regard by the Awataha community, that she was also co-opted onto the AMGB later in 2004. Three other first year student placements occurred in 2004, with satisfying results. This was a very good beginning to the programme.

School programmes had been part of Awataha activities since the early 1990s. It was decided by the Sub-committee however, that in alignment with wider Marae goals new school programmes would have to be more carefully planned and developed. To this end, a survey was sent to 194 schools in the Auckland region. The Sub-committee wished to develop the school programmes to fit more closely particular strands of the school curriculums. Resources to sell to schools would also be initiated. Ani Blackman has been a teacher for much of her life (as well as previously Executive Secretary for Awataha), and was a valuable asset in fleshing out

the survey appropriately. Although only 40 of the 194 surveys were returned, they contained valuable information that would contribute to programme development.



Brenda Duxbury



Manu Reti and Kristy Tipene



Lily George,
Arnold and
Rangitiinia Wilson

Figure 43 : Farewell party for Brenda Duxbury, February 2004.

A pilot academic mentoring programme was also proposed. This would be a marae-based programme that would cater for non-Māori as well as Māori students, thus giving a wider range of people the opportunity to experience marae life in a 'user-friendly' setting. The presence of the library on-site would also be of benefit to this programme. Advantages of the programme included forging closer ties with surrounding universities, would bring more people to the Marae, and be supportive of tertiary students in achieving excellence in their education goals. Discussed was the possibility of a joint venture with Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi.

Funding for Treaty of Waitangi workshops was to be sought through the State Services Commission's Treaty of Waitangi Information Project. The objectives of these workshops would include enhancing community understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi in a safe environment where that understanding is enabled, to promote awareness of Māori culture and history, and to promote inter-cultural harmony. The possibility of partnering these with biculturalism workshops was also discussed. These workshops fit in neatly with fundamental philosophies of Awataha Marae as a site of cross-cultural exchange and learning, with biculturalism on a base of kaupapa Māori.

Another programme possibility discussed was that of marae induction programmes that would provide a marae experience for those who wouldn't normally have the opportunity to do so, such as immigrant groups. Discussions were held with Taipari staff as to their possible involvement in these, as it was recognised that the Marae would need a pool of staff to meet the needs of this programme. The first of these delivered, admittedly before the programme was fully developed, was not successful in that the company who brought the people to the marae did not pay the account.

This was a lesson that reaffirmed the need to develop these programmes fully before delivery. A stated goal for the Education Sub-committee was that they would seek excellence in any programme that was developed and careful planning was therefore necessary. By March 2004 however, the Sub-committee realised that it was difficult to develop any of the programmes further until there were more members on the Sub-committee and the Marae had advanced more, and comprehensive structures were more firmly in place. Nevertheless, this was a valuable beginning to the development of education programmes for the Marae.

4.5.4 Constitutional Changes:

The meeting of 16th August 2003 also identified the Objectives of AMIS to be clearer communication with stakeholders such as Te Puni Kokiri, North Shore City Council, Ministry of Education, local iwi, and a variety of educational facilities, and to complete the marae complex and therefore the vision for the Marae. In recent years, there had been a move away from the original vision, and some members of previous Management Committees considered that vision to be ‘too grandiose’. For the new Committee however, and as discussed and agreed upon in AMIS meetings, that original vision held as much meaning in 2003 as it did when first mooted in 1987. So a return to the original ‘footprint’ – the architectural design and layout of the marae complex – was a vital piece in making that vision real. This was formalised at a meeting of Governing Board in October 2004.

It was also identified that in order to fulfil kaupapa of the Marae as an educational centre for health, social services, and as an arts and creativity centre, a return to original values was also necessary. Therefore some of the work of AMIS in early 2004 was to rework the Constitution to include overt incorporation of their guiding values. In keeping with Māori cultural considerations and philosophies, Object 2 (a) of the Awataha Marae Incorporated Society Constitution⁷⁶⁴ reads as follows:

The activities of the Marae Society will express the holistic concept of Wairua Māori/spirituality. The guiding values will be:

- Manaakitanga – being responsible and accountable, respecting others.
- Whakawhanaungatanga – Creation, management of relationships.
- Kaitiakitanga – Growth and stewardship of our resources, intellectual property and Taonga for our future generations.
- Tinorangatiratanga – Self determination, Strength, Leadership.
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi – Partnership with crown.

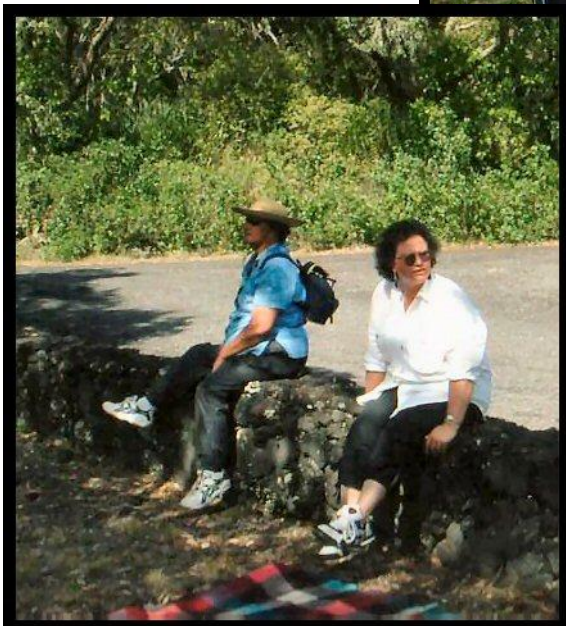
The new Constitution was ratified at the AMIS meeting of 10th March 2004. For those involved, there was a real sense of accomplishing something important in making such a concerted return to original values and the original vision held for the Marae.

⁷⁶⁴ As stated in the 2004 amended Constitution.



Isak Renata, Manu
Reti, Kristy
Tipene and Deana
Deana Leonard

Peter Taurerewa and Isak Renata



Manu Reti and Lily George

Figure 44 : Awataha whānau visit to Rangitoto Island, February 2005.

4.5.5 Management and Governance:

One of the changes made to the Constitution was a name change for the Management Committee to that of Awataha Marae Governing Board (AMGB) – Te Roopu Whakarite Kaupapa. Part of the discussions for the previous seven months had been around a clearer demarcation between management and governance. Previously, the Marae had been run by a ‘Management Committee’ which was heavily involved in the day-to-day running of the complex, with the assistance of the manager. Thus their role was that of management, rather than governance. A series of AMIS meetings in early 2004 focused on the need to separate management and governance so that the AMGB could concentrate on matters of governance, such as strategic planning. To this end, the position of manager was disestablished in March 2004, with the manager, Henare Waaka, leaving in early March. At this stage the AMGB members were Rangitiinia Wilson (Chairperson), Arnold Wilson (Kaumātua), Glenis Tierney (Treasurer), Carol Munro (Secretary), and members Peggy Hughes, and Jude McCarthy. Lily George joined the Governing Board in April 2004. Due to the lack of financial resources at this stage however, Board members Carol Munro and Lily George undertook some of the administrative duties on a voluntary basis until funding for a managerial position could be sourced.

In the midst of these changes a critical incident occurred between two members of the Governing Board and a community member that was to create ongoing challenge and conflict for the Board and AMIS. An issue arising out of this was the commitment of current Governing Board members. It was recognised that with the new developments, commitment had to be strong in order to ensure these developments were enacted efficiently. A series of meetings within AMIS, the Governing Board and with Marae staff occurred to sort through the issues arising from the critical incident.

At a Special Meeting of the Governing Board in October 18th 2004, it was discussed that part of the difficulties arose from a lack of transparency, communication and trust, which was exacerbated by differing interpretations of AMIS values, and the lack of comprehensive policies for the Marae. To deal with the latter point, a Policy sub-committee of Glenis Tierney, Carol Munro, Lily George, Brenda Duxbury and Maria Amoamo (Project Manager for *Tāne Whakapiripiri*) was appointed. At the meeting of AMIS on 1st December 2004, the Governing Board was given the mandate by AMIS to deal with what was now a ‘vote of no confidence’ in two Governing Board members. The matter was finalised in December 2004 when a formal

vote of no confidence was taken against those two members and they were removed from the Governing Board.

Funding was sourced from Te Puni Kokiri in April 2005 for funds for a Governance Review, which was seen as “‘a significant first step’ for the Governing Board towards reclaiming the original Vision of AMIS...and therefore of developing the Marae further”⁷⁶⁵. Dynamicus Consulting was engaged to carry out the Review, and the consequent report of 16th May 2005 identified gaps in the Marae structure such as audit committees and a Code of Ethics. Two recommendations were the appointment of at least one senior management position such as a CEO and the formation of a limited liability company to initiate clearer management structures.

At the end of May 2005, the Governing Board members – now Rangitīia Wilson (Chair), Arnold Wilson (Kaumātua), Doreen Farrimond (Treasurer), Lily George (Secretary), and members Peggy Hughes, Brenda Duxbury and Peter Taurerewa⁷⁶⁶ – undertook a governance training programme delivered by Dynamicus Consulting. While the training highlighted again the gaps in the Marae structures, it also underscored the important achievements of the current and previous Boards, although this had been done in an ad hoc manner. Dame Whina Cooper’s words convey the new sense of confidence which the governance training had instilled in the Board:

E kore te tangata e tu tika ki te tu ia, engari me to roopu. Kaua ia e mea ma tana mātauranga ia a kawē, e kore e taea, engari ma te tapu me te mana o te whānau, te iwi ia e kawa, ka ora. (A person cannot survive with dignity and justice if the person stands alone. Let them not think that their personal knowledge and education is sufficient. They will not succeed, but collectively with their tapu and mana of their whānau and iwi, they will have the strength)⁷⁶⁷.

One of the subjects to be discussed at meetings in late 2004 and 2005 was the sense that the baton was being passed to the new generation. ‘Ka hao te rangatahi’ – the ‘new net’ goes fishing⁷⁶⁸ – is part of a whakataukī (proverb) which denotes the passing of knowledge

⁷⁶⁵ AMGB, 29th June 2005, *Report to the Awatāhā Marae Governing Board on the Set-up of Awatāhā Corporate Ltd*, p.3.

⁷⁶⁶ Dr Fiona Te Momo was seconded to AMGB in June 2005.

⁷⁶⁷ 17th March 1991, cited in Te Momo, 1999, p.1.

⁷⁶⁸ The full whakataukī is ‘Ka pu te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi – the old net is cast aside while the new

from one generation to another in timely fashion. Those such as Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson, Doreen Farrimond and Peggy Hughes have been involved with the Marae for two or three decades and were ready to begin the transition from the ‘old nets’ to the ‘new nets’ of the next generation. 2004 and the first half of 2005 seemed a time when the next generation would move forward beside their elders, learn from them in the period of transition, then move forward while the elders moved to a supportive position behind them.

The ‘old nets’ (past generations) were not to be simply cast aside through an ill-perceived notion that they have outlived their usefulness, however. Rather, they provided the guidance of achieved experience and their connections to the wisdoms of old. For Awataha, this whakataukī encapsulated their guiding principles of manaakitanga, whakawhanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, tino rangatiratanga, and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This was to be achieved within notions of creativity, innovation and excellence, and the nurturing of current and future generations through positive actions in the present, while drawing from the wisdoms of the past. By doing so, they encouraged growth, prosperity and knowledge in their communities.

4.5.6 Awataha Corporate Limited:

The potential for using a corporate structure was included in the first AMIS Constitution, and was discussed further in 1991 although nothing arose from this at that time. Meetings in 2003 and 2004 also proposed this as one of the ways to develop the Marae for the new millennium. As mentioned above, the Governance Review established that a limited liability company was one way in which to enhance marae development. At a meeting with Pauline Kingi of Te Puni Kōkōri in November 2004, she remarked that Māori organisations were often ‘hamstrung by voluntarism’. While volunteer labour had been the backbone of Awataha Marae since its inception and was therefore very important to the Marae, “definitive and continuous growth is perhaps best enabled by an efficient and highly skilled pool of paid employees”⁷⁶⁹. Maria Amoamo and Lily George had been performing managerial duties in a voluntary capacity for the last 10 months, but a more formalized arrangement was now necessary.

net goes fishing’.

⁷⁶⁹ AMGB, 29th June 2005, *Report to the Awataha Marae Governing Board on the Set-up of Awataha Corporate Ltd*, p.4.

The Governing Board meeting of 31st May 2005 supported the formation of a company structure, and Maria, Lily, and Will Wilson of Dynamicus Consulting were asked to put together a proposal for this company. A report was given to Board members on 8th June, and at the Board meeting of 14th June, the Governing Board passed resolutions accepting the formation of a limited liability company – Awataha Corporate Ltd (ACL) – and the appointment of Maria Amoamo as Chief Executive Officer and Lily George as Senior Manager (later, General Manager, Administration). Will Wilson was appointed as Interim Director of ACL.

AMIS was the sole shareholder of ACL, and the company would enter into a service agreement with AMIS and provide administrative and managerial services to the Incorporated Society. There were to be clear contractual obligations that ACL must meet, and non-performance could result in the contract being nullified. Dr Mere Roberts and Peter Taurerewa Biggs became Directors of ACL along with Will Wilson, and later Ani Blackman – another long serving Awataha member.



Figure 45 : Awataha Corporate Ltd logo.

The first meeting of ACL occurred on 17th June 2005, during which the initial duties were discussed, along with the necessity of two other administrative positions and job/role descriptions. Maria and Lily were to seek funding for their positions and set-up costs for the company as part of their duties. A timeline for 10 weeks (13th June to 29th August) of set-up activities was constructed, as well as funding budgets. ACL was to carry out all administrative tasks for the Marae, including facilities hireage and communication with stakeholders. Financial decisions were to be made by senior managers, with recourse to the Directors when necessary.

Reporting at the monthly meetings of the Governing Board would ensure that “transparency, accountability and target outcomes are met”⁷⁷⁰.

These and other background details were presented at a meeting of AMIS on 4th July, along with potential risks (such as no ‘buy-in’ from funders such as TPK, hence the need for excellence in proposal development), and positive factors (including the skills-base now on the AMGB and ACL). There was a very positive response to the presentation by AMIS members, and a real sense of excitement of the current and future developments for the Marae. This is best summed up by the AMGB report:

Awataha Marae is poised for a surge in development that is at once exciting and challenging. In the last two months alone, we have seen impressive growth that is a valid and vital precursor to making real the visions on which our commitment rests. We cannot afford to ‘rest on our laurels’...however, and it is imperative to keep our forward momentum going in practical ways. The formation of Awataha Corporate Ltd provides a sensible solution for ensuring that we continue to express in practice, the values in our Constitution which guide our activities. Then we may truly become, for ourselves, for our whānau, and for our communities: AWATAHA – A PLACE TO GROW⁷⁷¹.

4.6 Indigeneity, Multiplicity and (Re)Connection to Nga Taonga Tuku Iho:

As the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand, Māori have often been at the forefront in terms of expressing rights to sovereignty and independence. The burgeoning of Māori culture during and following the Māori cultural renaissance in the 1970s and 1980s has seen many Māori people reconnect and reclaim that culture in a variety of ways. During the Renaissance, ancestral cultural features that Māori shared – nga taonga tuku iho – were emphasised. However, a ‘Māori worldview’ – while able to claim some common factors within it and in relationship to other indigenous worldviews – has multiple perspectives.

Perhaps an unintended consequence of this latter Renaissance though, was that Māori multiplicity was minimised, while our homogeneity was emphasised. Indigeneity provided

⁷⁷⁰ AMGB, 29th June 2005, *Report to the Awataha Marae Governing Board on the Set-up of Awataha Corporate Ltd*, p.7.

⁷⁷¹ AMGB, 29th June 2005, *Report to the Awataha Marae Governing Board on the Set-up of Awataha Corporate Ltd*, p.7.

another unifying initiative which also carried the hazard of homogenizing indigenous groups, both at local and international levels. Nevertheless, while ‘indigenous’ is a word commonly heard in the 21st century, at a micro-local level in Māori communities, ‘indigenous’ is often taken to represent our connections to other peoples of the world who have shared similar experiences and histories, while indigeneity arises in how we express those connections. In micro-local contexts such as that of Awataha Marae, often of more importance are the nomenclatures of ‘tangata whenua’ (‘people of the land’), and ‘Māori’ as a general identifier. Māori multiplicity – the diverse and multiple ways in which Māori people express who we are as Māori – is evident on this urban marae. The marae community provides an exemplar of the complexities of this multiplicity at a grass-roots level that nevertheless has been influenced by national and international notions of indigenous peoples and indigeneity.

For those of Awataha Marae, the term ‘indigenous’ and the efforts of indigenous people world-wide are well known. As with many Māori, ‘indigenous’ has come to include notions of integral connection to ancestral places and histories, and – reflecting the increasing vocalism of indigenous movements worldwide – the social and political manoeuvres by indigenous groups to rectify and reclaim the losses incurred by colonization. On a day-to-day basis however, ‘indigenous’ is not a well-used term of self-identification. More likely is that of a tribal identity (if known) woven together with that of ‘tangata whenua’ (to denote ancestral connections), and that of ‘Māori’, which connects all those of indigenous descent in Aotearoa. These woven identities reflect the diverse realities of those associated with the Awataha community, and its inclusion in an urban setting.

Tribal identities are of varying strengths, and some members are very active with their rural and urban tribal associations. Others know of these connections but may only occasionally travel to their rural homes for special occasions or holidays. Many would agree with Charles Royal’s assertions that clarifies that “the land does not *symbolise* the human person or vice versa, but rather the land *is* the person, the person *is* the land”, and therefore “‘indigenous’ is taken to mean those cultures whose worldviews place special significance or weight behind the idea of the unification of the human community with the natural world”⁷⁷². But for most at Awataha, ‘tangata whenua’ denotes those ancestral connections back to their own tribal homelands, and the rights of those tribes such as Kawerau-a-Maki and Ngāti Whatua who have local land and cultural privileges.

⁷⁷² Royal, 2002, original italics. Source – www.mkta.co.nz.

As Awataha Marae is a pan-tribal marae, 'Māori' is an acknowledgement of the unification of Aotearoa's indigenous peoples as evidenced by the reality and presence of people from many tribes on the North Shore and surrounding areas. 'Māori' also connotes a shared history, shared whakapapa, and shared experiences. It is also in common usage because that is the way Aotearoa's indigenous people are most described in mainstream and international media, and therefore the most common way of identifying themselves on a day-to-day basis. Indigeneity becomes enacted when international groups utilise the marae, such as an Australian Aboriginal group in 2004, and an indigenous Hawaiian group in 2008. The feelings of connectedness to peoples such as these are of the wairua (spirit) as well as in acknowledgement of shared histories and experiences.

As inevitably happens, time moves on and historical contexts change and evolve. It could be said that emphasising mainly our commonalities no longer fully serves our needs. Durie wrote that there had been prominence assigned to social service delivery through iwi and hapū, assuming that all Māori have extant connections to tribal structures. He noted however, that "far from being homogenous, Māori are as diverse and complex as other sections of the population, although they may have certain characteristics and features in common"⁷⁷³. Added to this is the "increasing social stratification of Māori"⁷⁷⁴, a wide range of educational achievement and therefore congruent earning capabilities, resulting in diverse economic realities. Greater urbanisation and concurrent disconnection from cultural ties along with a youthful demographic, may mean that when those youths become our elderly, they "will be neither fluent in Māori nor familiar with marae....[and] their role in Māori society may be substantially different from the roles currently ascribed to kaumātua"⁷⁷⁵.

Māori experiences are multiple, and therefore ways of being Māori are multiple. For example, there are those raised from birth to know Māori cultural values in a deeply personal way – both those from the older generations, and some of the younger ones educated through kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa. There are urban Māori disconnected from rural ties, who no longer know tribal cultures and histories. There are rural Māori living on or near marae who's lived experience is a fairly unbroken continuity of cultural expression. But there are also those in rural areas whose cultural knowledges are minimal, or are heavily overlaid with religious

⁷⁷³ 1995, p.1.

⁷⁷⁴ Durie, 1995, p.2.

⁷⁷⁵ Durie, 1995, p.3.

values, or are a combination of Māori cultural and mainstream bureaucratic protocols. And there are still others living in cities who maintain strong ties to those rural roots, keeping the tribal fires burning in their everyday lives. There are also many Māori who live along a continuum of stages within cultural reclamation journeys. And within these groupings are individuals whose unique experiences influence how they perceive and express themselves as Māori. ‘(Re)connection’ or reclamation in this context refers to a conscious overt connection influenced by positive features, rather than a subconscious one often influenced by negative features that was there before for some.

Fear of humiliation and existent feelings of shame, or whakamaa, can be seen as a consequence of the cultural decimation resulting from colonization. But perhaps it was also an unintended consequence of the cultural renaissance. If essentialised notions of what ‘being Māori’ entails are being mooted almost daily in the media or in day-to-day interactions, and you can’t ‘tick all the boxes’, then from this can arise whakamaa, and notions of individual cultural inauthenticity. This can be reinforced by the actions of other Māori who also question your authenticity.

Van Meijl’s 1988 research with urban Māori enrolled in computer courses set on a marae found that this setting was not a comfortable introduction to Māori culture for some of his participants⁷⁷⁶. He questions the assumed importance of “marae practices [as] foundational for Māori identities”, citing the research project *Te Hoe Nuku Roa* (1998) as showing that only one third of Māori have habitual contact with marae⁷⁷⁷. In order to conduct a full analysis of Māori cultural identities, he contends that it is “necessary to take into account the marginality of marae discourses and practices in the daily lives of the majority”⁷⁷⁸. For Māori such as those Van Meijl researched with, it may be that rather than identity being based around pride for Māori culture and history, their experiences are more those reflecting a second-class status. Renaissance Period Three consisted of political ideologies that did not always reflect the personal realities of many working and lower class Māori⁷⁷⁹.

⁷⁷⁶ 2006.

⁷⁷⁷ Van Meijl, 2006, p918.

⁷⁷⁸ Van Meijl, 2006, p.919.

⁷⁷⁹ Van Meijl, 2006, p.919. It must be noted however, that Van Meijl’s research was conducted in 1988, and in the ensuing 20 years changes have occurred. It would have been interesting to go back to these original participants to examine where their Māori identity is at now. Nevertheless, feelings of whakamaa and inauthenticity are still relevant and real for many Māori today.

Maaka and Fleras contend that Māori are much more than an ethnic group, a historically disadvantaged minority, or one part of a single citizenship. Māori are the indigenous people of New Zealand, and their “political agenda – to challenge, resist and transform – puts them into a qualitatively different category”⁷⁸⁰. Nevertheless, there seems now to be at least two different but not necessarily mutually exclusive dynamics to Māori identity – those whose identity is entrenched in *tribal* structures, and those whose identity is progressively more deterritorialized and instead embraces a *Māori* ethnicity and kinship. While neither of these is necessarily oppositional, and indeed many Māori have identities that embrace both, problems arise when government policy including those around Treaty settlements resolutely maintain an emphasis on reified tribal structures as the mode for service and resource delivery⁷⁸¹. Durie noted further that an “exclusive focus on tribes will bypass many Māori who for reasons of their own are not active participants in tribal society”⁷⁸². While tribes are a significant factor in Māori social organisation, the “diverse realities and identities of Māori must be taken into consideration if policies and programmes are to be effective”⁷⁸³.

In a perfect and ideal vision of Māori society, every Māori will be acculturated into Māori culture and traditions from birth, as well as those of New Zealand society. Every Māori will know te reo Māori and be able to fulfill appropriate functions on a marae. Every Māori parent and grandparent will transmit those cultural traditions to their children and grandchildren. In an ideal world too, non-Māori would have enough understanding of Māori culture and tradition to dispel negative prejudices and stereotypes. But we don’t live in a perfect or ideal world, and instead have the reality of a people who have suffered from colonization begun around 200 years ago, and now many carry the negative results of that.

There are several generations who have lost connection to culture and language, who have experienced the social, political, spiritual and physical consequence of poverty in the social underclass of New Zealand society. There are those who have experienced enough prejudice to have internalized those negative experiences, and sadly, to have transmitted those to their children and grandchildren. Their identity as Māori has become tied up with their experiences of poverty and violence. However, those are not the only stories that can be told.

⁷⁸⁰ 2005, pp.65-66.

⁷⁸¹ Maaka and Fleras, 2005, pp.66-67.

⁷⁸² 1995, p.12.

⁷⁸³ Maaka and Fleras, 2005, p.66.

There are other stories and other experiences of being Māori. There are those who began with the former experiences, and now have other journeys and other paths they follow, who have (re)connected to Māori culture and tradition. And there are more and more today, who **are** being acculturated from birth. There are those who stand stronger because they have a positive and grounded Māori identity that may also be tribal. Acknowledgement of Māori diversity does not have to divide us; instead, it can join us more closely together when everyone – not just those who fit certain criteria – can belong.

For those who identify primarily as Māori, it should also be acknowledged that within our whakapapa we all carry the genetic and cultural heritage of many other peoples. Awataha is a pan-tribal urban marae, with an open commitment to biculturalism and from there, to multiculturalism. While the foundation for the marae is based on traditional Māori ways and values, it nonetheless is supported by the efforts of both Māori and non-Māori. From its inception, Māori and non-Māori have had input into its development as well as day to day administration. Māori and non-Māori who are part of this community are neighbours, friends, colleagues, and family.

What Awataha enables is a place for Māori diversity to be acknowledged. It is a gentle introduction for many Māori to Te Ao Māori – deliberately so, according to philosophies of those such as Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson. It is also a gentle introduction for non-Māori to the world of Māori culture. Because of this initial bicultural focus, Awataha attracted many Māori who were searching for reconnection to their cultural heritage, and therefore were ready to begin reclamation journeys, or were already engaged in these journeys. Awataha was perceived to be a safe place in which to engage with cultural reclamation, without fear of being denigrated or humiliated because of their lack of knowledge. Some enrolled in the Māori language school and/or enrolled their children in the kura kaupapa on site, as well as being involved with the marae. Others crossed the “physical and psychological distance”,⁷⁸⁴ to renew connections with tribal roots. For Māori such as these, Awataha Marae provided and continues to provide a gentler site for (re)connection to nga taonga tuku iho – the treasures gifted by the ancestors – influenced by the philosophical underpinnings of significant elders such as Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson.

⁷⁸⁴ Maaka and Fleras, 2005, p.68.

The question is begged however, as to how far innovation of tradition with regard to marae will take us. Durie (2009b) notes that “strong foundations for change have been laid over the past twenty-five years and have resulted in major transformations”⁷⁸⁵, which in turn are a base for future transformations. Rapid changes in technology, globalization of people and resources, climate change and so on, will have a significant impact on an expanding Māori population expected to be near 1 million by 2051⁷⁸⁶. Many will live in other countries, with congruent lessening access to Māori cultural constructs such as marae. Our expanded national population will be largely urban. How will this affect the connection to nga taonga tuku iho? Will the line of unbroken continuity remain? Yet as Durie notes further however – “The future is not something we enter. The future is something we create”⁷⁸⁷. While technology and international trends can have a severe and significant impact on how Māori will journey into the future, faith in the foundations that have been laid is necessary, as is faith in the people who are active in that creative process.

4.7 The Convergence of Past, Present and Future:

*All artists love to tell stories – that is what propels them to produce and create....we interpret and tell stories; even in our silences, we wait to hear a story. Our ancestors told many stories which we continue to hear if we listen carefully....Their stories were always passionate because they were about relationships – between them and nature, and among themselves. Today their voices are often drowned in loud, new, artificial and now virtual sounds, but they are still there, living within us, where the spirit lives*⁷⁸⁸.

Over the last 30 or so years, there have been many people involved with Awataha Marae. Each one of them has brought their own life stories, their own experiences that have influenced how they have contributed to the community – and therefore the history – of Awataha. They have shared dreams and visions, worked and fought together for and against common challenges, and sometimes fought against each other. Each one has an important part

⁷⁸⁵ 2009b., p.3.

⁷⁸⁶ 2009a, p.5.

⁷⁸⁷ 2009b, p.21.

⁷⁸⁸ Dr Konai Thaman, in Jahnke, 2005, pp.5-6.

in that history however, no matter their contribution, and the Marae expresses in great part those contributions, as well as the context within which it arose and exists today.

Two of the most influential mainstays who have been there to guide the development of the Marae, are Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson. Arnold brought with him the history and whakapapa of his Tuhoe ancestors, as well as connection to the distinguished line of Te Arawa carvers from Ngāti Tarawhai. Rangitiinia brought the depths of her Ngāpuhi and Te Rarawa heritage, and the wisdoms she gained over her lifetime – a considerable amount of that gained from a leadership position at Awataha and with Waiwharariki. Together they bring together several sites and philosophies of learning.

Integral to that is the coming together of male and female, an honouring of the merging of te ira tangata (the human principle) and te ira wairua (the spiritual principle) as first demonstrated by the creation of Hine-ahu-one through the actions of Tāne Mahuta and his siblings. Over the course of their lifetimes Arnold and Rangitiinia have been sons, daughters, grandchildren, fathers, mothers, and now grandparents and great grandparents. For many others they have been friends, colleagues, mentors, guides, teachers and role models. They have a commitment to ongoing learning that is breathtaking in its simplicity. They are deeply traditional yet progressive as well, having learned from the examples of their ancestors. Within their life's work, they have found ways to join the old and new worlds in innovative and dynamic ways. They have sought what some have termed the 'third space' in which Māori and Pākehā can find common ground that is negotiated for the benefit of all.

Arnold has often said that 'the aim of education is the creation of artists'. In this he means artists in the broadest sense of the word; that is, people who work creatively and imaginatively in their daily lives. They are artists not just in terms of being carvers, sculptors or painters, but in relation to an outlook on life. Artists create - they draw from te ira tangata and te ira wairua to enable themselves to look beyond the structures and boundaries around them to envision new paths and new ways forward.

Arnold has said that although eminent Te Arawa ancestor Tama Te Kapua is often portrayed as a thief, Arnold considers that he was also multi-skilled and innovative. He was an artist. Arnold's koroua, Eramiha Kapua, said to him (as he did to others) –

You people go to the front of the meeting house. Let me stay here in te ao Kohatu [the old world]. This is my world, your world is still to come. Go into your world, pick out those things that mean something for you today⁷⁸⁹.

Arnold's koroua was forward thinking in that he recognised that the world was changing and the younger generations needed to be prepared to face that, while knowing that the old ones (living and passed on) stood beside them.

Arnold Manaaki Wilson was born in the Tuhoe village of Ruatoki in 1928. It was here that he learned his "practical understanding of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga"⁷⁹⁰ in the ways that those in the village cared for each other. From Ruatoki Native School, Arnold moved to Wesley College in Auckland. During his time at Wesley, Elam School of Fine Arts⁷⁹¹, and then Auckland Teachers College, Arnold retained connections to his Tuhoetanga through his urban kin who had "brought their Tuhoetanga with them to the city"⁷⁹².

Yet Arnold notes that he graduated from Elam "feeling starved of art ideas that connected with my own background"⁷⁹³. At Elam, the emphasis for those who taught Arnold was on modernist and realist traditions, through the works of those such as Brancusi and Picasso. When questioning whether he could learn about Māori art, Arnold was told that if he wanted to do so, he "should go back home and wear a grass skirt"⁷⁹⁴. After Elam, Arnold returned to his Tuhoe elders and there he was encouraged to look at Tuhoe wharehenui such as that of Te Kooti built in the Urewera, *Te Whai o te Motu*. From these elders and the examples before him, Arnold was shown "that tradition was a living and changing thing, and that the people had always been adapting new things into tradition"⁷⁹⁵.

1955 saw Arnold in the Bay of Islands with a young family, firstly as an itinerant teacher then taking on the position as arts teacher at Bay of Islands College in 1958. While there he continued with developing his own art, and taught his students to explore their Ngāpuhitanga through exploring art. At one stage he took a group of Māori and Pākehā

⁷⁸⁹ Cited in H. Smith, 2006, p.200.

⁷⁹⁰ Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.20.

⁷⁹¹ Here he gained a Diploma of Fine Arts in 1953 (first class honours, in sculpture) – one of the first Māori to do so. In 1954, Wilson gained a teaching diploma at Auckland Teachers College.

⁷⁹² Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.20.

⁷⁹³ Cited in Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.21.

⁷⁹⁴ Skinner, 2008, p.8.

⁷⁹⁵ Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.22.

students to help with the embellishment of the wharehau being built at Otiria. In that way, a “bridge was being built between the school and the people of its area”⁷⁹⁶.

In 1959, Arnold attended the *Māori Young Leaders Conference* held in Auckland. Dr Rina Moore wrote that “here we had a group of young people who had a sureness of themselves, a maturity of personality, and an intelligent outlook”⁷⁹⁷. Arnold had also appeared in a previous issue of *Te Ao Hou* in 1953, where his artworks were already being noticed⁷⁹⁸. At the *Māori Young Leaders Conference*, Arnold was in such prestigious company as Hugh Kawharu, Whetu Tirikatene, Rev. Whakahui Vercoe, Harry Dansey, Freda Rankin, Patrick Hohepa, Mrs Merimeri Penfold, Pei Te Hurinui Jones, Maharaia Winiata, and James Henare⁷⁹⁹.

Arnold also came into contact with Gordon Tovey around this time, and his Northern Māori Project (1954-1959). National Supervisor Arts and Crafts for the Department of Education, Tovey sought to incorporate Māori art into the school curriculum while advocating the integration of mainstream subjects with the arts, instead of teaching them in isolation⁸⁰⁰. When speaking of Arnold’s teaching “experiments” at Bay of Islands College, Mane-Wheoki considered that:

What happened – simplification of form, creative distortion, untrammelled expressivity – was consistent with the modernist’s reverence for children’s art and tribal art Tovey shared with his team of art advisers. From this kind of experience the contemporary Māori art movement emerged⁸⁰¹.

Tovey utilised the skills of Māori artists such as Ralph Hotere, Para Matchitt, Katerina Mataira and Cliff Whiting as art supervisors and specialists, all of whom became known as significant contemporary artists⁸⁰². Brett Graham notes that education has played a vital role in the advancement of Māori art, so it “is not surprising that the first generation of artists to engage

⁷⁹⁶ Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.24.

⁷⁹⁷ 1960, p.29.

⁷⁹⁸ No. 4, Autumn 1953, p.32.

⁷⁹⁹ *Te Ao Hou*, No. 30, March 1960, pp.33-35.

⁸⁰⁰ Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.24.

⁸⁰¹ In Skinner, 2008, p.84. For examples of Arnold Manaaki Wilson’s early sculptures such as *He Tangata*, *He Tangata* (1956), *Woman Tossing Herself Dry* (1964), and *Ringatu* (1966), see Skinner, 2008, pp. 124, 142, and 120 respectively. See also Smith, H. 2002, *Taiarwhio: Conversations with Contemporary Māori Artists*, 2002, which features examples of Arnold’s later works.

⁸⁰² Skinner, 2008, pp.9-10.

in Western art styles while promoting a Māori worldview were teachers and educationalists known as art specialists”⁸⁰³.

Māori Modernists such as Arnold began to exhibit their work on a regular basis. In June 1958, he along with Ralph Hotere, Katerina Mataira, Muru Walters and Selwyn Wilson, exhibited their work at the University of Auckland in the Princes Street Adult Education rooms. This low key exhibition from relatively unknown artists had no name or curator, yet its 50th anniversary was marked in 2008 by an exhibition at the Auckland Art Gallery named *Turuki Turuki! Paneke Paneke! When Māori Art Became Contemporary*. Donders considered that this “groundbreaking show...marked a cultural renaissance and the beginnings of the contemporary Māori art movement”⁸⁰⁴. These tertiary educated artists:

represented a new generation of Māori artists who drew on their backgrounds as teachers, visual artists and craftspeople, as well as their deeper cultural histories and identities to create a contemporary indigenous art movement....[which] captures the turning point when Māori art became contemporary and acknowledges the place these five artists hold as pioneers and innovators in their fields⁸⁰⁵.

The 1963 Māori Festival of the Arts was held at Ngaruawahia at Tūrangawaewae Marae, with many of the artworks being shown in the whareniui, *Mabinarangi*. Westra wrote that with its elaborate carvings and its many mementos and reminders of past history [*Mabinarangi*] made a striking background for an exhibition of contemporary art which included work by the sculptors Arnold Wilson and Para Matchitt and the painter Selwyn Muru, who are among the most promising younger artists working in New Zealand today⁸⁰⁶.

This Festival of the Arts (and the one in 1966) provided a vital look at the continuity of Māori art forms from the distant past with displays of traditional weaving and carving, concerts featuring chants, haka, poi and action songs, as well as concerts from those such as Hannah Tatana and Kiri Te Kanawa, and the Howard Morrison Quartet. Hone Tuwhare gave a poetry reading, and the sole Pākehā artist, Theo Schoon, displayed copies of rock drawings and

⁸⁰³ B. Graham, 2005, p.11.

⁸⁰⁴ 2008, p.3.

⁸⁰⁵ Donders, 2008, p.3.

⁸⁰⁶ 1964, p.29.

decorated Māori gourds⁸⁰⁷. The counterpoints of traditional and contemporary arts and crafts exhibit Māori culture as dynamic and evolving in its efforts by artists such as Arnold and Matchitt to find new ways to innovate that culture for new environments.

Skinner notes that Arnold has been described “as seeking a kind of ‘bicultural’ sculpture that fuses the traditions of Māori and Pākehā art”⁸⁰⁸. This sometimes brought him into contention with more traditional Māori carvers. Of traditional carving, Arnold stated that “When taken from its proper place which is the meeting-house...[it] loses its life spirit, it’s “guts”...What I am trying to do is break down the old forms to a usable form for a modern environment”⁸⁰⁹. He said further that

At present...carving work of the Māori tradition are reproductions of the work of years ago. Māori relief work has been thrashed, and to my mind is not “living”. It is time now to see the possibilities in a different environment, and thus to make the works “live” again⁸¹⁰.

Arnold’s endeavours to innovate Māori traditions as expressed in art, have earned him the reputation as one of the most gifted Māori artists and sculptors, and also that of “the ‘godfather’ of contemporary Māori art”⁸¹¹.

In 1975, Arnold was seconded to the Department of Education by Peter Boag (Assistant Director General of Education) to find ways to incorporate Māori arts and crafts further into the school curriculums. The first two and a half years were spent gathering resources, developing knowledge and skills, and setting up networks. The programmes were first known as the Cross Cultural Community Involvement Arts Programme, and later by their better known title, Te Mauri Pakeaka. Pakeaka is a term that describes what can occur during the threat of conflict between two warring parties who then stop and assess one another, and then step back and reassess the situation. That stepping back period is known as Pakeaka⁸¹².

⁸⁰⁷ Westra, 1964, p.29.

⁸⁰⁸ 2008, p.10.

⁸⁰⁹ Cited in Mataira, 1968, p.213.

⁸¹⁰ *Te Ao Hou*, No. 52, September 1965, p.32.

⁸¹¹ Fred Graham, in H. Smith, 2006, p.32.

⁸¹² Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, pp.5-6.

Mauri refers to the life force inherent in that period of reassessment that is “the living, irreducible energy that exists in that instant: the promise of growth”⁸¹³.

This seemed an apt term to describe what was happening in Aotearoa New Zealand at that time. According to Greenwood and Wilson,

Te Mauri Pakeaka was set up within the education system at a time of nascent awareness that New Zealand society could no longer afford to ignore the presence of Māori people and their cultural values, and that schools needed to play a role in changing society from one with a monocultural outlook⁸¹⁴.

The desire was for the development of a ‘third space’⁸¹⁵ where mainstream culture could meet with Māori culture in a place of safety, and where assessment and reassessment was enabled; “a description of the opportunities and contestations that come into being as two cultures meet and interact”⁸¹⁶. The activities of this third space were allowed to grow organically, developing through the interactions and activities of the people who attended each particular workshop. They were “dialogues, confrontations, accommodations, risk-taking and unplanned discoveries...[that] inescapably...engages with the development of something new”⁸¹⁷.

The programmes consisted of providing students the opportunity to use arts and crafts, including dance and drama, to gain an understanding of local and national history. They brought together teachers, departmental heads, college students, artists (such as Cliff Whiting) and Māori community members (including esteemed elders such as John Rangihau and James Henare) in a Māori forum where there was “an opportunity to confront Māori values, a Māori approach to development and learning, and a Māori desire to make the system work for their young people”⁸¹⁸. The children translated Māori myths and local histories into works of art; working together, living together, laughing and singing together, with some finding previously unknown qualities of leadership. Te Mauri Pakeaka programmes took place between 1978 and 1989 on marae, in community centres or schools, in rural and urban settings, and in one case,

⁸¹³ Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.12.

⁸¹⁴ 2006, p.5.

⁸¹⁵ The term ‘third space’ originated through a letter written by Arnold Wilson to one of the communities engaging with Te Mauri Pakeaka, prior to Homi Bhabha’s use of the term as “an evolving and dynamic space”. Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.11.

⁸¹⁶ Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.11.

⁸¹⁷ Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.12.

⁸¹⁸ Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.6.

in the Otara shopping mall in 1979. Here, the township were shown another view of themselves other than as “a disenfranchised ghetto”, instead seeing “the richness of culture within it [which served] as a platform on which Māori and Pacific Island communities could showcase their arts and redevelop a sense of pride”⁸¹⁹.

Te Mauri Pakeaka was taken up by tens of thousands of people from Waitangi to Wellington over its term, giving many non-Māori the opportunity to engage positively with Māori culture and find that there were benefits to flow from that. It showed Māori students that there were effective ways in which things-Māori could fit into the education system, which for many had previously been ineffective. For urban Māori, they were able to experience their first entry into their cultural heritage in a Māori environment. Artists were enabled to marry their art with active learning processes. And the communities, many of which were seen as second-class, were invited to share their expertise (including that of community leadership) in ways that strengthened bonds between generations, and between communities and schools. Despite its abrupt demise in 1989 due to a radical restructuring of the education system, Te Mauri Pakeaka provided “a vision of society, and of life”⁸²⁰ that had, and still has, much to offer our nation. As one participant stated:

You asked us, objectively, Arnold Wilson, to say how we found it. And objectivity escapes me....my heart knows objectivity is not the answer. Objectivity is a bystander, seated, watching the dance. The answer is in the dancing. In its moving and in its stillness. I am glad I danced⁸²¹.

⁸¹⁹ Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.7.

⁸²⁰ Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.10.

⁸²¹ 1981, cited in Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.137.

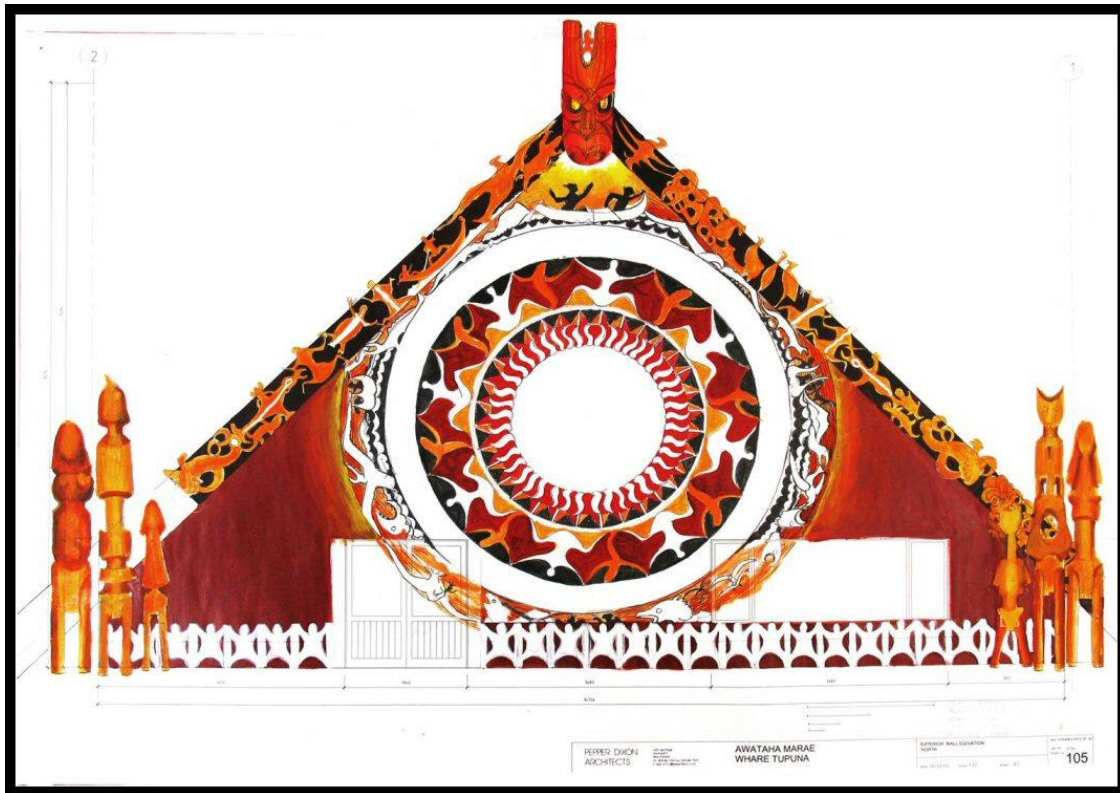


Figure 46 : Proposed designs for *Tāne Whakapiripiri* – Front view.

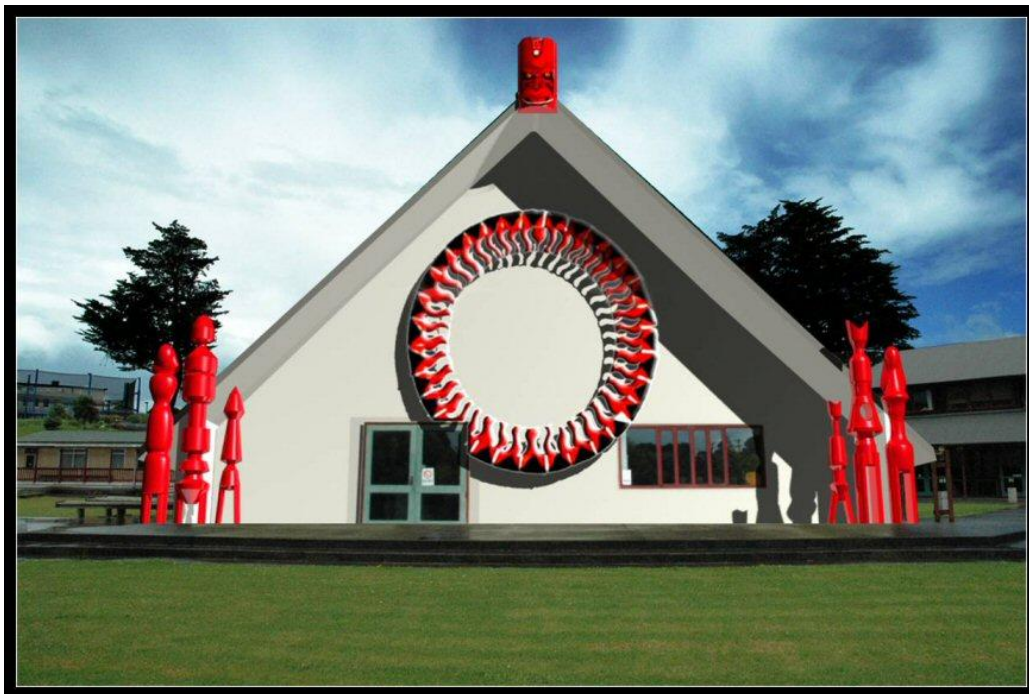


Figure 47 : *Tāne Whakapiripiri* – digitized image – front view.

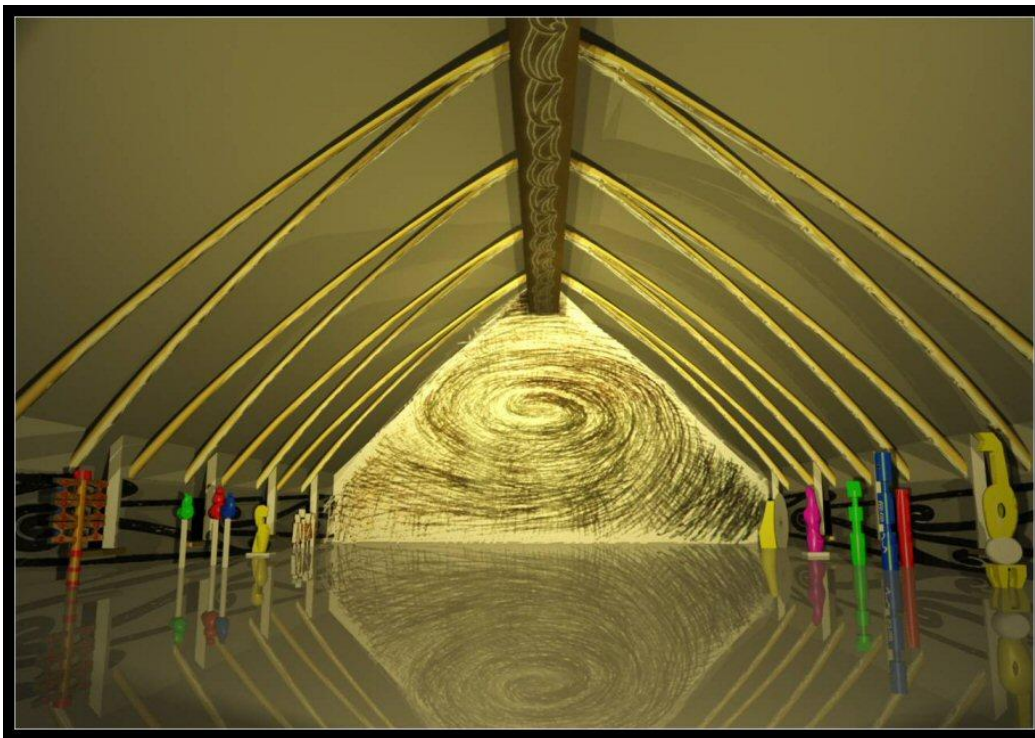


Figure 48 : *Tāne Whakapiripiri* – digitized image – interior, back wall.

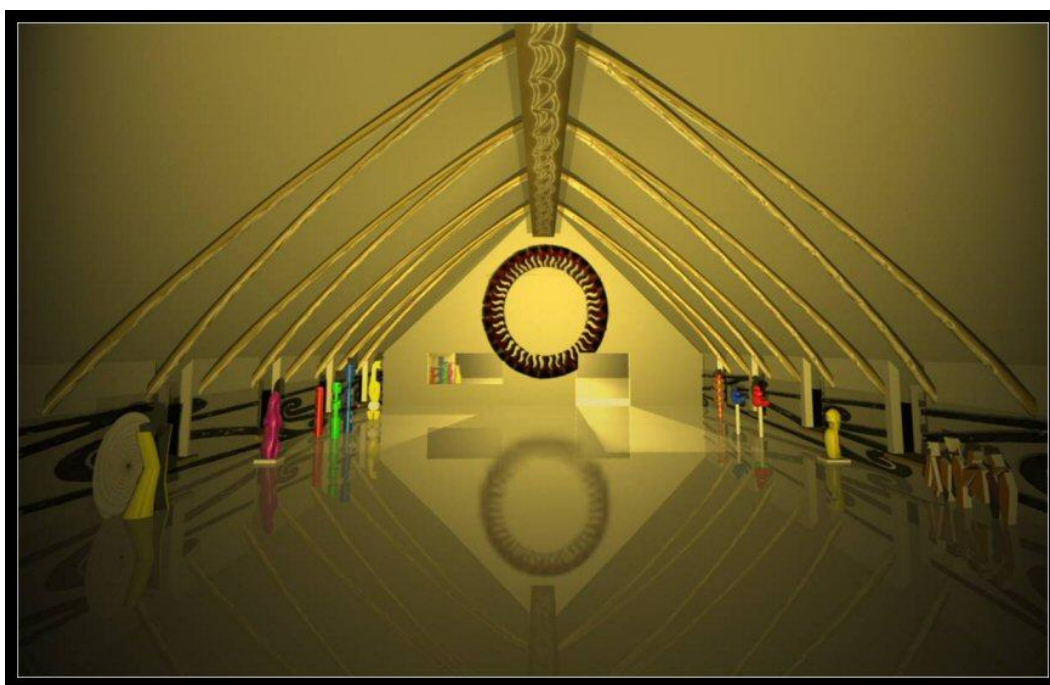


Figure 49 : *Tāne Whakapiripiri* – digitized image – interior, facing front wall.

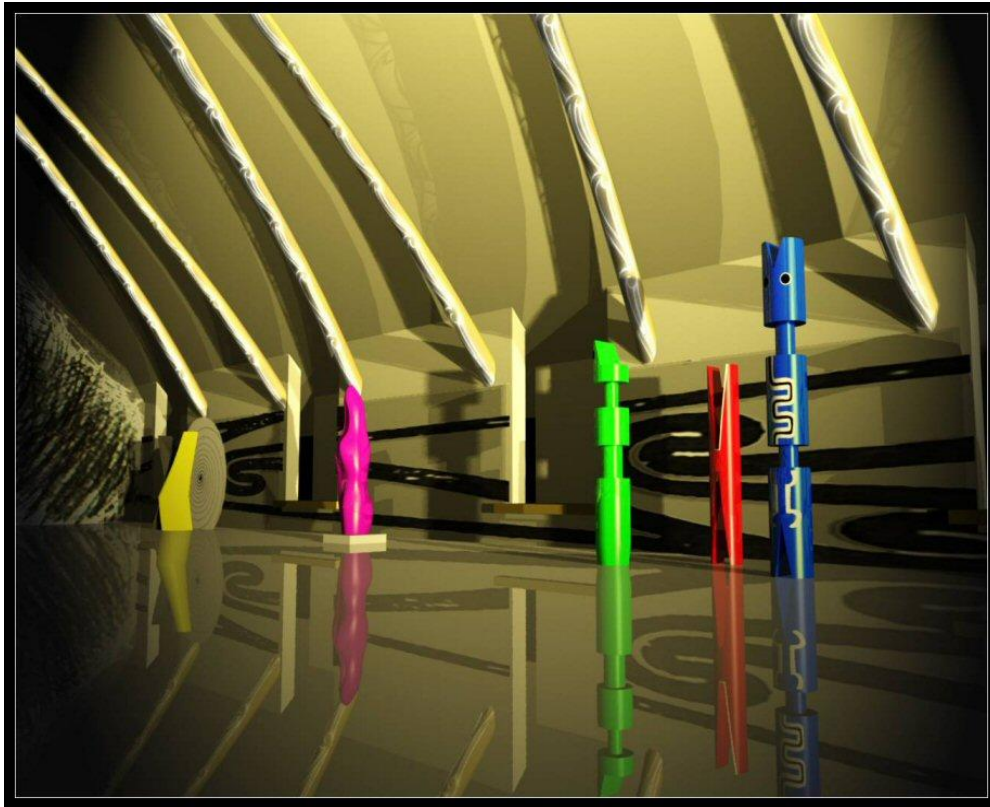


Figure 50 : *Tāne Whakapiripiri* – digitized image – interior, side wall.

4.8 Conclusion:

When looking back at this history, it is easily seen how innovations of education and art came to influence the ways Awataha Marae developed under the guidance of those such as Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson. In the partly congruent development of Awataha and Te Mauri Pakeaka, there was a convergence of past, present and future which implemented innovative thinking in a desire to provide a *tūrangawaewae* for Māori on the North Shore, and therefore reaffirm Māori culture and identity. From its inception, Awataha Marae was also envisioned as a place that would provide opportunities for Māori and non-Māori alike to explore the depth of cultural and spiritual values which can best be experienced on the marae.

The site of the Marae is an ancient, long established *papakāinga* of the Māori people, and it is appropriate that an urban Marae be established here. The Marae is the philosophical and cultural core – the essence – of a community facility that will provide sustenance in a variety of ways for the people to which it belongs. For it is to people, and for people, that the

vision of Awataha Marae is focused – He aha te mea nui o te a o? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata.

Excellent opportunities for shared knowledge have their basis in the spiritual values embodied in the buildings, traditions, and people of the Marae. This knowledge can provide a source of security and strength for all who use the Marae. Appreciation of those aspects of taha Māori for individuals and groups in the community will grow as more people experience the cultural richness of Marae life. This will be further enriched from an interchange of cultural knowledges. The *hope* is that Awataha will thus provide a knowledge base from which its associated communities can draw in order to promote their own growth. The *expectation* is that Awataha Marae will continue to make a significant input into the *future* of both the North Shore, and for Aotearoa New Zealand society as a whole.

Urban marae such as Awataha as sites of cultural retention for urban Māori are one of the ways in which Māori culture continues to grow while incorporating features of the landscapes to which they belong. Our tupuna never meant for us to remain unchanged in an unchanging world. What they have shown us is that it is more than possible to create wealth from the ashes of our near destruction. This wealth is not measured only in terms of dollars and cents, although this is now a vital necessity in this imperfect world we live in. The most important wealth we measure however is that which nurtures and nourishes us through the times of challenge as well as celebration. This wealth is our birthright, our heritage – nga taonga tuku iho.

Ko Rangitoto te maunga
Ko Waitematā te moana
Ko Kaituna te awa
Ko Onewa te paa
Ko Pupuke te roto
Ko iwi kātoa nga iwi
Ko Awataha te marae
Ko Awataha te papakāinga
Ko Tāne Whakapiripiri te wharenui
Ko Awataha te whānau.

CHAPTER FIVE : FINAL REFLECTIONS

Innovation of our traditions has proven a necessity for cultural continuity in Aotearoa New Zealand. Although change was often forced onto Māori following colonisation, creative reactions to environmental conditions were visible in the ways in which wharehau were decorated and the changing spatial arrangements of marae. Rather than being self-conscious inventions of tradition, Māori agency utilised technological transformations to retain links to the worlds of the past, and to ensure the journeys continued into future worlds. Awataha Marae reflects its place in the current historical context, and exhibits innovation of tradition through the actions of significant members of the Awataha community, as well as in the expression of culture on the marae. A survey of events in the three Renaissance Periods shows clear examples of innovation of tradition. Even prior to the 1870s, Māori had incorporated aspects of the new cultures into their own. For example, some such as Hongi Hika took up the new warfare technologies such as muskets and used them to the advantage of his tribes. Ngāpuhi utilised musket warfare to exact utu (revenge, payment) for past deeds of other tribes. They also were quick to take up agricultural practices and entered the new economy, trading and selling potatoes and other produce for muskets. The new was incorporated with the existing, to form new ways of being, new traditions. Another example was the use of metal tools which were easier to use in carving work, and which enabled new forms of carving.

But there was a price to pay for these new technologies, and in the example of Ngāpuhi, the carving arts deteriorated from a people who had previously exhibited many fine examples of these. As argued by Brown (2003), an emphasis on warfare meant that many of the carving experts were off fighting with little time for carving, with many of them killed in those wars. The shift “from cultural production to destruction”⁸²² and the influence of missionaries who decried the heathen figures portrayed saw a decline in the carving arts that

⁸²² Brown, 2003, p.39.

was to continue in the north for many decades to come, although it never died out completely. By 1977, only 12 of 146 Ngāpuhi wharenuī had carved embellishments⁸²³.

Raharuhi Rukupo also innovated tradition in the carving of *Te Hau-ki-Tauranga*. Although initially welcoming of the new ways introduced by the missionaries, Rukupo soon came to see that there was little to gain from “Pākehā knowledge if in the process Māori people lost pride in their own traditions”⁸²⁴. *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* was carved in remembrance of Rukupo’s brother, Tamati Waka Mangere, and was a source of inspiration for his people in a time of increasing loss. He and other carvers of the time were to incorporate other novel features in their carving practices, such as chalk and the use of templates⁸²⁵.

The New Zealand Wars were precipitated by land disputes in Wairoa, and in this time Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki came to prominence. Fighting against the British soldiers in the ways of his ancestors while using musket warfare, Te Kooti also utilised aspects of the introduced culture in the Ringatu faith. While imprisoned on the Chatham Islands, Te Kooti received visions that led him to create the ministry of the ‘upraised hand’. Through his warfare exploits and the Ringatu religion, Te Kooti gained a fairly widespread following. After his official pardon in 1883, Te Kooti continued in his religious pursuits, and wharenuī such as *Rahiri* were built to honour him. Others such as *Tutamure* recorded his exploits in their embellishments.

One of the most significant changes in this time in relation to wharenuī was the use of paint as an artistic medium. The post-war “period of intense political and religious realignment”⁸²⁶ saw an increase in the building of wharenuī in this time of cultural renaissance. Group identity based on recent history became more prevalent than identity based on descent. Spatial arrangements of marae altered, with them becoming “a symbolic place which visibly stated the survival of Māoritanga”⁸²⁷. While the carving arts continued in some areas, many carvers and carving practices had again been detrimentally affected by the Wars, necessitating the use of new forms. Painting provided an advantage in that it was not necessary to spend long years in training with the attendant rituals observed. Naturalistic painting “gave a new

⁸²³ Brown, 2003, p.54.

⁸²⁴ R. Walker, 2001, p.43.

⁸²⁵ R. Walker, 2001.

⁸²⁶ Neich, 1994, p.2.

⁸²⁷ Salmond, 2004, p.81.

flexibility and eloquence”⁸²⁸ in expressing the current views of the people involved. *Rongopai* (1887) combined the naturalistic styles with portrayal of traditional kowhaiwhai paintings and carved figures⁸²⁹. Although some condemned figurative painting as non-traditional and therefore ‘degenerate’, what was happening here was the incorporation of new ideas as they saw fit, to express the new environments and the recent history that had such an impact on their lives.

Renaissance Period Two saw another upsurge in Māori culture, with those such as Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck moving towards innovating Māori culture in ways that would ensure its survival amongst the many changes that were occurring. Apirana Ngata had been raised by Rapata Wahawaha and Paratene Ngata to know that traditional mana now had “to be complemented with education and skills derived from the modern world”⁸³⁰. Both Ngata and Buck were educated in the Pākehā education system as well as those of their Māori forebears, although Buck’s occurred later in life. Many of Ngata’s role models were Pākehā he came into contact with at Te Aute College, such as headmaster John Thornton. These influences provided him with the skills to move confidently in Pākehā society, as his Māori role models had prepared him to move confidently in that arena.

Ngata, Buck, Maui Pomare and others in the Young Māori Party emphasised “the need to preserve Māori language, poetry, traditions, customs, arts and crafts; and to carry out research into anthropology and ethnology”⁸³¹, in a “programme of economic and cultural invigoration”⁸³². Their vision was far-reaching, seeing beyond cultural concerns to secure a place in the society they were now part of. Political and social power was necessary to secure that place. They saw themselves as cultural mediators, belonging to two cultures and moving freely between them⁸³³.

One of the ways in which Ngata foresaw the preservation of Māori culture was in the setting up of the Rotorua School of Māori Arts in 1926. Here he employed expert carvers from Ngāti Tararua, and set them to teaching young Māori the carving arts. Rather than using the more recent example of figurative painting however, Ngata reached back to the time of

⁸²⁸ Neich, 1994, p.2.

⁸²⁹ Neich, 1994, p.185.

⁸³⁰ R. Walker, 2001, pp.63-63.

⁸³¹ Sorrenson, 1982, p.9.

⁸³² Henare, 2007, p.100.

⁸³³ Sorrenson, 1982, p.21.

Raharuhi Rukupo to use *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* as a prototype for the style of carving and exemplar for the meeting houses he hoped many tribes would create for themselves; a desire he considered every tribe nurtured. Others arts such as weaving of tāniko, whāriki and kits was also encouraged, and Ngata envisaged newly trained experts moving through the country to teach these arts to others.

What was advocated was the construction of renewed pride in Māori identity and culture, using that “as a platform for accessing the best of Western technology and education”⁸³⁴. The centerpiece of this platform would be increased marae development and the building of superb carved wharenuī. The 1909 opening of *Porourangi*, the wharenuī built by Rapata Wahawaha in 1888, was a lavish affair, and considered by Walker as “a clarion call marking the cultural revival”⁸³⁵. Although schemes such as those instigated by Ngata, Buck, Pomare and others included a reaching back to traditional arts and culture, these were also adjusted and innovated to fit the new context in which this Renaissance Period arose.

Renaissance Period Three was heralded by hearty Māori protests that highlighted injustices enacted against Māori in ways that could no longer be ignored by the governments of the time and by Aotearoa New Zealand society at large. Again there was an increase in the building of wharenuī in this time, with many now being built in urban areas, outside of traditional tribal domains. Some such as *Tāne-nui-a-Rangi* were located on educational institutions to express the incorporation of Māori culture into educational systems of the land. Rural wharenuī such as *Ngatokowaru II*, showed the incorporation of Christian motifs into this traditional arena, which was an aspect of the peoples’ history that was of importance to them. *Ihenga*, carved by noted Māori artist, Lyonel Grant, exhibited the changes effected by Māori contemporary art into the traditional carving arts, while *Te Hono Ki Hawaiki* embodies “the spirit of bicultural partnership that lies at the heart of the Museum [Te Papa Tongarewa]”⁸³⁶. What these and other wharenuī show is the changing contexts, the changing environments, within which Māori people and Māori culture now belong.

Urbanisation had impacted heavily on Māori, and by the late 20th century over 80% of Māori were located in urban centres, usually away from their tribal homelands. Many had lost

⁸³⁴ Durie, 1996, p.190.

⁸³⁵ R. Walker, 2001, p.213.

⁸³⁶ Te Papa Tongarewa, online source - <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/TePapa/English/WhatsOn/LongTermExhibitions/TheMarae.htm>

connection to their tribal roots, and many had lost knowledge of Māori culture which no longer featured greatly in their lives. Urban marae then, were a way in which to reinstate Māori culture in the urban landscape, to ensure the continuation of that culture. In Auckland there are now over 30 marae located on educational facilities or church grounds, with some such as Te Tira Hou there for the purposes of Tuhoe people located in Auckland. Orakei boasts the tribal marae of one of the tangata whenua groups of Auckland, Ngati Whatua. Most of these marae are pan or inter-tribal, with their facilities being opened for use of all Māori, and non-Māori. These marae can be seen as a positive and innovative response by Māori to the challenges of urban life, and reflect not only the survival of Māori culture, but the dynamism of an enduring people despite monumental trials.

Urban marae such as Awataha arose in the search for new ways in which to maintain past traditions. 'Tradition must be lived in order for it to remain active, and for those at Awataha Marae, part of this living tradition including transforming and innovating parts of it to suit an urban situation in which many different tribes shared the same space, as well as sharing that space with non-Māori. Awataha Marae is first and foremost, as the name implies – a marae. That is, “a building complex, a gathering place,...a communal home [with] notions of belonging, of community, of identity, of privacy, and of the right to control what happens in your home”⁸³⁷. While Awataha is an urban marae and thus does not always fit traditional ideas of marae, it is nevertheless still a gathering place for Māori of Te Raki Pae Whenua (North Shore), as well as peoples of other cultures and ethnicities. When I began my research there in 2002, I could see how the vision held for the Marae was beginning to become reality, but also saw the ongoing conflicts enacted within the community. It seemed these conflicts reflected in some part what was occurring in the wider Aotearoa New Zealand society.

For well over a century Māori and Pākehā had been in some form of conflict however, as Māori culture and people were decimated and denigrated by the machinations of colonisation. The cultural renaissance of the 1970s forced Pākehā to confront the injustices of the past, and many Māori to see the beauty of a culture that had been denied them, their parents and grandparents. While Māori culture was still very present in our society, there were those who were disconnected from it, either through lack of contact or the internalization of negative conceptions of who and what 'Māori' was.

⁸³⁷ Collins, 2005, pp.12-13.

For those such as Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson, the 1970s and 1980s were a time when pakeaka could be enacted – when Māori and Pākehā could step back and reassess one another and their relationship to each other. Awataha Marae would be a place where that reassessment could occur, and from there, better relationships could be formed. Within the groups of people supporting the drive for a marae on the North Shore, were Māori and Pākehā, living and working together towards a common goal. And the mauri of their efforts of reassessment and forward movement was “the living, irreducible energy that exists in that instant: the promise of growth”⁸³⁸.

As was occurring in the wider society however, not all Māori or Pākehā were comfortable with this kind of situation. For many Māori the cultural renaissance necessitated a closing of borders, of retrenching to gather strength, to determine the steps necessary for tino rangatiratanga (self-determination). It was a time of relearning, reconnecting and reclaiming – when the pain of the past was very much there in the present. “The treaty is a fraud!” was often heard, as an indicator of the historical breaking of a compact between these two peoples. Every day many Māori lived with the realities of unemployment, low levels of education, high levels of disease and violence of all kinds. Just surviving was difficult enough for many. So there were many who were not yet ready to move beyond the separation of cultures to find the ways in which we were similar, and in which we could be united. And many Pākehā were not yet ready to leave behind the prejudices of the past, that saw Māori in stereotypical array as heathen, lazy, no-hopers.

Those at Awataha then, exhibited a kind of courage in acting upon the philosophies on which the Marae was founded. And there was soon a reaction to that courage – the opening day in 1990 was marred by a boycott of the ceremonies by some Māori elders who considered that a woman speaking on the paepae – Rangitiinia Wilson – was contrary to tradition. But as Arnold Wilson has often said; we create tradition every day. Tradition relies on its enactment, and when environments change and the world moves on, often traditions change. The Awataha people claimed the right – their rangatiratanga – to enact their traditions as they saw fit.

For elders such as Arnold Wilson, his experiences under the influence of those such as Gordon Tovey in the 1950s, caused him to seek ways in which to incorporate Māori culture through art into the existing education system. By the 1970s and 1980s, Te Mauri Pakeaka

⁸³⁸ Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.12.

education programmes were conceived as a way in which to incorporate Māori art further into school curriculums. Seconded by Boag to these programmes, Arnold Wilson and his team took college children from schools out into marae and community centres between 1978 and 1989. Here they used art, dance and drama to communicate knowledge of Māori myths and local histories. These programmes brought together Māori and non-Māori children, educators, community members and leaders, and artists in a Māori forum where the development of a 'third space' was sought. In its own way, Te Mauri Pakeaka reflected a society struggling with new relationships that were in some ways enforced, but in a way that accepted that new relationships were possible.

It can be seen then, how Awataha Marae arose from influences such as this. From the time of the North Shore Māori Tribal Committee in 1961 to the North Shore Māori Committee in 1974 and the Te Uruwao Trust in the late 1970s and 1980s, Awataha Marae developed a vision of cultural continuity in an urban setting, while acknowledging the demands of that setting. The people of Awataha became artists in their daily lives, creating dreams and visions to seek a reality where Māori retained and continued to grow their culture while embracing the other cultures and people that surrounded them. Focused as an educational centre in which artistic endeavours ensure that continuation, Awataha Marae remains an active dream in which innovations of tradition nevertheless reflect the unbroken line of cultural heritage that has incorporated history and circumstance into its environs.

Research can be about creating knowledge, seeking understanding, enriching the world around us – including that of the communities in and with which we work. It can be about honoring those we work with, as well as honoring self for our part in the research process, and in understanding what we have learned from that process and journey. When I began my relationship with the Awataha people in 1997, I knew very little about Te Ao Māori, despite being raised in a small rural village. As time went on however and the research began in 2002, I began to know more of the place that marae and their wharenui, their rituals and practices, have for the people who utilize them. As my knowledge of Awataha and its people expanded, so too did my own personal, cultural and spiritual understandings grow. After a meeting in 2002 which looked at the designs for the wharenui, I wrote the following in my fieldnotes:

It's like having this beautiful korowai laid out before me. It's laid over Aotearoa. Once, I didn't know it existed, although it was always there. Then, I began to see the faint outline of its beauty. Now, some of the pattern detail is beginning to show. I doubt I -

or many of the present generations actually – will ever know the full beauty of its splendor. But we can know a lot of it. Those parts that are missing don't have to be gaping holes that let in the cold breezes of loss. Rather, they can just be those parts of the worlds of our tupuna that belong to them and with them in the past. While we may never know the fullness of their stories, they still exist - within us and around us. It is not always necessary to see in order to believe.

Today I feel solidly connected to Te Ao Māori, secure in my identity as a Māori woman, secure in the knowledge that although much has been lost, much more remains. A firm and strong foundation continues upon which my and future generations may build. That building includes negotiating our relationships with self, with our people, and with other peoples around us. As it is on the marae aatea, we debate, we negotiate, and we reach compromise and accommodations – accommodations of our cultures, worlds, and people.

For some of the last few weeks of the PhD journey, I worked with Catherine Holyoake Taiapa on repairing a korowai (traditional feather cloak) that had been gifted to Rangitiinia Wilson by Princess Piki⁸³⁹ of the Tainui tribe. This unexpected gifting took place following the unveiling of a statue created by Arnold Wilson to commemorate the life and work of Dr Maharaia Winiata (the first Māori PhD) at Judea Pa in Tauranga, in April 1964. The eight foot statue was “designed to act as a challenge to Māori youth to seek after education, and knowledge”, and holds one of the three kits of knowledge – that of “the knowledge of the arts of peace”⁸⁴⁰. From 1964, these principles reflected into the future through the work of the Awataha people, and then into the lives of those associated with Awataha today.

The reconstructed korowai was worn by Catherine's husband, Ken Taiapa (Ngati Porou and Rongowhakaata tribes), at his graduation from university in April 2009. This work was a 'mahi aroha' – an undertaking of love for Ken and his whaanau, and as a koha aroha (gift of love) back to Awataha Marae and its people. While the undertaking was based on deepening friendship, whanaungatanga and negotiated understandings, and as such reflects only a small part of Aotearoa New Zealand society, it also provided a microcosmic view of possibilities.

Catherine was initially hesitant to work on the korowai because she is Pākehā, and she therefore questioned her right to be involved in something that so patently belonged to Te Ao

⁸³⁹ Later, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu; Maaori Queen from 1966 to 2006.

⁸⁴⁰ In 'He Whakamaharatanga ki a Maharaia Winiata', *Te Ao Hou*, No. 47, June 1964, p.31.

Māori and connects directly back to traditional arts. When thinking of some of the fundamental philosophies that formed the development of Awataha Marae however, I could see how this current project reflected those philosophies. It was about Māori and Pākehā working together on a base of kaupapa Māori. Kaupapa Māori is an integral part of the weave of any korowai, and for those at Awataha, it was an integral part of building relationships between all peoples who met at the marae, while incorporating new creativities and new innovations. Just as there is a requirement for some Māori to act as bridges between Māori and Pākehā people to promote understanding and communication, so too do we need Pākehā who are able to act as bridges for the same purposes.

Much of the work of the korowai occurred on levels other than that of the physical. There were times when we wondered what we had taken on, that the job seemed too big for us and that we wouldn't be able to complete it in time. At times we wondered at our worthiness for such a project. But as with those who have been the mainstays of Awataha Marae such as Arnold and Rangitiinia Wilson, commitment to particular tasks often involves questioning and re-negotiating understandings, and facing challenges. As we moved through the process, we realised that weaving feathers into a korowai can also be about healing, rejoining and reconstructing, as well as a measure of rejoicing.

This experience prompted Catherine to ask – “do we weave the korowai or does the korowai weave us?”⁸⁴¹ – reflecting the interrelationships between thought and task, person and practice, intellect and spirit. It can also be related to culture in that culture arises from how we think it, and how we enact it. But in the weaving of its practice, we are also woven by our culture. The overall process enables a dynamic culture that incorporates *multiple reflections* of self, of community, of history, of changing environments, and so on.

Ken Taiapa said that when he put on the korowai Catherine and I prepared for him, he felt he was carrying stories upon his back. The stories include those of the original makers of the korowai and their ancestors, of Rangitiinia and Arnold Wilson and Awataha Marae, of Ken's ancestors and his own life experiences. They also include those of Catherine and her family, as well as mine. Every step of the way along life's journey, there is a story. It is those stories, collective and individual, which make the past live in the present. Catherine asserted that our “traditions give us insight into the modern world”. This is the value of our traditions while allowing and enabling them to be dynamic, creative and innovative. They provide a plan,

⁸⁴¹ Personal communication, March 2009.

a blueprint for thought and action that can guide us through life in all its trials, tribulations and triumphs. They are a korowai aroha laid across us by our ancestors, and the feathers which we in turn weave into the korowai contribute and provide guidance for our future generations.

Te Taura Tangata, the great Rope of Man which is “a magnificent icon spiraling from aeon to the next...[charting] the changing nature of the human odyssey”⁸⁴², continues to weave into its enduring essence our successes and failures, challenges and triumphs in a way that ensures its persistence into future generations. For all the forms that Māori culture takes in this modern world, for all the diverse ways in which we express ourselves as Māori, there is an unbroken link in our whakapapa back to the gods and ancestors who themselves sought innovation and creativity in worlds that were ever changing. Woven into the whakapapa of all Māori today are the linkages to the many peoples of this land, and from there to the peoples of the world.

⁸⁴² Ihimaera, 2005, pp.30-31.

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GLOSSARY

Word or Term	Meaning
ahi kaa	those who occupy the land by right of 'keeping the home fires burning', i.e. occupation.
āhua	feature(s), aspect(s), shape, look, nature of a person
āhua Māori	particular character; aspect that is relative to being Māori
āhuatanga	likeness, characteristics relative to the circumstances
ako	to learn (and to teach)
Ao	World
Aotearoa	New Zealand
aroha	kindness, love, affection, compassion
atawhai	to show kindness to
atua	deities, gods
awa	river, channel, gully
awhi	help, helpful
āwhina	help, assist
haka	vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words
haka pōwhiri	a ceremonial dance of welcome
hapū	sub-tribe(s) that share a common ancestor; pregnant

harakeke	flax
haukāinga	home, true home, home people
hauora	health
Hawaiki	traditional homeland of the Māori
hinengaro	mind
hoa tāne	husband
hui	meeting, conference
iwi	tribal kin group; nation; people
kaiako	teacher, tutor
kaiāwhina	helper, assistant
kaikaranga	person making a ceremonial call of welcome
kaikōrero	speaker, orator
kaimahi	worker, staff
kāinga	home, residence, village
kairangahau	researcher
kaitiaki	guardian, minder, custodian over natural resources
kaitiakitanga	guardianship, cultural and financial guardianship, accountability
kanohi	face, eye(s)
kanohi kitea	to be a ‘seen face’, face-to-face
kapa haka	a group performing traditional songs and dances such as haka, waiata and poi
karakia	prayer(s), chant(s), and incantation(s)
kaumātua	elder/s
kaupapa	topic, basis; guiding principles

kaupapa Māori	Māori based topic/event/enterprise run by Māori for Māori
kauta	cooking place, shack, lean-to
kawa	professional practice, ethical practices, protocols
kete	basket made of flax strips
koha	gift, token, pledge
kōhanga reo	pre-school based on Māori language and culture
kōrero	speak, talk, discuss; discussion
kōrero tawhito	ancient/ancestral story
koroua	male elder, grandfather
korowai	traditional cloak
kotahitanga	unison/unity
kowhaiwhai	painted scroll ornamentation - commonly used on meeting house rafters
kuia	female elder
kūpapa	collaborator; be neutral
kupu	word, anything said
kura	school; red; precious
kura kaupapa	Māori language immersion schools (primary level)
māhakitanga	humility
mahi	work
mahi rangahau	research

mahi whakairo	to carve; carving
mana	prestige, status, authority, influence, integrity; honour, respect
mana motuhake	autonomy, independence, authority
mana whenua	authority over land and natural resources, tribal estates
manaaki(tia)	show respect or kindness, entertain, care for
manaakitanga	respect, hospitality, kindness, mutual trust, respect and concern
manaia	stylised figure used in carving; sea horse
manuhiri	visitor(s)
Māoritanga	the very essence of being Māori, Māori perspective
marae	tribal meeting grounds, village common, complex of buildings
marae aatea	village forecourt, village gathering point, area in front of wharenui
mātauranga	knowledge, tradition, epistemology
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
matua/mātua	parent/parents
mātua-tipuna	Forebears
Maui	a demigod
maunga	mountain
mauri	life essence, life force, energy, life principle
mauri ora	knowing who you are, good health
moana	sea, ocean, lake
mokemoke	lonely, solitary; homesick

mokopuna	grandchild, descendant
mōteatea	lament, song, chant
nga mate	the dead
Nga Pae o te Māramatanga	The National Institute of Research Excellence for Māori Development and Advancement
ngāwaritanga	patience, lenience
noa	not sacrosanct, having no restrictions/prohibitions, free from tapu
ohākī	deathbed wishes
oriori	lullaby
paa	home; fortified Māori village
paa harakeke	a collection or plantation of flax; the material and process of weaving
pakanga	war
pakeke	Adult
Pākehā	a person of predominantly European descent, non-Maori
pakiwaitara	legend, story
papakāinga	village, homestead
Papatuanuku	Papa for short: the name given to the Earth Mother
pare	carving over doorway; door lintel
pātaka	carved storehouse
patu	club-like weapon
pitau	perforated spiral carving
piupiu	grass skirt

pou	pole, post
pounamu	greenstone, nephrite, jade
poupou	upright slabs forming the solid framework of the walls of a wharenui, usually bearing carvings of ancestors
pou rāhui	rāhui post, symbol of a rāhui; a boundary post erected to warn people against trespassing
pouteaniwa	pillar on front wall inside wharenui; Renaissance Period Two
poutewharau	pillar outside wharenui joining the apex of the wharenui to the ground, supporting the koruru and tekoteko; Renaissance Period Three
poutuarongo	pillar inside wharenui on back wall; Renaissance Period One
pou whenua	carved boundary poles
pōwhiri	to welcome; welcome ceremony
pumanawa	ability
pumanawa moe	potential
puna	a spring of water; source, origin
puna mātauranga	source of knowledge
puurakau	ancient legend, myth
rāhui	a custom used by Māori to prohibit the use of a resource; to consider an area out of bounds following a fatality; restrictions
rangatahi	youth
rangatiratanga	self determination, autonomy, the right of Māori to be self-determining
Ranginui	Rangi for short: the name given to the Sky Father

raranga	weave; weaving
raupatu	conquest; confiscation
reo	language
Ringatu	literally, 'The Upraised hand,' name of the faith created by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki
ringawera	kitchen hand, kitchen worker
rito	centre shoot or heart of the flax
rohe	area, region, territory, district
rongoa	natural/herbal remedies, medicine
roro	brain
rua	two
runanga	council of collective hapū established to manage the affairs of the hapū
taa moko	the art of Māori tattoo
taha kikokiko	physical aspects
tahi	one
tahuhu	ridgepole in meeting house, the metaphorical backbone of the ancestor
tai	sea or coast
taiaha	close quarters combat weapon
take	basis, issue
tamariki	children
Tāne	a son of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, God of Forests
tāne	male(s)
tangata/tāngata	person(s), people

tangata whenua	indigenous people of the land, first people of the land, local peoples
tangi	to cry/mourn; mourning rituals
tangihanga	funeral, rites for the dead
tāniko	weaving of threads to create bodice, bands, decorative embellishments for wharenui
taonga	precious; an heirloom to be passed down through the different generations of a family; protected natural resource
taonga tuku iho	traditions, knowledge, and/or treasures handed down by ancestors
tapu	sacrosanct, prohibited, protected, restricted
taua	grandmother, great grandmother
tauirā	student(s)
taumata	orator's bench
tauparapara	a chant to start speech
tautoko	support
taurima	treat with care
Te Ao Hurihuri	changing world
Te Ao Māori	Māori world; Māori worldview
Te Ao Mārama	world of light and enlightenment
Te Atua	God
Te Ika a Maui	North Island of New Zealand
te iwi kāinga	the home people
Te Puni Kokiri	Ministry of Māori Development
te reo Māori	the Māori language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi

Te Wai Pounamu	South Island of New Zealand
tiaki	care for; give guidance
tika	true, right, correct, authentic
tikanga	customs, practices, principles, obligations
tikanga Māori	Māori customs and practices
tinana	body
tino rangatiratanga	self-governing, having absolute independence and autonomy
tipuna/tupuna	ancestor/s, ancestral
tohunga	expert, skilled, learned
tohunga whakairo	carving expert
tokotoko	walking stick, pole, staff
tuakana - teina	elder-younger sibling
tukutuku	ornamental lattice work on interior walls of a wharenui or meeting house
tungane - tuahine	male – female, brother-sister
tupuna awa	ancestral river
tūrangawaewae	a permanent place to stand, a place where one has the right to stand and be heard
tūturu	specific; definite, permanent
urupā	burial ground, cemetery
utu	revenge; reciprocity
waharoa	gateway
wāhi	place
wāhi Māori	a place or area having Māori spiritual/physical characteristics

wahine/wāhine	female(s)
wai	water
waiata	sing, song, chant
waiata aroha	song of love
waiata tangi	lament
waiata tawhito	traditional song or chant
waihanga Māori	particular characteristics, aspects relative to being Māori
wairua	spirit, soul; attitude
wairua Māori	Māori spirit, soul
wairuatanga	recognition of the spiritual dimension
waka	canoe
waka huia	treasure box
waka taua	war canoe
waka tūpāpaku	carved bone casket
wānanga	Māori houses of higher learning; tertiary institute; conscious thought-processing discussion; transmitting the knowledge of the culture from one generation to the next
waa tika	right, correct or appropriate time
wero	challenge
whāea	mother, aunt; term of respect for woman from older generation
whaikōrero	formal speech, oratory
whakaeke	entrance
whakahīhi	arrogant, conceited
whakairo	carve, engrave; carving

whakaiti	to belittle, ridicule, mock
whakamaa	shy; ashamed/shame(d), embarrassed, embarrassment
whakanoa	to make free from tapu/restriction
whakapapa	genealogy, ancestry, familial relationships, connections; whakapapa crosses ancestral boundaries between people and other inhabitants in the natural world
whakapapa Māori	Māori genealogy
whakarite	justify
whakataukī	proverb
whakawhanaungatanga	kinship, links, ties; facilitating a more open relationship than mere researcher and researched; network of interactive links
whakawhitiwhiti kōrero	discussion
whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro	consultation
whānau	family; nuclear/extended family, also group who come together for a specific purpose and act as a whānau
whanaungatanga	the interrelationship of Māori with their ancestors, their whānau, hapū, iwi as well as the natural resources within their tribal boundaries such as mountains, rivers, streams and forests; recognition of relationships through iwi and waka
whare	house, building
whare kai	dining hall
wharenuī	meeting house
wharepuni	meeting house
whare runanga	council house, meeting house
whare tipuna/tupuna	ancestral house

whare whakairo	carved meeting house
whāriki	woven mat
whenua	land; afterbirth

