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Ngā Kākahu ō Te Kaikaranga: An Indigenisation of Apparel Construction

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Fine Arts

at Massey University, Manawatū,
New Zealand.

Erana Kaa
2023

Abstract

The way Māori women choose to adorn themselves today signifies our diversity as we continue to be shaped by our colonial reality, whilst also rebelling against it. This reality has evolved through generations of disempowerment, which has uniquely impacted Māori women when we are relegated to a mere side story within our own historical narrative. Our colonial reality is met by confusion, denial, resistance and celebration. This complex reality dictates how we might individuate national and international trends through apparel, whilst continually influencing how we present ourselves.

My research aims to contribute to an indigenisation of apparel by producing garments that elevate Māori visual language beyond the patterning of surfaces, colonial aesthetics and conformist ceremonial attire. This normalisation — achieved through elevating Māori visual language— aims to add to the evolution of Māori apparel that began from early experimentation to extreme levels of skill and expertise. Māori apparel has evolved through assimilation, colonisation and marginalisation, with further changes brought by urbanisation, in which the pressure to whitewash ourselves and our children intensified. Our apparel has evolved through the resurgence of kapa haka, language revitalisation via the Kōhanga Reo movement, and our increased and expanded cultural reclamation.

In producing apparel that was guided by pre-colonial values, my practice inevitably led me to challenge the ideals of beauty and functionality. There is arguably no other place where the collective beauty and function of Māori women is more visible than on marae atea, especially during tangihanga.

My construction process is based on the role of reo ururangi, the women of Māhurehure descent who fulfil the role of reo karanga during tangihanga. Māori visual language relevant to their role is sourced from a diverse array of human-made and naturally occurring references. As reo ururangi derive their beauty and function from the natural and spiritual world, beauty becomes less superficial, and functionality a language that values ancestral artistry, ritual and visceral bonds to the spiritual realm.

broadens its scope beyond physical requirements. Apparel thus becomes a vessel that connects Māori women to our core understanding of space and time, how we navigate the world and how we utilise

Acknowledgements

My husband, Nathan Kaa, remains always flexible and supportive, enabling me to dedicate myself to this research. My daughter, a promising young dancer, has woven elements of her self-discovery into this project too. My sons, six and 30 years of age, both seemingly removed from my creative endeavours, have always been at the heart of my ambitions. I hope my academic goals inspire them to be courageously and unapologetically bound to their ancestral roots.

My sister, Cecelia, provided shelter, food and encouragement, and even joined me on my wānanga (traditional knowledge) journey. To my dad, who, with his exceptional skills and resourcefulness as a crafter and a mender, has demonstrated an ability to make, through purely making do.

I recognise the commitment of the following members of my hapū: Eddie Morunga, Uncle Ral (Rereata Makiha), Aunty Ipu Absolum, Ralph Ruka, Nicky Birch, Angel Harding, Piripi Cope, Clinton Dearlove and our Aunty Winnie Leach, who passed away in 2021. I continue to be grateful for your gracious service to our people and your invaluable knowledge. Many of you shared your knowledge by accepting invitations to various wānanga throughout our rohe (region). You invited me to utilise these wānanga as a means of data collection, which instantly became an invaluable source of mātauranga (knowledge).

To Robert Jahnke, Huhana Smith, Jerome Kavanagh, Kura Te Waru Rewiri, Karangawai Marsh and Kezia-Joy Whakamoe, I would like to acknowledge your generosity in sharing your knowledge, time and skills.

I would like to acknowledge a selection of academics and artists from Te Tai Tokerau whose works have been invaluable sources of affirmation for my journey. They are Reverend Māori Marsden, Ngarino Ellis, Deidre Brown, Shane Cotton, Rachel Rakena, Lisa Reihana, Israel Birch, Carla Ruka and Penny Howard.

I acknowledge my mum, through whom I connect to our tūpuna rangatira (high-ranking ancestors): Tutairua, the matriarchal tamer of taniwha (celestial beings); her grandson, Kohuru Te Whata, a renowned tohunga whakairo (expert carver); his sisters, Māhuri and Kuiawai, the founding matriarchs of my hapū; their descendants from eight generations following; Maraea Te Kuri o Te Wao, a healer and composer; her daughter; and my four times great-grandmother, Mere Katete, a distinguished orator (I. Absolum, personal communication, February 27, 2021).

Since before I was able to acknowledge their existence, they have been waiting for me to begin threading their stories and intentions together and binding them to my own.

Table of Contents

Ngā Kākahu ō Te Kaikaranga: An Indigenisation of Apparel Construction i
Abstract i
Acknowledgements ii
Table of Contents iii
Chapter 1: The Germination of Seed 2
Research 3
Research Background 4
Undergraduate Study 5
Postgraduate Study 6
Textiles 7
Hine Ūkaipō. 8
Te Whare ō Wikitoria. 8
Pepper Pot. 8
Tuitui. 9
Methodology 10
Kaupapa Māori 11
The Colonisation of Time and Space. 12
He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono 13
Mana Wāhine 16
Te Whai Ao 19
Growth Sequencing 20
Research Areas 20
Reo ururangi. 20
Kākahu Wāhine. 21
Whakapapa. 21
Method 22
Wānanga 22
Research Outcomes 24
Chapter 2: Increased Energy 29
Art Review 29
Karanga Artworks 29
Robyn Kahukiwa (Ngāti Porou) 29

Shona Rapira-Davies (Ngāti Wai) ... 30
Lisa Reihana (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Hine, Ngāi Tū) ... 31
Karanga Artworks: Review Summary ... 32
Apparel Artworks ... 33
Yinka Shonibare (British–Nigerian) ... 33
Shigeyuki Kihara (Samoan, Japanese) ... 34
Nep Sidhu (Indo-Canadian) and Nicholas Galanin (Tlingit/Aleut) ... 35
Sarah Crowest (English) ... 36
Pia Camil (Mexican) ... 37
Apparel Artworks: Review Summary ... 38
Indigenising Apparel ... 39
Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu) ... 39
Pacific Sisters. ... 40
Adrienne Whitewood (Rongowhakaata) ... 41
Kiri Nathan (Ngāpuhi, Tainui). ... 42
Bobby Luke (Ngāti Ruanui) ... 43
Lillardia Briggs-Houston (Wiradjuri Gangulu Yorta Yorta). ... 44
Jamie Okuma (Luiseño Shoshone-Bannock). ... 45
Indigenising Apparel: Review Summary ... 46
Literature Review ... 47
Introduction ... 47
Karanga ... 48
Hui. ... 48
Te Marae. ... 49
Tikanga Whakaaro. ... 49
Te Whāriki ... 49
Karanga. ... 50
E Tipu E Rea. ... 51
Two Worlds: First Meetings between Māori and Europeans, 1642–1772 ... 52
The Maori Race. ... 52
Kākahu ... 53
The Māori in European Art. ... 53
Augustus Earle in New Zealand. ... 54
Black: The History of Black in Fashion, Society and Culture in New Zealand. ... 54

Traditional Māori Clothing. 55
Mau Moko. 55
Memento Mori, Memento Māori, Moko and Memory. 55
Pleasure of the Flesh. 56
The Māori Race. 56
The Maori as He Was: A Brief Account of Life as it Was in Pre-European Days. 57
Whatu Kākahu: Māori Cloaks. 57
Whakapapa 58
The Woven Universe. 58
Tai Tokerau. 58
Tai Tokerau Whakairo Rākau: Northland Māori Wood Carving. 59
Ko Tautoro Te Pito o Tōku Ao: A Ngāpuhi Narrative. 59
Te Puna. 59
Literature Review Summary. 60
Chapter 3: Wisdom and Knowledge 63
Reo Ururangi 63
Pare 63
Manaia 65
Nguru 67
Haehae 68
Kākahu 68
Fibre 69
Tuitui 70
Kākahu Tuitui 71
Tāniko (Black on Black) 74
Unaunahi 77
Pūriri 79
Koukou 81
Chapter 4: The Rise of Space and Time 84
Kākahu o He Reo Ururangi 85
Ngā Pākau o Te Koukou 90
Kareao 94
Haehae 95
.... 99

Chapter 5: Conclusion........ 100
The Germination of Seed........ 100
Increased Energy 100
Wisdom and Knowledge 101
The Rise of Space and Time........ 101
List of Figures........ 103
Full page figure list 108
Glossary 109
Reference List 114

Chapter 1: The Germination of Seed

The chapters of this exegesis are aligned with an abridged version of the "creation" whakapapa (genealogy) sourced from the writings of Marsden (2003), a tohunga (expert), minister, healer and scholar from Te Tai Tokerau (Northland), Aotearoa (New Zealand). This sequence was adapted as four stages by Royal (2005), categorised as: (1) the germination of seed, (2) increased energy, (3) wisdom and knowledge and (4) the rise of space and time. These stages are sequentially relevant to the research method and the research topic reo ururangi (the female caller during burial processes), as outlined in the "Methodology" section.

The sequence begins with Chapter 1, "The Germination of Seed", where unrealised potential exists in an embryonic-like state beneath the soil. This chapter introduces the research, providing background information, including the methodology and methods employed. This chapter also identifies the many interconnecting themes such as pulsation, alternation, fusion and duality are consistently woven throughout the exegesis.

Chapter 2, "Increased Energy", is activated from the germination of seed. In this space, form becomes visible, and the expansion of space begins. This stage of growth aligns with the process of data collection, as my knowledge and understandings are broadened through engaging with existing research and knowledge. This chapter brings together pre-colonial karanga (formal call), clothing and grieving processes with post-colonial artworks and apparel.

From this increased energy, "Wisdom and Knowledge" incites the expansion of potential in Chapter 3. Here, the research is actualised and organised into possible actions. Definitions and visible outcomes begin to form as Māori visual language is identified and evaluated aesthetically and conceptually, in both the written findings and the visual diary samples included in this chapter (figure 15).

Chapter 4, "The Rise of Space and Time", is the realisation of new life and knowledge. It is where the various stages of growth feed the physical creation that expands space and time through connection and impact. This stage encompasses the entire growth sequence, presenting the practical outcomes that were resolved at various stages throughout the research. These stages are interchangeable and cyclical, as they are navigated in a manner that benefits the pursuit of

growth. This chapter also provides a summative conclusion that reflects on overall growth, encompassing all stages as they continually intertwine.

The following pepeha (introduction of genealogical and geographic connections) provides an overview of who I am by locating my mountain, rivers, ancestral canoe, extended family, tribal affiliations and ancestral houses.

Ko Whakatere te maunga
Ko Tāheke me Waimā ngā awa
Ko Hokianga Whakapau Karakia te moana
Ko Ngātokimatawhaorua te waka
Ko Ngāpuhi te iwi
Ko Ngāti Pākau, Ngāti Te Rauwawe me Māhurehure ngā hapū
Ko Tāheke me Moehau ngā marae
Ko Erana Kaa ahau

Research

This research aims to indigenise apparel construction by embedding garment formation in concepts derived from tikanga, pūrākau (narratives) and Te Taiao (the natural world). The intention is to normalise Te Ao Māori (the wider Māori world view) by constructing Māori apparel that not only continues to be embedded in cultural values but is also wearable as daily attire rather than exclusively ceremonial.

The use of the term "wearable" is aligned with the Oxford Learner's Dictionary (n.d.) definition, meaning "pleasant and comfortable to wear; suitable to be worn". The term suitable appears to relate to a garment's ability to be physically worn, not the idea of social suitability.

The indigenisation of apparel construction is based on the evocative power associated with reo ururangi. The term "uru rangi" was used by Te Puni Kōkiri (2015) in reference to a star gate, or a portal into the future. Within my hapū (Māhurehure), reo ururangi is the pre-colonial term for "reo karanga" (female caller) during tangihanga (funeral). The specific role of reo ururangi was described during a hapū wānanga (a wānanga intended for extended family) as one of invoking the wairua (non-physical spirit, distinct from the body and mauri - life force or essence) of the deceased, invoking the opening of cosmic space and **channelling the wairua upward,** thus ensuring the protection of all who are present. Once reo ururangi have harnessed and channelled the wairua correctly, it is then guided by other forces, which take over the movement and protection of the wairua (I. Absolum, personal communication, February 27,

2021). It is important to note that the term "reo ururangi" is applicable only to Māhurehure hapū tangihanga. When located outside our hapū, or outside the context of tangihanga, the term "reo karanga" is used to describe female callers.

Conceptual development focuses on three research areas: (1) the role of reo ururangi, (2) the customary apparel of Māori women and (3) whakapapa. These areas have guided the indigenisation process and subsequent elevation of a Māori visual language via apparel.

The research accessed literature, taonga tuku iho (cultural heirloom treasures) and ancestral knowledge obtained attending wānanga, either in person or via Zoom during COVID-19 lockdowns. The research and praxis evolved simultaneously and resulted in a series of presentations.

The first goal of the project was to contribute to the normalisation of Māori values. The second goal was to further indigenise apparel by rejecting cultural homogenisation through fashion trends. The third goal was to restrict the environmental impact of mass production. The creation of culturally informed clothing adds personal value to an industry in which clothing is becoming increasingly disposable. It is this added value and personal connection that generates a reluctance to quickly discard clothing, a discarding that has been normalised, if not encouraged, by the increased popularity of fast fashion. Indigenising apparel increases the value we place on our clothing by revitalising the customary attitudes towards kākahu (garments) as taonga (treasured objects).

Research Background

As an art practitioner, I have always actively engaged in discourse pertinent to the impact of colonisation on Māori women. This is evident in my depictions of the physiology and ceremonial roles of Māori women, which were both part of my undergraduate studies, and then, in my postgraduate studies. Completing fashion and textile papers in 2017 and participating in New Zealand Fashion Week 2019 revealed how limited the presence of Te Ao Māori was in New Zealand's fashion industry. This posed questions regarding my determination to indigenise women's apparel and how clothing could normalise tikanga Māori.

Undergraduate Study

My earliest paintings explored the physiology of Māori women (Figure 1). My painting practice developed under the guidance of Kura Te Waru Rewiri at Toioho ki Āpiti, a faculty of Massey University, on the Turitea Campus in Palmerston North.

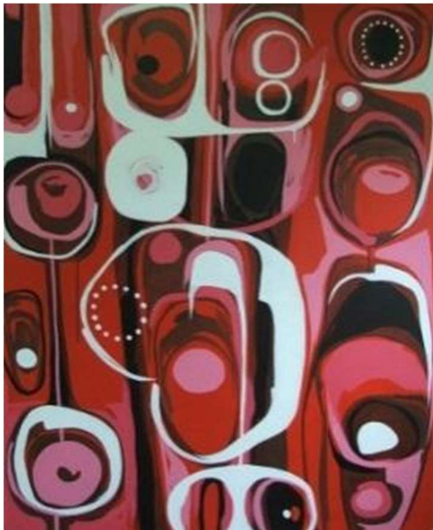


Figure 1. (a) Kaa, E. (2005). *Mana Wāhine I.* [Acrylic on canvas painting, 1600 x 900 mm painting]. Private collection. (b) Kaa, E. (2005). *Mana Wāhine II.* [Acrylic on canvas painting, 800 x 900 mm]. Private collection.

These paintings fulfilled the practical requirement for *Te Tataitanga Matatau: Advanced Studio Paper*. When enlarging my brushes, I experimented with the speed of strokes, the angles of the brush marks and paint dilution. Re-generating compositions and working within a limited,

mainly monochrome, palette enabled me to focus on the relationship between marks, colours, tones and layers. Throughout my progress, the works remained feminine and physiological, gradually becoming more overtly political.

"Clearly, lots of aspects of Māori culture aren't good and should be done away with. Just as cannibalism has gone, so too should the sexism inherent in these ceremonies" (Bullock, 2005, p. 1). Bullock, a female probation officer who refused to sit behind her male colleagues during a pōwhiri (a formal ritual of welcoming), charged the Department of Corrections with gender discrimination. The Human Rights Review Tribunal upheld these charges (Rudman, 2008). This story was headline news during my undergraduate studies, signalling an era in which media attention focussed on gender roles in Māori ceremonies. Pōwhiri were heavily scrutinised. "It's just stupidity to me, to say that some cultural matter is going to take precedence over a basic human right" (New Zealand Police Association, 2007). The Eurocentric view of speaking rights and gender roles is largely responsible for the negative way pōwhiri is regarded by many New Zealanders. Under the tutelage of art lecturer Gary Whiting, I began to reference the oratory skills of Māori women through the development of a series based on arero (tongues).

During my final undergraduate studio paper at Toioho ki Āpiti, I completed a series of paintings based on pare (door lintels). By creating artworks that recognised the ability of Māori woman to transform the state of space, people and objects, I was able to acknowledge the complementary roles of men and women on marae. Although women may be treated differently within one element of the ceremony, they are accorded different roles of equivalent standing: the karanga, the tangi (weeping) or their ability to regulate the oratory of males.

Postgraduate Study

The impetus for my master's research was to gain insight into unseen elements of karanga and its ability to transform the state of people and place. The title of the research was *Whakawātea: Cleansing Pathways*, and it referenced the domain of the reo karanga. My paintings (Figures 2 and 3) depicted the vibratory nature of karanga and its ability to permeate the spiritual realm.

Figure 2. (a) Kaa, E. (2012). *Ki Tua o Te Ārai.* [Acrylic on canvas painting, 1000 x 800 mm]. Private collection; (b) Kaa, E. (2012). *Whakaeke Mai.* [Acrylic on canvas painting, 1000 x 800 mm]. Private collection.

Figure 3. (a) Kaa, E. (2012). *Ihirangaranga Series.* [Acrylic on canvas painting, 600 x 1600 mm]. Private collection; (b) Kaa, E. (2012). *Whakaeke Mai.* [Acrylic on canvas, 900 x 1600 mm]. Private collection.

Textiles

In 2017, I enrolled in year one and two textile and fashion studio papers at Universal College of Learning (UCOL) Whanganui. This became another outlet to convey identity and the lived realities of Māori women. Throughout my childhood, clothing had always been a means of whitewashing my identity, to disguise the deficiency I felt about being Māori in a white community in Blenheim on the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. This fixation on clothing as a means to present myself as acceptable, and to counteract stereotypes, was learnt by observing my mother's relationship with clothing and her concerns regarding me and my siblings' physical appearance.

Hine Ūkaipō. This garment (Figure 4) embodied the urbanisation of my mother as she sought to break away from the intergenerational poverty and dysfunction she had experienced as a child. The ability to protect and provide for her children is referenced in the use of woollen blankets and pātikitiki embellishments. The cocoon form and loose fit suggests security without full conformity, in response to the cultural disorientation we endured growing up in the South Island.

Figure 4. Kaa, E. (2017). *Hine Ūkaipō*. [Recycled wool blanket and embroidery thread garment]. Private collection.

Te Whare ō Wikitoria. This mini collection (Figure 5) was based on the transitional era of Māori women adopting Victorian attire. Their initial approach to Victorian apparel in the 1800s was ad hoc, unconventional and playful, endeavouring to adopt aspects of fashion that suited their resources, needs and tastes. Mended, worn hand-me-downs and ill-fitting ensembles were prevalent. Māori women were strongly encouraged to adopt modest apparel. Initially, Māori women were slow to accept such physically restrictive garments because working alongside men meant clothing needed to offer movement and ease.

Figure 5. Kaa, E. (2018). *Te Whare ō Wikitoria Mini Collection.* [Linen, textile paint, textured cotton and cotton garment]. Private collection.

Pepper Pot. This collection (Figure 6) explored themes in Hine (girl, young woman) Ūkaipō (mother, sustenance). The garments expressed the inner tension and cultural

disempowerment I felt, which was caused by urbanisation and growing up in the South Island. The migration of my mother from the Hokianga to Marlborough had huge implications in the shaping of my identity. The collection is an extreme fusion, both with functional and superficial elements, bold and muted hues. Mass-produced patterns contrast with the hand-painted marks.

Figure 6. Kaa, E. (2018). *Pepper Pot Collection*. [Linen, textile paint, textured cotton and cotton garment]. Private collection.

Tuitui. This work (Figure 7) was based on an ancestral practice of performing karakia (prayers) to the outgoing tide in the Hokianga Harbour. Through karakia, raruraru (problems) would be expressed, then absorbed by the ocean and pulled down to the deep-sea caverns. As the incoming tide returned, the energy was cleared, and healing could begin.

Figure 7. Kaa, E. (2020). *Tuitui.* [Linen and embroidery thread garment]. Private collection.

My tūpuna Kohuru Tewhata was a carver, renowned throughout the Hokianga as the innovator of unaunahi (fish-scale carving design). Unaunahi are often in groups of three, likening the design to the three sacred waves of Ngāpuhi (Ngaru Nui, Ngaru Roa, Ngaru Paewhenua) and the scales of three taniwha (Araiteuru, Niniwa, Puhimoanaariki), as well as the scales of Te Ika a Maui, the great fish of Maui, also perceived as Papatūānuku (Earth Mother), with scales depicting her protective layers of evolution. In Figure 7 unaunahi creates a channel for an ancestral thread, connecting and awakening us to our whakapapa, our atua and our mana (status or spiritual power).

Methodology

My research methodology evolved into an approach that consists of several frameworks arranged in a type of filtering process. The initial research framework, Kaupapa Māori (the systematic organisation of beliefs, experiences, understandings and interpretations of the interactions of Māori people), revealed two major considerations that needed to be addressed when structuring a methodology. The first consideration was centralising my hapū as the core of my whakapapa-based research. The second consideration was that the framework needed to accommodate the content and context of my main kaupapa, the role of reo ururangi. The aim was to synergise methodology and kaupapa to enrich the intent and continuity of the research.

The Kaupapa Māori objective to decolonise research revealed how fundamental properties such as time and space have been colonised, and how conflicting value systems shape the misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Māori women. Because time and space are pivotal threads, Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2006) research on the colonisation of time and space provided a template for achieving synergy. Synergy was also attained through the inclusion of He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono, a whakapapa-based methodology, and a Mana Wāhine framework because they provided appropriate methodologies for researching ancestral knowledge and clearly related to the role of reo ururangi.

These frameworks embraced significant physical references, such as marae and doorways, and spiritual references such as realms and portals. These references clearly bound my methodology to my kaupapa. Once resolved, these concepts aligned with additional frameworks. Cliff Whiting's (1992) Te Whai Ao (state of creativity) structure created a frame for Marsden's (2003) growth sequence, which provided internal structure. These systems filtered down into a functional, qualitative and practical system, while remaining bound to the central kaupapa. Therefore, *Kaupapa Māori* led to *He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono*, whilst encompassing *Mana Wāhine* and absorbed by *Te Whai Ao*.

Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori is an analytical and critical methodology aimed at decolonising research practices and normalising Te Ao Māori. Aligning my research practices with Kaupapa Māori principles ensured the interests of Māori communities and the status of Mātauranga Māori were elevated. The main intention of this methodology was to contribute to the reformation of research practices, which historically, have been so fraught with white superiority that Māori were often referred to in zoological terms and deemed to lack a higher order of human quality (Smith, 1999). The key principles (Katoa Ltd, n.d.) described in the following section provided a broad methodological foundation.

Ako Māori. The culturally preferred pedagogy principle. This approach is aimed at ensuring that teaching and learning practices undertaken within the research are inclusive of traditional, or preferred, Māori practice. One example is the inclusion of a pepeha (p. 3) proceeding the research to acknowledge the identity of the researcher and those who have contributed to the project, so that the sharing of new knowledge values whakapapa and the wider Māori world view.

Kia Piki Ake i Ngā Raruraru o Te Kainga. The Socio-economic mediation principle. This research is intended to validate our distinctive cultural identity as Ngāti Rauwawe, Māhurehure and Ngāti Pākau hapū, as an affirmation of our presence within Te Tai Tokerau. The post-colonial economic hardship that has been imposed on our people, forces our whānau into a state of physical survival, yet our cultural survival is tightly bound to our prosperity.

Whānau. The extended family structure principle. The establishment of links between participants and contributors, whilst acknowledging whakapapa, ensures the research process is cohesive and fluid.

Kaupapa. The collective philosophy principle. The validation of culture through apparel indigenisation contributes to the illumination of our values and the expansion of Māori visual language. This kaupapa is part of a larger movement to locate ourselves and to deconstruct barriers of oppression and marginalisation.

Taonga tuku iho. The cultural aspirations principle. The affirmation of Māori customary practices through adorning and validating reo ururangi references the obligations within the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti, Aotearoa's founding document) to ensure chieftainship is upheld over our taonga. Taonga tuku iho (treasures of Māori heritage) within the research are specific to Ngāti Rauwawe, Māhurehure and Ngāti Pākau, thereby upholding the chieftainship of Te Tiriti signatories, Mohi Tāwhai, Arama Karaka Pi and many other tūpuna rangatira from our rohe.

Tino Rangatiratanga. The self-determination principle. Consistently ensuring information is received and documented in a way that identifies historical prejudices allows knowledge to be obtained with greater transparency.

The insidious and pervasive nature of assimilation becomes apparent when attitudes towards principal concepts such as space and time are compared. The contrasting values of the coloniser and the colonised, as well as the unconscious bias of the researcher and those being researched, reveals conflict in our most fundamental beliefs and values. Decolonising space and time is pertinent to the role of reo ururangi and is significant in an indigenous research methodology. For example, research often employs time and space as locatable and definitive points, but according to Linda Smith (1999), viewing time and space in this manner isolates both concepts from the natural and spiritual world.

The Colonisation of Time and Space. The colonial approach to space is to measure and control it as a commodity using mathematical systems to gain ownership and use. However, for Māori, space is connected to spiritual states of being, where spaces often coexist. Space has whakapapa and is often personified. An obvious example is the separation of Ranginui (sky) and Papatūānuku (Earth), thus creating space that enables light and life to exist. This space is classified into a series of personified domains that are acknowledged as having genealogical connections to all living things, including people. It is negotiated using customs guided by natural patterns and spiritual values.

Colonial management of time is linear, mathematical and has economic significance. Smith (1999) referred to colonial beliefs that time, when used productively, had spiritual benefits because hard work is associated with godliness. In this worldview, time is a tool of power, insular to the human experience and separate from the universe and natural order of the physical world. In contrast, Māori perceive time as non-linear. Time is woven and layered, fluidly categorised into past, present and future, and it can be negotiated and experienced simultaneously. Māori view time as cyclical, based on the tides and seasonal patterns of Te Taiao, the natural world. This is evident in customary art forms such as kowhaiwhai (painted scrolls), whereby the curvilinear elements echo the cyclical relationship with time and space (Flintoff & Bickerton, 2018) that enables the interconnectedness of realms. The symbolism embedded in cyclical music patterns is evident in *Te Ku Te Whe* (2003), a compilation album produced by Melbourne and Nunn. Beatson (2003) described the cyclical structure of music as a reflection of the "emergence from and finally merging back into Te Pō (eternal night)" (p.18). He went on to define the

structure as symbolising a fragment of the Māori creation narrative, "where sound was conceived as preceding human consciousness" (Beatson, 2003, p. 18).

The Māori preference for curvilinear and cyclical patterns when referring to time contrasts significantly to the colonial inclination for linearity, which is overtly evident in Western or Gregorian calendars. This inclination for linearity is based on the need to measure and gain a sense of control or power through the portioning and allocating of time. In fact, Barrett and Strongman (2009) state that linear time "becomes a central construct of legitimacy" as "secular institutions became the timekeepers of society, regulating the social relationships between law, time and space" (p.5). A linear approach only offers the illusion of control, however, and denies nature's interconnectedness and interdependencies, which form the structuring of time in Maramataka, a Māori lunar calendar system based on in-depth observation of the natural world. These traditional observations are referred to as "tirotiro" (Makiha, 2021) and guide an understanding of time that is cyclical and curvilinear, resulting in an organic system based on the patterns of the natural world. Makiha (2021), an advocate for traditional knowledge of the natural world, stated that Māori live with nature, not in the middle of it, commanding it. Makiha (2021) outlined the importance of understanding the intricacies of the natural world's movements so that when it moves, people move. A linear, Western methodology may be simplistically rigid, which is problematic because the Māori world is an open system, where different realms (Te Kore [the void], Te Pō [the potential] and Te Ao Mārama [the world of light]) coexist.

Māori perceptions of time and space are fundamental in the role of reo ururangi, which is central to this research. Because the unseen and intangible role of Māori women is often devalued and misunderstood when Western ideals of feminism, beauty and status are imposed, a methodology that provided the scope and flexibility to delve into the esoteric knowledge embedded in Māori ritual associated with space and time, such as reo ururangi, was required for my research. As the research is based on hapū-specific tikanga and whakapapa, relative to the role of reo ururangi, time and space are intrinsically located within the same context.

He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono

He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono is a whakapapa-based research methodology that offers guidelines for researching tikanga and pūrākau. "He Āpiti Hono, He Tātai Hono" (that which is joined remains an unbroken line) is a proverb emphasising the unbreakable bond of ancestry.

Within Māori communities, ancestral knowledge reflects a continued connection, ascertained by an exchange between three realities: (1) the human, (2) the cosmos and (3) the divine (Kelly et al., 2014). As my research was specific to Ngāti Rauwawe, Māhurehure and Ngāti Pākau hapū, this methodological paradigm emphasised the significance of tikanga that guided our negotiation of time and space during wānanga to ensure that we engaged appropriately with ancestral knowledge, and with each other.

Outlined below is an explanation of how time and space is negotiated by Ngāti Pākau, Māhurehure and Ngāti Rauwawe during tangihanga. Firstly, manuhiri are not expected to wait, so reo ururangi continuously monitor the marae atea (marae courtyard, Figure 8) and are swift to initiate the welcoming call. This can result in an overlapping of several visiting groups, challenging the time management and communication skills of the taumata (male speakers) and reo ururangi. The complexity of this undertaking speaks to the manaakitanga, or hospitality, of our hapū.

Figure 8. Kaa, E. (2020). Tāheke Marae atea, Hokianga, Northland. [Photograph].

The reo ururangi are the only visible members of the welcoming party during tangihanga as whānau pani (the bereaved family) and taumata remain inside the whare tūpuna. Reo ururangi are entrusted to uphold the wairua of the entire marae, also taking on the responsibility of preparing the atea and whare tūpuna for tangihanga. Ideally there are three or more reo ururangi working together to enable the safe negotiation of space. These wāhine (women, females) invoke the grief of the living as well as the presence of the deceased, as the rhythmic and vibratory elements of the call traverse realms, thus enabling the co-existence of differing states of time and space.

As the first call is ending, reo ururangi enter the whare tūpuna, moving backwards down the central space (Keene, 1975). Reo ururangi pause during the second call; however, this call is forfeited if a visitor, male or female, performs a waerea (a protective chant/prayer). The final call

draws the visitors to the end wall of the whare tūpuna, where the manuhiri converse with the deceased, who is lying in state, as well as the tūpuna adorning the walls. It is only tangata whenua (the hosts) that karanga on Tāheke and Moehau marae as there is no responding karanga from manuhiri. This forgoes the weaving of karanga across the atea that is often experienced on other marae.

Ngāpuhi elder Hone Sadler (2014) referred to the marae atea and whare tūpuna as a reflection of the world, with the whare residing between Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Papatūānuku is a source of energy for reo ururangi, imbued directly from the whenua. The world of enlightenment (Te Ao Mārama) is reflected inside the whare, and the world of formation (Te Pō) is the marae atea outside. The nothingness of Te Kore exists beyond the atea. Moving through the doorway of the whare tūpuna (Figure 9) is a poignant moment. Our whare tūpuna is Tutairua (Figure 10a), a female ancestor renowned as a tamer of taniwha.

Figure 9. Kaa, E. (2019). Whare tūpuna, Tāheke Marae, Hokianga, Northland. [Photograph].

The doorway sits below an outfacing pare depicting several koukou (morepork). These nocturnal birds are said to traverse the realms with their evocative calling, like reo ururangi, hence their appropriate placement above the entrance (P. Coupe, personal communication, December 15, 2019). The doorframe is kauri (a valuable native timber), painted red ochre, referencing kōkōwai, a pigment used to adorn surfaces often signifying tapu (restrictions). The doorframe was painted by my sister and I during a recent renovation. The doorway acts as a portal from marae ātea into whare tūpuna and is a central component in the negotiation of space and time.

The taha matau (right side) of the whakawae (door jamb), depicts Maui Potiki, a renowned male ancestor, and is located beside the taumata where our male speakers sit during tangihanga. The taha maui (left side), directly beside the seating for reo ururangi, depicts Taranga: Taranga, mother of Maui Potiki, who grieves her child, who is both of this world and not of this world (Grace, 1983). The presence Taranga acknowledges the costly outcomes of

ceremonial mishap and is aptly placed alongside our reo ururangi.

Although neither Hine-tītama (the dawn, first true human, daughter of Tāne and Hine-ahu-one) nor Hine-nui-te-pō (the great woman of night) are visually depicted on the marae, their role in the protection and nurturing of humankind throughout the negotiation of space and time is referenced in the composing of karanga and korero. Sadler (1992) described Hine-nui-te-pō as a portal, clearly associating her with the role of reo ururangi because she incites the traversing of realms, providing protection, healing, cleansing and unification by weaving the physical boundaries of time and space. The presence of Hine-tītama, Hine-nui-te-pō and Taranga acknowledges the sanctity and power embedded in the whakapapa of wāhine Māori (Māori women) and the role of reo ururangi.

Mana Wāhine

Historical accounts of wāhine Māori and atua wāhine (female gods) were often minimised by white male ethnographers favouring male anecdotal tales, who often simplified notions of spirituality (Smith, 1992). The aim of this research aligns with what Simmons (2011) described as "reclaiming and re-privileging the power of the feminine within Māori spirituality" (p. 5). Pihama (2020) covered several aims of a Mana Wāhine methodology. She addressed the need to undo the homogenisation of our self-perception, to undo the distortion of our stories to identify how deeply and broadly the colonising of Māori women continues to implicate our communities and homes. This body of work is exactly that, an illumination of the power and value embedded in the historical and contemporary roles of Māori women within my hapū.

For Ngāti Pākau, Māhurehure and Ngāti Rauwawe, like many other hapū, Mana Wāhine becomes a series of personal stories. There are many accounts of females participating in warfare, wāhine rangatira (high-ranking women) who tamed taniwha, healed, carved and composed, who mastered weaponry, oration and tā moko (the art of tattoos, or permanent markings). Our tupuna wāhine (figures 10a, 10b) are renowned for their contributions in these areas. It is our tohunga wāhine (expert women) who are entrusted to watch over and converse with the hidden bones of our tūpuna.

Figure 10. (a) Kaa, E. (2019). Tutaeauru, Koruru (carved face), Tāheke, Hokianga, Northland. [Photograph]; (b) Kaa, E. (n.d.). Mere Katete. [Photograph].

One historical event that provides a clear example of our Māori women being minimised is the Dog Tax War, a nationally significant incident between the Crown and my direct ancestors. This event has ample documentation outlining the actions of men over a period of a few days. But there is a lack of context in these accounts, as the years of threatening and volatile military harassment against Māhurehure are omitted, and there is also an absence of information outlining the actions of our tūpuna wāhine (female ancestors) during this time. For over 5 years, wāhine provided night protection and shelter for children and kaumātua (elders) while the men remained to guard and protect their homes. Every night, wāhine prepared sleeping structures for the hapū, who were living in constant fear of the Red Coats (British soldiers) as they continually threatened to kidnap and imprison loved ones in distant places so cold their bones would snap (I. Absolum, personal communication, February 27, 2021). These undocumented details illustrate the bias of historical accounts as well as the continued lack of any rectification. The lived realities of our Māori women are only evident in the verbal retelling of the Dog Tax War within the walls of our whare tūpuna in Waimā.

Our mana as Māori women is also devalued in a broader sense. Our reo ururangi step into the domain of several atua wāhine, all of whom have been misrepresented through the post-colonial distortion of our narratives. These include but are not limited to Hine-tītama and Hine-nui-te-pō. Tane deceitfully cohabitated with his daughter, Hine-tītama, who, on discovering her father's identity, traversed the realms, descending into the underworld. Hine-tītama is often described as being in a state of shame; however, Sadler (1992) clarified her descent as an act of cleansing, not one of shame. He explained that the shame was that of her father. This interpretation was likely a result of colonial influence. During the Victorian era, Pākehā men abusing women was tolerated, and there was an expectancy for women to not only endure the abuse, but also to be deemed culpable (Dominguez, 2019).

Hine-tītama became Hine-nui-te-pō, who is often referred to as the Goddess of Death in most narratives. Yet, Sadler (2014) also discredited this translation, defining her as the portal between Te Ao Mārama and Te Pō, and vice versa. The role of Māori women has been dismissed in the post-colonial retelling of narratives; female contributions, especially those of spiritual significance, are simplified (Simmons, 2011).

In contrast to these stories, my childhood was completely devoid of our hapū narratives because of my mother's migration to the urban South Island in the 1960s. My mother was raised by kaumātua, immersed in reo Māori and marae life, unlike her younger siblings (Figure 11a). Her South Island urbanisation was a means of distancing herself from the dysfunction and hardship she experienced during her childhood. However, this radical migratory leap resulted in a severe disconnection from our lands, narratives and sources of our cultural identity. Unfortunately, my mother's story is shared by many of her generation, and the impact of intergenerational trauma experienced by my generation (Figure 11b) is therefore deep, although we endeavour to reclaim our connections and articulate our cultural disorientation.

Re-connecting with hapū through this study encouraged me to reflect on my role as a researcher. I valued this project as an opportunity to contribute to whānau, hapū, marae and iwi (tribe), while simultaneously finding my place as a wāhine Māori.

Figure 11. (a) Kaa. E. (n.d.). Mum and her younger siblings. [Photograph]; (b) Kaa. E. (n.d.). Mum with my eldest sister. [Photograph].

Campbell (2019) stated, "Māori woman's artistic expressions are manifestos for challenging discourses of patriarchal and colonial dominance by reclaiming our voices and speaking back" (p. 43). This statement defines my research as a wero (challenge) aimed at disrupting the ignorance and misconceptions that continue to devalue and misrepresent the roles of Māori women. The

spiritual power of wāhine Māori is encompassed in our potency as portals between light and dark. The notion of a portal informs the final layer of my methodology.

Te Whai Ao

Cliff Whiting (1992) viewed the space between Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama as Te Whai Ao, the world of being. He also saw an alignment between the epochal stages of creation and the pattern of creativity: "from out of the darkness, the world of being, to the world of light" (Whiting, 1992, para. 2). Whiting associated the emergence of Te Whai Ao from Te Pō as purposeful seeking. Te Whai Ao was described as the pursuit of light with an urgent need to act. It was from Te Whai Ao that Te Ao Mārama evolved. Whiting (1992) described this evolution as a continuous pattern that flows through all things. The central stage, Te Whai Ao, depicted by Marler (n.d.) in Figure 12, acts as a passage of fluctuation, connecting two contrasting realms. This concept of interconnectivity has direct relevance when using a methodological concept based on a portal, or reo ururangi, within creative practice, as I have.

Fluctuation is an interconnecting thread throughout this research project. It has relevance for the role of reo ururangi as she traverses the natural and spiritual realms, binding space and time through sound and movement. Fluctuation also has relevance for kākahu because the ethereal movement of suspended attachments are spiritually significant. In weaving, Maihi (2019) believed that the process of whatu (hand weaving technique to produce garments) binds the kākahu to the spiritual realm as the aho (weft) recedes and emerges, fluctuating and enveloping the whenu (warp).

Figure 12. T, Marler. (n.d.). *Whaiao.* [Giclée print, 775 x 785mm].

Fluctuation is present in our engagement with Te Taiao; the rhythm of receding and emerging can be associated with renewal and synchronicity. This is evident in the previously mentioned Hokianga ritual of performing karakia in time with the pulsation, or fluctuation of tides as an act of cleansing and healing. Fluctuating cyclical movements are intrinsic to time and space, and creative processes, as refinement, clarity, and fluidity is achieved.

Growth Sequencing

Within the fluctuating state of Te Whai Ao I have located four stages. These stages align with the creation whakapapa from the writings of Marsden (2003), which have been adapted by Royal (2005). These four stages outline the progression of my research, from the germination of seed, increased energy, wisdom and knowledge, to the rise of space and time, providing a multi-level, sequential structure.

- **The germination of seed (Royal, 2005):** te pū (shoot), te weu (taproot), te more (laterals), te aka (rhizome) and te rea (hair root) (Marsden, 2003).
- **Increased energy (Royal, 2005):** te rapunga (seeking), te whāinga (pursuit), te kukune (extension), te pupuke (expansion) and te hihiri (energy) (Marsden, 2003).
- **Wisdom and knowledge (Royal, 2005):** te mahara (primordial memory), te hinengaro (sub-conscious wisdom), te whakaaro (seed word), te whē (consciousness) and te wānanga (achieved wisdom) (Marsden, 2003).
- **The rise of space and time (Royal, 2005):** te hauora (breath of life), te ātāmai (shape), te āhua (form), wā (time) and ātea (Marsden, 2003).

Research Areas

Reo ururangi. The specific role of reo ururangi is to invoke the wairua of the deceased, the opening of cosmic space and the channelling of wairua to protect all who are present at the tangihanga. Once reo ururangi have harnessed and correctly channelled the wairua, it is then guided by other forces, which take over the movement and protection of wairua (I. Absolum, personal communication, February 27, 2021). The term reo ururangi is restricted to tangihanga as it is only used until the tūpāpaku (deceased) is laid to rest, after which the term reo ururangi switches to reo karanga, or reo tuatahi (first voice). When referencing burial rituals from the Hokianga within this exegesis, I use the term reo ururangi. I use the term reo karanga when the role is not specific to tangihanga or the Hokianga region.

Having previously depicted the transformative impact reo karanga have on space, it

seems appropriate to examine the role and experience of reo ururangi in more depth. My research continues to focus exclusively on the role of reo ururangi, and specifically, how mana wāhine contributes to the ritual of tangihanga. This is the supreme exemplification of women's roles at their most evocative, because of the deeply spiritual and emotional processes associated with burial practices. In *E Tipu e Rea*, Ferris (n.d.) describes this role as "a catalyst in the world of wairua and tangata" (p. 27). Reo ururangi influence the mauri that radiates throughout the marae, setting the tone for all manuhiri (visitors) arriving throughout the event. It is often an arduous and emotionally relentless role, testing the skill of the reo ururangi and her commitment to serve.

Kākahu Wāhine. I perceive customary Māori weaving and sewing to be the foci for indigenising apparel construction. Tuitui (sewing practice) was used in early Māori textiles to construct and visually enhance garments using bird, seal and dog skins, a practice dating back over 800 years (Te Papa, n.d.). Needles, or ngira, were made mainly from bone (Steele, 1930), and thread was made with muka (processed korari [flax]), which was used to stitch seams (maurua) to construct kākahu and attach skins to the kaupapa (garment foundation; also, topic, plan, purpose or agenda).

Tuitui is used regularly as a metaphor by reo ururangi (A. Harding, personal communication, December 14, 2019), referencing the unification and connection of people to each other, to tūpuna and to the whenua (placenta, land). Reo ururangi are encouraged to visualise the pulling of an invisible thread as their hand gestures guide manuhiri into the whare tūpuna (ancestral house), leading them to the back wall.

As the impetus for art making shifts from depicting the unseen transformation of space to the personal experience of reo ururangi, it seems logical to create apparel specific to her role. Creating apparel for reo ururangi more intimately expresses the physiological and spiritual systems occurring within and around her. By examining the customary apparel of Māori women, I provide an appropriate foundation. This includes an extension of the research focus on personal adornment to create a more comprehensive understanding of customary apparel.

Whakapapa. Wherever possible, reference to whakapapa not only personalises the research, but also reaffirms taha Māori (Māori character, identity) as a dynamically diverse network of perspectives, values and tikanga. Māoritanga (culture, traditions, way of life) is not just a generic, collective identity. This research aims to celebrate the unique tikanga and distinct narratives that are significant to my hapū and whānau. Therefore by drawing deeply on my background in Māori visual art, I approach apparel as a means of conveying ancient knowledge

that aids in the indigenisation of New Zealand apparel, thereby revitalising customary values in relation to everyday apparel and normalising tikanga Māori.

Method

Several research methods that coincide with the characteristics of each stage of growth are nested within the four fluctuating, yet sequential levels. **The germination of seed** is a relevant stage for acknowledging my genealogy and geographical ties. Herein, the research background provided a foundation for the subject matter, as well as relevant methodologies and methods. Within this concept, there was potential for te pū, te weu, te more, te aka and te rea (Marsden, 2003).

Increased energy opened up the foci to relevant, existing practices broadly enough to include not only literature, but also a variety of art forms and apparel. Within the stage of increased energy was an opportunity to compare, analyse and explore the context of the project. Herein, there was potential for te rapunga, te whāinga, te kukune, te pupuke and te hihiri (Marsden, 2003).

Wisdom and knowledge shifted the research project into a mode of conceptual and physical exploration. Conceptual development resulted in the evaluation of relevant Māori visual language. Physical development led to a true realisation of the challenge, where the female form and my own unconscious bias often limited the potential of the work and its ability to make a meaningful contribution to the indigenisation of apparel. Herein, there was potential for te mahara, te hinengaro, te whakaaro, te whē, and te wānanga (Marsden, 2003).

The rise of space and time was when the research literally took shape, providing a space to resolve findings and assess research aims. This stage provided time to negotiate technical challenges. It was also the time when the formation of apparel presented new realisations and clarity. Herein, there was potential for te hauora, te ātāmai, te āhua, wā and atea (Marsden, 2003).

Wānanga

The prioritisation of whakapapa and tikanga as critical aspects of the research necessitated attending three marae wānanga in the Hokianga. These hapū wānanga (Māhuri Marae, 20–22 September, 2019; Taheke Marae, 20–22 March, 2020; and Moehau Marae, 26–28 February, 2021), aimed at unifying, educating and empowering our whānau, were organised by

marae trustees. Access to "unrecorded" knowledge was gained through a cultural process of tono (request), in which an invitation to participate in wānanga from marae trustees and invitations for pūkenga mātauranga (experts) to engage in kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) kōrero resulted in the gain of valuable cultural knowledge and also empowered me to devise a Māori method of gathering and disseminating mātauranga Māori. The invitations were extended by Piripi Reihana Ruka, Angel Harding, Rereata Makiha and Ipu Absolum.

Figure 13. (a) Kaa, E. (2021). Maramataka with Rereata Makiha, Moehau Marae. [Photograph]; (b) Kaa, E. (2019). Observing tikanga reo–karanga, Tāheke Marae. [Photograph]; (c) Kaa, E. (2021). Mana wāhine with Ipu Absolum, Moehau Marae. [Photograph].

Māori visual language relevant to reo ururangi and kākahu wāhine was based on information sourced from literature and wānanga. These wānanga spanned days, and usually focussed on waiata (songs), pao (short chant), moteatea (laments), tikanga, reo, whakapapa and maramataka (Figure 13). We slept, ate, worked and learnt together. Permission and support for this research project was received from hapū during a 2020 Tāheke Marae Trustee hui (gathering, meeting) (Figure 14).

While the learning was intensive, the wānanga were extremely informal to allow for impromptu conversations and random networking. These wānanga enabled me to remain continually flexible regarding research methods. Often it was the casual, unplanned moments in which an opportunity presented itself to delve deeper into kaupapa. Sometimes, the relevance of a kaupapa was not always evident until it was connected to another kōrero (dialogue) at a later stage of the engagement.

Figure 14. Kaa, E. (2020). Research Presentation, Tāheke Marae. [Photograph].

Research Outcomes

As a practice-based endeavour, my research process developed over time, and the process thereby led to substantial and thoroughly re-contextualised creative outcomes, as evidenced in the indigenising of apparel construction. This creative process and its outcomes were the result of contextualised artistic and fabrication methods. The fabrication was sympathetic with the garment's physical relationship with the body, with the wearer and the movements they make my essential considerations. Viewed in finished form, elongated strips of fabric entwine with the body, mimicking the curvilinear style associated with Hokianga carving, and the enveloping limbs of the spiritual guardians — manaia. Self-laceration and pre-colonial manufacturing processes are also simulated, activating the spiritual significance of whatu and muka, alongside the expression of grief exacted within the role of reo ururangi. Printed patterning, derived from unaunahi and the rippling of pūriri (a tree endemic to Te Tai Tokerau) leaves, was employed to accentuate a three-dimensional interplay of the fabric and the body. The privileging of green and pink references two major functions of tangihanga. Pink was employed to reference Te Whai Ao, conveying the simultaneous presence of the seen and unseen realms, while green was used to covey rongoā (healing properties) associated with pūriri and grieving processes.

The relational planar interplay between back and front (ka mua and ka muri) are mirrored in an intersection of systems of symmetry and interplay of fabrics as translucent, laced, textured, solid and tactile. Black was also employed for its strength and spiritual significance. The continuity of such an absorbent hue allows the eye to rest on the assortment of surface treatments and embellishments, thereby unifying these newly formed planes. A rejection of the need to hide the body led to physical and visual narratives being prioritised over modesty or commercial expectations.

As the research was also conducted through visual inquiry, my visual diary (Figure 15) became indispensable as an accompaniment to the exhibited apparel. Chenail (2008), when reviewing Patricia Leary's (2008) *Method Meets Art: Art Based Research Practice*, clearly stated, "there needs to be a commitment to transparency like has been encouraged in the quantitative and qualitative research worlds. By transparency, I mean the sharing of the artistic choice-making process through which the art formed" (p.10).

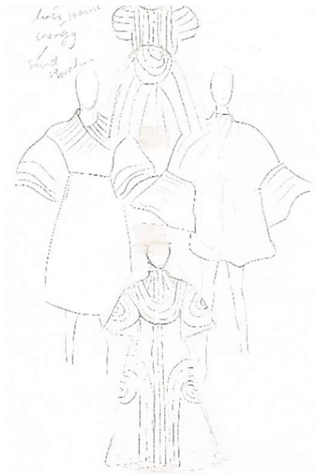
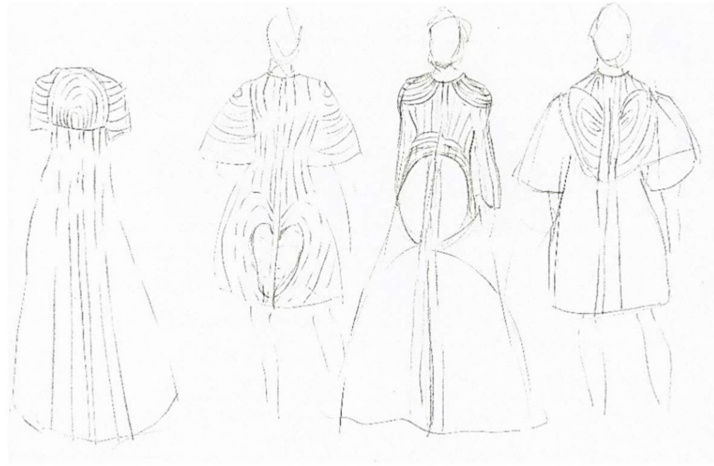
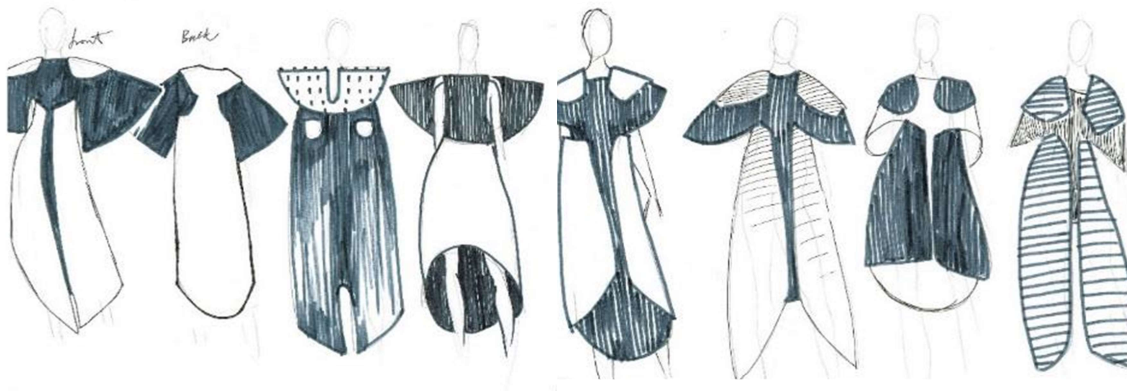



Front
Back

Figure 15. Kaa, E. (2021). Visual Diary excerpts. [Drawings, paintings, collage].

My visual diary articulated the correlation between written and practical outcomes. This form of visual documentation was at its most informative during the Wisdom and Knowledge and The Rise of Space and Time stages of the research. However, the research and practical outcomes developed organically together throughout, as alternating dualities, based on the fluctuating and cyclical nature of the creative process. Therefore, this exegesis documents the conceptualisation of new understanding and thinking in regard to the indigenisation of apparel.

Research outcomes have been presented through exhibiting an initial response in February 2020 (Whanganui Space Studio and Gallery), an online presentation of interim findings in October 2020 (www.eranakaa.nz) and the final exhibition in July 2023 (Square Edge Arts Centre, Palmerston North), to coincide with Matariki (Māori new year). The final exhibition is to be held in the entrance gallery, with the intention of leading into the main gallery where *Wāhine*, a multi-media body of work produced by The Woven Women, is planned. This arts initiative holds space for Māori women, amplifying their voices so that their shared life stories can enrich communities as it tours throughout the country (The Woven Women, n.d.). The opportunity for the final works to form an entrance space for this kaupapa (subject matter) is felicitous, as it allows the interface between customary, trans-customary and non-customary elements of weaving and storytelling, to be elevated through whakawhanaungatanga (connection through share experiences, or shared purpose). The final exhibition coincided with the presentation of this exegesis.

Figure 16. The Woven Women. (n.d.). (a) Detail of promotional image. [Photograph]; (b) The Woven Women. (n.d.). Touring exhibition. [Photograph].

Chapter 2: Increased Energy

The following review is organised into three sections. The first section focusses on artworks that depict the act of karanga. The second section reviews artworks employing apparel to convey cultural perspectives. This then leads into a section reviewing contemporary Māori apparel, assessing existing methods of indigenisation and identifying possible future methods. This is followed by a literature review of karanga, kākahu and Te Tai Tokerau written material. Researching existing practice provides context and initiates the collection of data. This procedure aligns with Marsden's (2003) and Royal's (2005) **increased energy sequence** because it creates a space for seeking and pursuing knowledge, and an opportunity to extend, expand and energise the space.

Art Review

Karanga Artworks

Robyn Kahukiwa (Ngāti Porou)

Background/Influence. Robyn Kahukiwa's journey as a painter began when she taught visual arts at a secondary school in the low socio-economic area of Titahi Bay, which is in the wider Porirua region near Wellington. Her style began as a "painfully sincere form of realism, depicting those who she perceived as outsiders" (Mane-Wheoki, 1995, p. 10). To enrich her sense of identity, Kahukiwa spent time on the East Coast learning about her Ngāti Porou heritage. With the guidance of writer, educator and Māori language advocate Keri Kaa, and Keri's mother Hohipine, Kahukiwa began responding to Pine Taiapa's carvings in Tokomaru Bay (Mane-Wheoki, 1995). These poupou-styled paintings are not aimed at critiquing a patriarchy, but rather, they celebrate Mana Wāhine and highlight social injustice.

Technique/Process. Later, Kahukiwa moved away from her representational style and developed a more gestural and textured approach. Her "raw painterly-ness" (Mane-Wheoki, 1995, p. 10), like that of Kura Te Waru Rewiri and Emare Karaka, lends a distinct and powerful contribution to the contesting of contemporary Māori identity.

Artwork. *Mo Irihapeti Tēnei Karanga* (*This Karanga is for Irihapeti)* (Figure 17) depicts grief caused by the lack of control Māori have retained over their taonga, such as karanga. A predominance of red frames the reo karanga as she grieves for her people beneath a manaia, a cosmological "creature" capable of communing with the spiritual realm. This artwork enables Kahukiwa to outline concerns regarding the lack of protection of tikanga Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi. This is made explicit in the collage of Treaty text that forms the maihi (bargeboards)

and amo (bearers) of the house. The expressive application of red and black paint, and oil stick, creates a sense of grief. The reo karanga, adorned in a black, shapeless dress and reaching her wrists down to the edge of the canvas, wears a hei tiki pounamu (a greenstone [jade] pendant depicting the human form and one's ancestors) suspended at the base of her neck. The medium depicting her hands tends to smudge, possibly referencing her trembling hands, an action known as wiri.

Figure 17. Kahukiwa, R. (1988). *Mo Irihapeti Tēnei Karanga*. [Diptych, alkyd oil and oil stick on canvas, 29575 x 1985 mm]. Collection Irihapeti Ramsden Estate.

Shona Rapira-Davies (Ngāti Wai)

Background/Influences. In the mid-1980s, after producing several works depicting the relationship between Māori and land, Davies began exploring with clay. She said, "I wanted to challenge Western ideas of beauty and the denigration of Māori women as they didn't conform to European ideals" (Tamati-Quennell, 1993, p. 29).

Technique/Process. Rapira-Davies has an appreciation for the rawness of handmade clay objects, and values the spiritual element obtained through human interactions. She claims that her work is not done until people have experienced an internal change in response to her work (Meekings-Stewart, 1992).

Artwork. Rapira-Davies initially wanted her *Ngā Morehu* (the survivors) figures to be nude; however, after witnessing male reactions, she covered them up (Figure 18). Like Kahukiwa, Rapira-Davies adorned her reo karanga in black, shapeless garments. Unlike Kahukiwa, who seems to have simplified the adornment of her reo karanga to give emphasis to the text and figures in the background, Rapira-Davies' simple and shapeless garments are aimed at denying their sexuality.

Figure 18. Rapira-Davies, S. (1988). *Ngā Morehu*. [Sculpture, terracotta figures with muka and wood, 2400 x 7855mm]. Te Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Collection, Wellington, New Zealand.

The waiata adorning Rapira-Davies' reo karanga is a love song from Te Arawa for a descendant of Ngāti Hine. The child is Ngāti Hine, and her back is to the viewer, representing the future. Rapira-Davies collaborated with a group of Northland women who contributed to the formation of the clay figures because she wanted the figures to embody a range of Māori women's stories (Tamati-Quennell, 1993). Initially confronting the audience, the figures then transport themselves with their evocative expressions and body language. The female figures are speaking to the viewer. The women are likened to tekoteko (carved figures at the apex of a house) as well as storytellers. "Here they tell their story of pain and sorrow, anger, strength and resilience" (Lyndon, 1988, p. 6). Rapira-Davies stated, "yet in spite of everything these extraordinary women come into their own on the marae and all their beauty and gifts come out" (Jahnke & Ihimaera, 1996, p. 92).

Lisa Reihana (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Hine, Ngāi Tū)

Background/Influences. Reihana is a university-trained multidisciplinary artist who exhibits extensively both nationally and internationally.

Technique/Process. Reihana's body of work continues to explore identity and history, retelling ancient narratives using sleek, contemporary digital imagery.

Artwork. *The Silent Karanga* (Figure 19) focusses on a wahine (Whirimako Black) silently performing the waiata "He Taonga", composed by Black (1999) as a dedication to the Māori Battalion. A songbird is called forth to indicate a connection to the spiritual realm. The work was created for the Te Ara Hine space leading into Te Rongomaraeroa Marae at the Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa, in Wellington. The function of this corridor space is to welcome and acknowledge manuhiri and is based on the role of the reo karanga.

Figure 19. Reihana, L. (2008). *The Silent Karanga*. [Single channel video, HD Video, 3 minutes].

The space is dedicated to female artists, predominantly Māori, whose work aligns with the intention of unification, love and welcoming, reflecting the act of karanga. Reihana's use of silence (Figure 19) encourages the audience to lean in and engage more deeply and intimately with the work.

Karanga Artworks: Review Summary

This section of my art review locates my kaupapa by making connections to existing practitioners who have depicted reo karanga in the act of karanga. None of these artists work in a non-figurative manner; however, they offer a useful starting point for my exploration into the depiction of the unseen physiological and spiritual transformation of reo karanga. Rapira-Davies, Kahukiwa and Reihana all depicted the spirituality and evocative nature of Māori women by using body language and facial expressions. Rapira-Davies and Kahukiwa used raw and gestural applications of media, which lend themselves to the portrayal of unreserved grief. Reihana and Kahukiwa acknowledged this evocative nature through the referencing of spiritual creatures as a means of traversing realms with verbal sound. Kahukiwa placed the manaia above the reo karanga, painted in an expressive manner and arching over her. The halo-like arc and the

positioning of the manaia over her head acts as a portal of communication with atua. Reihana used an animated songbird to reference the spiritual force and intermediary power of karanga.

Rapira-Davies and Kahukiwa adorned reo karanga in black, shapeless dresses, removing any reference to sexuality or fashion, while Reihana adorned her reo karanga in a classic dark evening gown with hair set in careful curls reminiscent of the 1940s, relevant to the waiata being performed. Reihana's skilful balance of locating contemporary realities within customary narratives is evident here, while Rapira-Davies and Kahukiwa seem to have avoided connotations of time, presenting karanga within the timeless temporality associated with carved tūpuna within the whare tūpuna: an evocation of the karanga as inextricably grounded within a Māori world view.

Apparel Artworks

Yinka Shonibare (British–Nigerian)

Background/Influences. Born in Britain and raised in Nigeria, Shonibare then returned to Britain as an adolescent. His hybridised experiences informed his cultural identity and play out in his politically charged works.

Technique/Process. Shonibare is renowned for his playful installations depicting Victorian aristocrats in compromising and historically significant positions. The most distinguishing feature of a classic Shonibare tableau is his bold use of African fabric.

Artwork. The use of patterned fabric (Figure 20) has both contemporary and historical significance. Originally imported to Africa from Holland, where it is manufactured using an Indonesian technique, this fabric is a product of colonial trade (Hylton, 1999). It is also a unifying and defiant dress code for proud young radicals in Brixton, an area of London heavily populated by people of African-Caribbean descent (Rothe, 2009). *How does a girl like you get to be a girl like you?* is a quote from an Alfred Hitchcock film, entitled *North by Northwest* (1959). In this context, the piece asks us not only about identity and status, but also about the barriers and fluidity of both.

Figure 20. Shonibare, Y. (1995). *How does a girl like you get to be a girl like you?* [Installation, Dutch wax print cotton on mannequins, 1727mm in height]. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, United States of America.

Shigeyuki Kihara (Samoan, Japanese)

Background/Influences. Of Japanese and Samoan descent, Kihara lived in Samoa, Japan and Indonesia before settling in Wellington, New Zealand at the age of 15. The transient nature of her childhood meant experiencing diverse perspectives, which in turn gave greater clarity to her own point of view. Identifying as fa'afafine, or transgender, enriches her lens further, enabling Kihara to critique, explain and facilitate historical narratives.

Technique/Process. Kihara makes connections between a variety of political issues, such as gender, culture and power, using a multitude of disciplines, ranging from photography and video to dance and performance.

Artwork. *A Samoan Half-caste*, a photograph by Thomas Andrews inspired Kihara's alter ego Salome, whom Kihara aptly named after a biblical character who wielded political influence through dance (Pohio, 2017). In Figure 21, Salome poses, regal and quiet, inside the ruins of a Roman Catholic Church in Apia, facing into the space, leading us into her thoughts. Pohio (2017) made connections between Kihara's work (Figure 21) and iconic women's roles in film, such as *The Piano* and *Gone with the Wind*, with the iconic power of Victorian costuming. The restrictive and modest nature of the gown adds to the stoic, sombre location. Both the location and the costume reference colonisation, religion and the impact of both on Samoa. There is scope here to liken the intensity of Evan, the cyclone that ravaged this building in 2013, to the irreversible destruction of cultural assimilation.

Figure 21. Kihara, S. (2013). *Roman Catholic Church, Apia*. [C-print, 843 x 1088mm]. Christchurch Art Gallery Collection. Christchurch, New Zealand.

Nep Sidhu (Indo-Canadian) and Nicholas Galanin (Tlingit/Aleut)

Background/Influences. Born and raised in England, Sidhu sketched prolifically during his youth. Unable to take his toys to temple, Sidhu would often sculpt and play with random objects, exploring sculptural form from a young age. Sidhu grew up with strong beliefs in community and viewing Mother Nature as the divine. He creates large-scale compositions using industrial materials, textiles and paint. Materials depend on the narrative and the dominant emotion associated with the ideas being conveyed.

Nicholas Galanin was born in Alaska and was taught by his father at a young age to work with jewellery and light metals. He has studied art in London and then New Zealand, where he gained a master's degree in Māori Visual Arts through the Toioho ki Āpiti programme at Massey University on the Turitea Campus in Palmerston North.

Technique/process. The collaborative works between Sidhu and Galanin convey notions of empowerment and protection. They are created by adorning female forms with embellishments and fabric that go beyond fashion and function. The materials, silhouettes, textures and patterns used conjure up ideas of ritual, spirituality and significance.

Artwork. The collaborative collection embodied by *No Pigs in Paradise* (Figure 22) speaks to the historic and continued suffering of First Nation women throughout the United States and Canada. The intention of the collection is to speak to the protection and empowerment of women in preparation for them to "lead their families, communities, and societies to an exalt, harmonious and prosperous status quo" (Kudumu, 2016, para. 2).

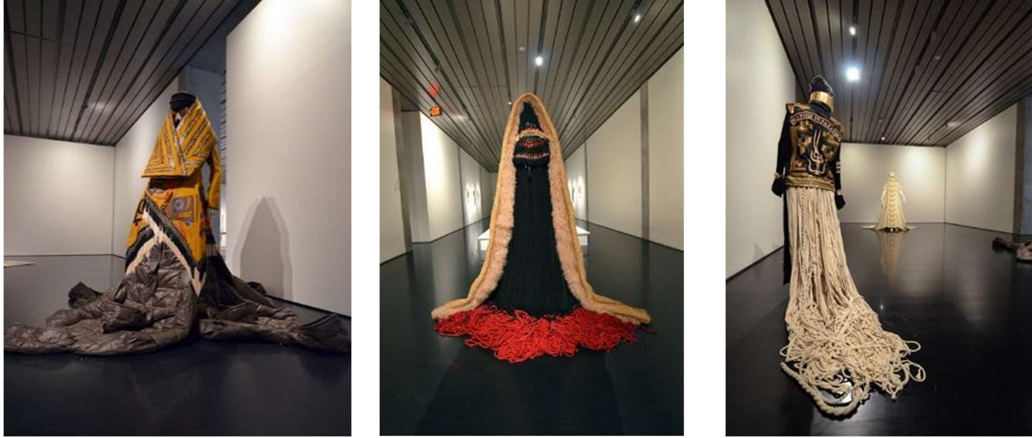


Figure 22. Sidhu, N., & Galanin, N. (2005). *No Pigs in Paradise*. [Mixed media series].

Sarah Crowest (English)

Background/Influences. Crowest, a Melbourne-based artist, studied fashion and textiles in London before developing her utilitarian aesthetic, influenced by her carpenter grandfather and her own practice (King, 2019). Dadaist Sophie Taeuber-Arp's works, and more specifically, a photograph (Figure 23) of her with her sister dressed in homemade Hopi Indian costumes, strongly influences her practice. Crowest's fascination with these costumes stems from their supposedly unknown function or purpose (King, 2019). However, Sykes (2014) identified the function of Katsinam tuhu, or Katsinam dolls as spiritual messengers of Hopi ancestors and natural forces. Sykes (2014) also connected the dolls to Dadaist philosophies by referencing the spiritual activism of Dada art in the pursuit of healing society from elitism.

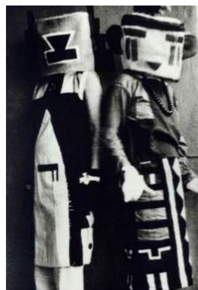


Figure 23. Anonymous. (n.d.). Home-made Hopi Indian costumes. [Photograph].

Technique/process. Crowest's *Strap-on Paintings* utilise fabric applique and acrylic paint (King, 2019). Her practice explores active participation, with dressing up and movement playing an integral part of her process and presentation.

Artwork. King (2019) described the *Strap-on Paintings* (Figure 24) as experiments with the mutability of painting when working with apparel. Apron production was limited to 100 units because it was Crowest's intention to mend and maintain the collection for each owner. Bauhaus graphics, propaganda posters and fashion labels are referenced in Crowest's works, as well as notions of domesticity and feminism.

Figure 24. Crowest, S. (2016). *Strap-on Paintings*. [Linen painters' canvas, synthetic polymer paints, screen printing inks and haberdashery].

Pia Camil (Mexican)

Background/Influences. Camil's art is a reaction to urban and industrial spaces, advertising and its residual impact. Her relationship with Mexico City and the distortion of its well-known features plays out in her work (Iglesias, 2019). She originally explored these themes through photographic works, before moving into textiles. Camil's works have been referred to as following on from Hélio Oiticica, a prominent figure in modernist Brazilian avant-garde in the 1950s and 1960s, and Lygia Clark, a painter and sculptor who explored ephemeral and mutable works (Artsy, 2018). Camil teeters of the cusp of functional design, with works ranging from large-scale communal garments to t-shirt curtains, her ideas of practicality jarring with her commentary on consumerism and culture.

Technique/process. Camil retrieves materials and objects then places them in new modes of existence and function, re-purposing recycled clothing, canvas and non-descript, second-hand fabrics (Iglesias, 2019). She has developed strong relationships with second-hand, outdoor market dealers to not only aid in the sourcing of materials, but also to indulge her senses in the market's intense visual and audial environment. The marketplace experience is often present in her works, along with the sourced materials (Iglesias, 2019).

Artwork. *Wearing–Watching*, an installation consisting of 800 ponchos (Figure 25), was directly inspired by *Parangolé*, a 1960s art series by Hélio Oiticica in which participants were adorned in layers of fabric, plastic and matting, which acted as elaborate costumes, resulting in people becoming mobile sculptures (Epps, 2016). The ponchos also acted as portable personal environments. Their wearability stimulated and invigorated the relationship between the audience, the artwork and the artist. Camil credited the use of second-hand fabric remnants for creating a sense of uniqueness for each piece; she explained that the decision to give away each poncho free of charge, was an unexpected element to the show that created a high level of intrigue and desirability (Munro, 2015).

Figure 25. Camel, P. (2015). *Wearing–Watching*. [Installation of 800 ponchos made from second-hand fabrics].

Apparel Artworks: Review Summary

In this review of critically pertinent artworks, I explore a paradigmatic approach for my work in a global context. In reviewing art that illustrates various perspectives in relation to cultural identity and apparel, I respond with my own kete (basket or kit) of methods and approaches. Both Shonibare and Kihara (see descriptions of their works above, in the "Yinka Shonibare" and "Shigeyuki Kihara" sections) use Victorian clothing to reference the destructive nature of the British Empire during this era.

Although there is a similarity in focus, both artists work in very different settings and evoke very different moods. Kihara makes specific references to the indigenous female experience, whereas Shonibare comments playfully on a broader cultural experience. Kihara captures the restrictive social expectations of the Victorian era, using this reference to create a serious but tranquil statement. Shonibare, with the elaborate use of African Dutch wax fabric, creates a visually electric and playful statement about contrasting cultural norms, power and expectations. Shonibare also plays with mixing cultures in a more humorous tone, whereas Sidhu and Galanin (see the "Nep Sidhu (Indo-Canadian) and Nicholas Galanin (Tlingit/Aleut)" section) use Westernised adornments to validate and give relevance to tradition and ceremony.

Kihara gives reverence to a historic era of colliding cultures with her perspective being the indigenous voice. Sidhu's and Galanin's works reinstate power to indigenous woman using textiles and ornaments. Their choices of fabrics and colours are guided by their combined notions of protection and status from both an indigenous and Western perspective.

This review has identified two modes of interaction in apparel art. Most artworks follow the traditional relationship in which the viewers are observers. However, Camil's *Wearing–Watching*, and Crowest's *Strap-on Paintings*, require the intimate act of wearing the works, combined with an opportunity for the audience to use social media platforms to engage at a global level. Both Camil and Crowest also express environmental considerations in their practice and in their conceptual narratives, with Crowest maintaining the garments to prolong their use, and Camil's commitment to repurposing unused textiles. Both artists produce simply constructed apparel, making reproduction more practical. Camil responds to urban realities, paying homage to her home city, in contrast to Crowest, who merges her own experiences with Dadaist and Bauhaus elements, thus contextualising ideas relating to perception and reality.

Indigenising Apparel

Indigenising apparel is an act of empowerment for many designers. DeMontigny (Singh, 2019) views her indigenous practice as "fashion reconciliation" because she disrupts prevailing stereotypes and educates the consumer. According to Singh (2019) indigenising fashion is an anti-fast fashion movement because there are spiritual and personal connections being made to garments, whereas mass-produced fashion is often devoid of personal meaning. The following review assesses the ways in which apparel has been indigenised by indigenous designers, creating a platform for my practice and identifying what will effectively contribute to the indigenisation of the existing market.

Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu).

Background/influences. Tirikatene-Sullivan was New Zealand's first Māori cabinet minister. She staunchly advocated for Māori and was a trail-blazer for mothers in the workplace. Tirikatene-Sullivan was also a dancer, designer, dressmaker, social worker, academic and fashion icon. She established the Ethnic Art Studio in Wellington, a Māori and Pasifika boutique stocked by local designers (Brown, 2018).

Technique/process. Working with Fanny Buss (Banner, 2019), a name synonymous with New Zealand hand-printed textiles, and teaming up with Māori and Pākehā artists, Tirikatene-Sullivan created practical and stylish apparel.

Artwork. The silk caftan in Figure 26 is an example of Tirikatene-Sullivan's bold use of Māori motifs. Often adorned in this style herself, she used apparel to make political statements, affirming her stance as a staunch advocate for Māori.

Figure 26. Tirikatene-Sullivan, W. (1975). *Silk Caftan.* [Screen printed silk evening dress]. The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand.

Pacific Sisters.

Background/Influences. With heritage hailing from Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands and New Zealand, the Pacific Sisters found commonality in cosmology, craft techniques and language. With their different skills and backgrounds in art, fashion, fibre and modelling, they work together to rewrite their cultural histories, seeking to find identities within marginalised communities. The Pacific Sisters identify a lack of diversity in the fashion industry. Their works are acts of activism against mainstream fashion's lack of connection to Pacific women, often straddling wearable art and art, making them difficult to categorise because of their diverse approaches.

Technique/process. The Pacific Sisters broke new ground, applying techniques to materials that depict the urban world and their collective cultural identities. Their works combined performance, fashion, installation, music and multimedia storytelling.

Artwork. *21st Sentry Cyber Sister* (Figure 27) consists of 27 pieces made from natural and synthetic materials to create a female protector. Adorned in a maro (short kilt, loincloth or apron) and a hula skirt, choker and backpack, she is a Polynesian fusion of both ancient and urban making. This work sits on the cusp of wearable art, thus allowing the artists to concern themselves with creating work that is dynamic in form, texture and concept. Visually, the work successfully navigates between the seriousness of marginalisation and racism, and the audacity of extreme media and Pacific fusion. Offering a shared lived reality that is raw and untamed, *21st Sentry Cyber Sister* sheds layers of perceived inferiority and barrages the audience with fearlessness.

Figure 27. Pacific Sisters. (1997). *21st Century Cyber Sister*. [Mixed media]. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand.

Adrienne Whitewood (Rongowhakaata).

Background/Influences. Whitewood was taught to sew by her grandmother at 8 years of age. She is influenced by her Māori identity, art and culture.

Technique/process. Whitewood's design ethos is to create wearable apparel for women who want an emotional connection to their clothes. She describes her work as Māoriana as there are hints of nostalgic Kiwiana fused with strong cultural references. Print has been a dominant element in her collections as it references her ancestral and cultural identity. Whitewood has recently begun to employ more sustainable practices.

Garment. Whitewood's *Pitau Dress* (Figure 28) conveys the concept of formation using positive and negative shapes. The idea was to stimulate creativity by referencing notions of formation on the body. The print was inspired by "Pītau-a-Manaia", a depiction of the figurative form emerging from the interplay between positive and negative space. The movement and energy created using the pitau print is dynamic and bold due to the scale, colour, asymmetry and full coverage. The dress is constructed using simple drafting techniques based on standard industry practices. The fabric is thin and flowing, creating a feminine, slightly more formal garment. As Whitewood is valuing the unseen relationship between Māori visual language employed in the garment and the wearer, she is aligning her practice to pre-colonial concepts regarding apparel.

Figure 28. Whitewood, A. (2018). *Pitau Tunic Dress*. [Polyester].

Kiri Nathan (Ngāpuhi, Tainui).

Background/Influences. Mentored and influenced by her grandmother, Nathan was inspired by her relationship and intimate knowledge of fashion. Like Whitewood, Nathan acknowledges her tūpuna as a source of inspiration. Having received a visual arts qualification, she then returned to her marae to train as a weaver, which initiated and sustains her current creative practice.

Technique/process. Nathan creates high-end fashion as well as hand-woven contemporary kākahu and accessories, working with natural and synthetic materials such as contemporary cord and feathers.

Garment. Nathan designs ceremonial and formal wear. The brand maintains inclusivity, which is evident in the artist's adherence to tikanga and kawa (customs, protocols). Nathan has an indigenised approach to construction, heavily referencing customary kākahu (Figure 29). Her brand is synonymous with luxury, catering to an affluent market rather than mainstream consumers. Although garments and marketing are not directly aimed at educating consumers, Nathan presents Māori art as a high-end product, challenging attitudes that perceive weaving as a primitive, domestic art form.

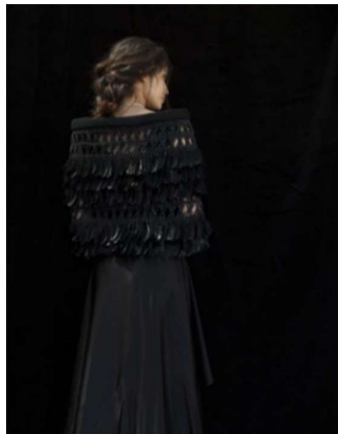


Figure 29. Nathan, K. (n.d.). *Contemporary Kākahu*. [Black piu weave with cotton cord ties and black feathers].

Bobby Luke (Ngāti Ruanui).

Background/Influences. Taranaki born, Luke immersed himself in indigenous design and Kaupapa Māori theory during his undergraduate and postgraduate studies. As a PhD student, he created his own methodology for creative processes, incorporating modern design and Kaupapa Māori theories. Luke is also a visual artist, producing photographs, short films, multimedia artworks and sound projects.

Technique/process. The 2019 collection *Whiri Papa*, meaning to twine three threads, encompasses the stories of Luke and his mothers.

Garment. Merging traditional and modern elements, this collection softly and gently sways between social and cultural discourse. Contradictions about modesty and transparency are whispered with muted tones, light fabrics and subtle details (Figure 30). Delicate hints of Māori adornment create a powerful contrast between two iconic identities, the coloniser and colonised. Pattern drafting mimics a historical approach to form and silhouette. Although the collection is predominantly derived from a Victorian apparel aesthetic, it suggests an indigenous perspective with styling, layering and limited use of a kawakawa print. There is richness in the mild and well-considered approach to apparel. Although the clothing does not make an overtly indigenous statement or appear to be eagerly educating consumers, Luke portrays his identity by sharing his lived reality.

Figure 30. Luke, B. (n.d.). *Prairie Dress*. [Sheer fabric].

Lillardia Briggs-Houston (Wiradjuri Gangulu Yorta Yorta).

Background/Influences. Briggs-Houston grew up "on country" (ancestral land) amongst wider family, on the banks of the Murrumbigee River in Australia. Her upbringing included the privilege of hearing many stories from her grandparents, which shaped her later role as a textile and fashion designer. Such yarning enabled her to continue the tradition of storytelling. Her brand, Ngarru Miimi (Honey Sister), was established to explore sovereignty through clothing, and her creations showcase resilience and self-determination (Ngarru Miimi, 2022).

Technique/process. Garments are printed and constructed by hand on country. Briggs-Houston prefers slow, respectful production, in alignment with her values of sustainability and cultural integrity (Ngarru Miimi, 2022).

Garment. The garment *Binyal Dress* (Figure 31) explores the indigenous connection to a Eucalyptus species specific to the artist's tribal region. The print is a result of hand-painting using red gum bark and a hand-carved print block overlay, using salvaged red gum from marrambidya and gum nuts, which were dyed and entwined into rings. This process acknowledges the use of binyal trees as "marker trees" that are stripped and marked in a specific manner to signify birthing areas and other boundaries (Birrell, 2021). The draping envelopes the wearer and allows the pattern to converge and distort, which is emphasised further through the layering and movement of the garment.

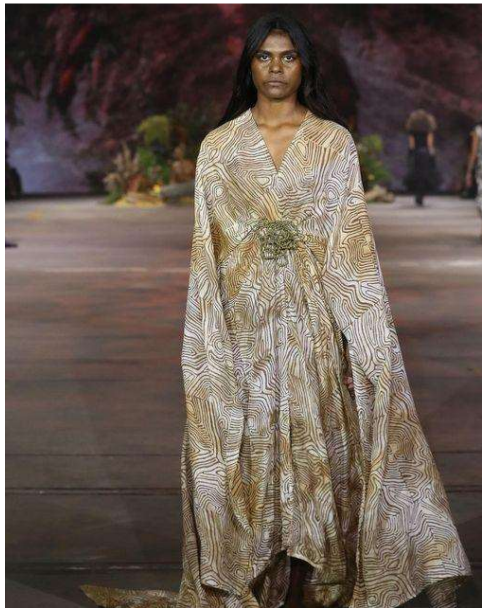


Figure 31. Briggs-Houston, L. (n.d.). *Binyal Dress*. [Hand painted, dyed and printed fabric].

Jamie Okuma (Luiseño Shoshone-Bannock).

Background/Influences. Since the age of 15, Okuma has produced garments alongside her mother for market, working on their traditional territory, the La Jolla Indian Reservation in Pauma Valley, California. She is inspired by the resilience of her ancestors, who produced objects of immense beauty while enduring severe hardship (Allaire, 2020).

Technique/process. Okuma is a self-taught artist specialising in beading, navigating couture and traditional form. Okuma commits to producing detailed quality work, filling every inch of her beaded surfaces and allowing daily life and her personal experiences to feed into the work. The results of this process are generally very formal or ceremonial garments.

Garment. The ceremonial garment in Figure 32 is a testament to Okuma's skillset, as well as a reference to childhood experimentation with making her own ceremonial dancewear (Metcalfe, 2016).

Figure 32. Okuma, J. (n.d.). Modern Ceremonial Wear. [Beaded dancewear]. Private Collection.

Indigenising Apparel: Review Summary

This review identifies how apparel is being used to indigenise the market, educate consumers, disrupt stereotypes and express a unique indigenous perspective. The review also identifies designers who are currently working within three main indigenous construction categories, which are (1) wearable art/avant-garde, (2) ceremonial/formal and (3) mainstream.

In the **wearable art/avant-garde** category of apparel indigenisation, form and textures tend to be extreme, materials and construction often unconventional and usually, a bold political or cultural statement is being made by the garment. Garments are not typically commercial, and like *21st Sentry Cyber Sister*, by Pacific Sisters, the garments act as vessels of cultural commentary, rather than everyday apparel. The diversity of the Pacific Sisters has resulted in the group successfully straddling the fashion and art industry, thus creating their own unique space.

The second, **ceremonial/formal** category represents a specialisation in customary manufacturing and construction techniques. The works of Nathan and Okuma align well with this more formal approach, merging indigenous ceremonial apparel with glamourous high-end garments, adornments and evening wear. However, there is evidence that Okuma delves into more mainstream construction methods when occasionally producing apparel that could be deemed appropriate for daily attire.

The last category describes indigenous concepts that are applied to **mainstream** garments, which are primarily constructed using conventional methods. In this domain, concepts

range from customary patterns, used by Tirikatene, Briggs-Houston and Whitewood, to the colonial bicultural narratives referenced by Luke. Tirikatene, Whitewood and Luke explore notions of cultural identity, with varying degrees of empathy for customary aesthetics. Briggs-Houston is on the verge of this mode of construction; however, her use of pre-colonial materials and techniques to produce patterned textiles is unique in this category. Her indigenous dying processes are the most recognisable element of her garments because these techniques dominate her work, both visually and conceptually. In this mode, garment construction remains generally un-indigenised and conventional.

These three modes reveal that the indigenisation of mainstream apparel is mainly achieved through manufacturing elements other than construction, which led me to consider how the construction of mainstream apparel could be further indigenised. Ceremonial, formal and art-based apparel tends to be heavily guided by indigenous values and less concerned with manufacturing restrictions and practicality. Construction conventions develop from what is deemed to be functionally successful and convenient in a manufacturing and practical sense. The challenge for me was to create functionally successful indigenous apparel using unconventional construction methods.

Literature Review

Introduction

The following literature review has been organised into three sections. Firstly, I summarise "karanga" literature, followed by sources based on wāhine Māori customary apparel. These sections are then followed by a brief overview on literary sources concerning Te Tai Tokerau narratives and expressions that are relevant to my whakapapa. Unfortunately, I found that literature offering in-depth information about karanga was limited. Among superficial and generalised descriptions, there were a few publications offering brief references to the unseen spiritual element. As a result, I was compelled to attend Poupou Karanga in 2013, a Te Wānanga ō Raukawa programme, and E Tipu E Rea, at the Eastern Institute of Technology, in 2019. Both programmes were established and delivered by Te Reina Ferris, who has contributed to the national revitalisation of karanga. Booklets provided for the course offerings have been included in the review.

In addition, attending whānau wānanga in the Hokianga provided me with focussed sessions on whakapapa, tikanga, karanga and maramataka, all specific hapū knowledge. Personal communications from these wānanga have been included in the literature review because they

identify the unique customary practices in the southeast Hokianga region, my ancestral home in the Tāheke and Waimā Valley.

Karanga

Hui. In *Hui*, Salmond (1975) offered a rather clinical description of karanga. Imagery is given of an old woman, with information on where she is standing, what she is wearing, along with reference to being adorned with kawakawa. No in-depth explanation is offered on the narratives and values associated with the role, or her apparel. Ferris (2009), in *Te Whāriki*, offered greater understanding regarding the symbolic use of greenery, relating it to Hine-tītama adorning the entrance to Rarohenga (the Underworld) with kawakawa leaves. Ferris (2009) also elaborated further on the physical presence of reo karanga, describing the emotional atmosphere she creates, and the alternating patterns of the calling. Salmond (1975) defined karanga as a women's equivalent to a man's speech, which was also affirmed and elaborated on by Ferris (2009): she drew on similarities between whaikōrero (speech) and karanga, as well as explaining the complementary gender roles during the ritual of pōwhiri. Salmond (1975) also presented examples of karanga that may be exchanged between manuhiri and tangata whenua, in both Māori and English. Diversity in karanga between different iwi was also discussed by the author, as well as several offences that have been caused due to processes not being followed and expectations not being met. A spiritual element was lightly touched on by Salmond (1975) when she referred to the impact of karanga: "[an] intriguing aspect of karanga is that the dead are summoned and have tangible presence" (p. 140).

Salmond (1975) referred to the importance of layering and the procession of sound. In Ferris's (2009) study guide, she referred to the similarities in the structure of the words *karanga* and *raranga* (weaving) when describing the exchanges and weaving of sound. This pattern of calling is not practiced on my marae in Tāheke or Waimā, as tikanga requires a waerea or protective chant (A. Harding, personal communication, December 28, 2018, Tāheke Marae), to be performed in response to karanga, by either male or female manuhiri. The reo karanga does not overlay their response. She waits until the waerea has been fully completed and then continues, unless there is no waerea, in which case, after a brief pause, she will continue. Either way, there is no layering or weaving of karanga on my marae.

Whakatangitangi (to incite crying) was also discussed by Salmond (1975); however, she did not refer to its healing qualities in connection with karanga as Ferris (2009) did. Salmond (1975) wrote about its ability to unify people and the importance of mourning during the welcoming process. Ipu Absolum, a Māhurehure kaumātua who has researched and documented

our local narratives and customs, uses the term "tūpoupou" to describe our karani mā (female elders), who incite expressions of grief through their provocative wailing during tangihanga (I. Absolum, personal communication, February 27, 2021). In her thesis *Reclaiming the Last Rites* (aka rights), the term tūpoupou was also used by Hera (1995) to describe the chief mourner.

Te Marae. In their publication, *Te Marae*, Tauroa and Tauroa (1986) offered an in-depth account of karanga formalities, changes that have occurred over time and the importance of emotional expression. However, Ferris (2009) took this further, emphasising the emotive nature and ceremonial function of karanga; she described karanga as a service to people past, present and future, and that it is performed as an act of aroha (love). In addition, Tauroa and Tauroa (1986) stated, "Such is the aroha of the people that they will offer manuhiri a reo karanga from the tangata whenua" (p. 50). Like Salmond (1975), a brief reference to wairuatanga (spirituality) was discussed, reo karanga were referred to as spiritual keys and karanga as a spiritual call, and spiritual safety was also referred to as a critical aspect of karanga (Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986).

Tikanga Whakaaro. In *Tikanga Whakaaro*, Barlow (1991) offered limited insights — in relation to karanga — into the importance of grieving through the releasing of tears. In contrast, communal mourning was given great emphasis by Ferris (2009). Yet, Barlow (1991) likened the karanga to the call at birth, which is also iterated by Mataira (1995, as cited in Ferris, 2009) when she referred to the call of Hine-ahu-one to settle the baby in her womb as the first karanga, followed by her call during the birthing process. Barlow (1991) briefly mentioned the ability of karanga to arouse the spirits of those who have passed, and how the high-pitched cry penetrates beyond the confines of the living, into the spirit realm. The skill of karanga was noted as something that cannot be taught (Barlow, 1991), in contrast to Ferris's (2009) ideas around the teaching of karanga and contemporary attitudes, which create barriers to gaining the skills required.

Te Whāriki. Unlike previous literature, *Te Whāriki* (Ferris, 2009) focused specifically on karanga. Ferris (2009) stated that the karanga creates a spiritually safe pathway so that the living can cross a physical space without fear, allowing manuhiri and tangata whenua to become united. The karanga was described as the foundation on which the pōwhiri is structured as the true spirit of the gathering is awakened (Ferris, 2009). An obvious difference in *Te Whāriki* (2009) is Ferris's focus on the imperative healing and cleansing qualities of karanga. She continually referred to these qualities as being connected to the expression of grief, or tangi. When discussing the pause that follows the second karanga, the call to those who have passed on, she explained that this is when a reo karanga must take her time, so that the grief of the people can be satisfied. Ferris (2009) stated that the act of communal grieving has a cleansing effect, allowing people to unify in

their acknowledgment of each other's loss. Ferris (2009) also stated that Māori have become restrained in our expressions of grief, no longer benefitting as we once did from the act of tangi. She reaffirmed the importance of unlocking ngā puna roimata, or tears, allowing them to flow down to Papatūānuku (Ferris, 2009).

In *Te Whāriki* (2009), Ferris cited Karetu (1974) who stressed the importance of grieving: "Kotahi noa iho to huarahi e ea ai a aituā. Ko te roimata i heke, ko te hūpē i whiua ki te marae, ka ea a aituā", or "There is only one pathway to satisfying grief, tears must fall, mucus must swing on the marae, and then grief is satisfied" (p. 23). Ferris (2009) offered a unique perspective of the reo karanga by providing an insight into the motivations and mental preparations undertaken leading up to the event (Ferris, 2005). Ferris (2005) warned wāhine that they will also be affected when stepping into the realm of reo karanga, as altering the state of others with the vibrations of their voice can be an overwhelming experience. Ferris (2005) acknowledged the limits in attempting to clarify the spiritual elements of karanga because these elements are cloaked in mystery.

Regardless of these limitations in understanding the spiritual aspects of karanga, Ferris (2009) did explain the practical elements, such as the impacts frequency, vibration and projection of voice have on physical space. Space was described as becoming fractured when a reo karanga successfully channelled her call, and the author stated that it is through these fractures that two realms can momentarily co-exist (Ferris, 2009). When compared with other literature, *Te Whāriki* (2009) is insightful and comprehensive. It validates the role of reo karanga and makes the reader aware of the benefits to health and spiritual wellbeing.

Karanga. In her unpublished paper, *Karanga*, Ferris (2005), when explaining why the role of karanga is restricted to women, identified the energy of the karanga as stemming from the wharetangata (womb). This was reiterated to me by Māhurehure elder Ipu Absolum (I. Absolum, personal communication, May 19, 2022), although her explanation places the source of energy more specifically in the kōpū (belly); according to Absolum, the kōpū is considered the truer source of this power, being that it is the specific location of initial conception and is therefore immensely tapu.

Ferris (2009) also confirmed the role of the reo karanga as female by analysing a kōrero given by an anonymous kuia (female elder) from Ngāti Porou: "Karanga honours Papatūānuku and the pae tapu, not the paepae" (as cited in Ferris, 2005, p. 17) — pae tapu was defined as a place of transition from one world to another, first discovered at Kurawaka. Ferris (2009) proposed that during pōwhiri when manuhiri move through the gateway, they are crossing the threshold from Te Kore into Te Pō. The pōwhiri moves these two factions into Te Ao Mārama.

This transition is therefore the realm of women, ordained through the incestuous relationship of Tāne (Ferris, 2009).

For Māhurehure, I. Absolum (personal communication, May 19, 2022) assigns females the ability to fulfil the role of reo ururangi, as her kōpū provides her the capacity to become as tapu as manuhiri, allowing her to safely negotiate the physical and spiritual boundaries. She remains in this state until the spirit of the deceased has successfully engaged with the ara wairua (spiritual pathway), and the tūpāpaku has been laid to rest. Only then can the tapu be lifted from her, and she returns to the role of reo karanga (I. Absolum, personal communication, May 19, 2022).

In *Karanga* (Ferris, 2005), offered comprehensive coverage of tikanga in relation to apparel, including head adornment. The importance of connecting to Papatūānuku by placing bare feet on the whenua and being adorned in greenery was reiterated, and even the expectation to wear a skirt was explained by Ferris (2005) as a means of acknowledging the connection between the whare tangata (womb) and Papatūānuku. The leaves of pūriri trees, not kawakawa, adorn the head of reo ururangi in Tāheke (A. Harding, personal communication, September 2019, Māhuri Marae, Hokianga). For our hapū, pūriri has many uses surrounding death and pre-customary burial ceremonies.

Ferris (2005) expanded on many aspects that are only briefly discussed in the other reviewed literature. References were made to atua wāhine to explain the origins and tikanga of karanga. Aspects that are covered in *Te Whāriki* (Ferris, 2009), such as, te puna roimata (unlocking tears) and ihirangaranga (sound frequency) were revisited, providing further insights.

E Tipu E Rea. *E Tipu E Rea* (Ferris, 2019) is a compilation of readings written and collated by the author that includes waiata, karakia, oriori (lullabies) and various karanga. Ferris (2019) continued to focus on karanga; however, in this later document, focus was narrowed further, with discussion of karanga and tikanga specific to tangihanga, hura kōhatu (unveilings) and kawe mate (returning spirits). The compilation includes practical guidance as well as insightful accounts written in a manner that encourages discussion. Situations that challenge tikanga were argued, such as cremation and ceremonial venues other than marae and urupā. The flexibility of processes and the adaptation of rituals were also explored (Ferris, 2019). For example, in the "Noho One" section, Ferris (2019) discussed the term "ruahine" (wise elder women) and referred to the term "wairuahine", a term quoted to her by Rose Pere to describe an elder female with the ability to seamlessly transcend into the celestial realm. "Noho One" (Ferris, 2019) also offered examples of compositions for karanga tangihanga (funeral calls), clarifying and evaluating each stage. The structure and healing offered by reo ururangi during tangihanga was

also described, with the sections "Noho Two" and "Noho Three" focused on revision and encouraging personal engagement and reflection.

Two Worlds: First Meetings between Māori and Europeans, 1642–1772

As suggested in the title, *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Māori and Europeans, 1642–1772* (Salmond, 2018) is a collection of historical accounts describing early contact. These accounts were typically documented by Europeans; therefore, an imbalance in perspective does exist, which Salmond (2018) acknowledged and attempted to remedy with the inclusion of Māori accounts, knowledge and intent, where possible. Accounts are factual, educating the reader about the flaws, motivations and misinterpretations of both parties in an attempt to clarify these interactions. In this publication, Salmond (2018) referenced what could possibly be the first karanga ever documented. The story was that, approaching Wharetaewa Pa in the Coromandel, Captain Cook's men recorded approximately 100 of its inhabitants waving and calling "Horomai" (p. 205). This event was described as the first formal welcoming ceremony experienced by the *Endeavour* crew. Rather than awaiting any continued formalities, however, the Europeans continued to approach the welcoming party bearing gifts and seeking access to the pā site, which was granted with great hospitality. Accounts of pre-colonial karanga are rare, and therefore, to locate possibly the first documented karanga reveals how karanga may have been perceived and misinterpreted during early contact.

The Maori Race. Tregear's *The Māori Race* (1904) covered a wide spectrum of Māori customs. Tregear's (1904) research was typical of this era, where existing prejudices and a sense of white superiority often led to the misrepresentation of Māori. His prejudicial tone in this publication was less strident than that of fellow scholar Elsden Best, to whom Tregear dedicated his research, and whose publication, *The Maori as He Was: A Brief Account of Life as It Was in Pre-European Days* (1952), was also reviewed. Tregear (1904) referenced karanga as being observed during the early 20th Century. In the chapter on burial, Tregear (1904) offered a brief description of a wild, indulgent lamentation, possibly whakatangitangi (a call inciting grief). This emotive wailing was briefly mentioned by Salmond (1975) and elaborated on by Ferris (2009), but Tregear (1904) described the sound as a far-reaching, wailing vibration that would only end when the performer was exhausted. Tregear (1904), like Ferris (2009), recognised the exhaustive nature of karanga, as every arriving group of mourners are attended to intermittently.

On Tāheke Marae, mourning parties are not required to wait for others to join the rōpū whakaeke (entering group); instead, reo ururangi juggle different stages of pōwhiri at one time (A. Harding, personal communication, December 28, 2018, Tāheke Marae), adding to the exhaustive nature of the role. For example, one group may be paying their respects at the end

wall of the wharenui when another group arrives, so reo ururangi flit in and out to bring in new mourners. This can often be repeated until there is a break between groups, and then, the taumata (male speakers) can address all manuhiri together. If needed, the taumata will pause to allow another group to walk the length of the wharenui. It is possible that the taumata may continue speaking to initial manuhiri whilst newcomers pay their respects, then with skilful timing, he ensures seats are freed up when the next group is ready. This is when the taumata and reo ururangi utilise their sense of pace and tact. It can become hugely overwhelming; however, hospitality and a love for people is paramount, and by this, the complementary roles are strengthened.

Arriving mourners were described by Tregear (1904) as facing the corpse or the grave, wailing, "Go thou, depart, depart, we also will follow" (p. 389). Unfortunately, Tregear (1904) offered little detail of this exchange. Ferris (2019), in contrast, explained how manuhiri reo karanga call directly to the tūpāpaku on arrival. As the calls described by Tregear (1904) are directed at the tūpāpaku, he could have been referencing an early description of karanga being performed at a tangihanga. Immediately after describing a group of grieving women, Tregear (1904) further explained that the bravery or kindness of the deceased are proclaimed to the world. When they are proclaimed, or by whom, is omitted by the author; nevertheless, this could be another reference of karanga during tangihanga (Tregear, 1904). The assumption that these proclamations are karanga is supported by Ferris (2019), who explained the importance of knowing the tūpāpaku, their connections to others and that having something important and interesting to say specific to them, can help touch the hearts of others.

Kākahu

Like karanga, literature on customary Māori women's apparel is limited. To broaden the context of my approach to apparel, I have included publications that reference tā moko as well as body adornment and painting. Early images of pre-colonial Māori often portray women as mysterious, doll-like creatures from exotic lands, and in some cases, these images are based on the mere imaginings of early European artists (Bell, 1980). These images are shaped by Eurocentric perceptions and gender bias, limiting their authenticity. Written information from this era is also riddled with the same bias.

The Māori in European Art. *The Māori in European Art* (Bell, 1980) is a comprehensive and generously illustrated chronological account of Māori subjects as portrayed in European art. Although Bell (1980) touched on the evidence of power imbalance and objectification in these images, there are missed opportunities to delve deeper into the negative influence and

repercussions of the works. Bell (1980) stated that early illustrations often contradicted written accounts, as artists valued the idea of being aesthetically fashionable over fact. Tattooing, body painting, clothing and hairstyles were often augmented or simplified to accommodate trends.

Augustus Earle in New Zealand. *Augustus Earle in New Zealand* (Murray-Oliver, 1968) attempted to offer a clear account of Earle's experience as an artist with pre-colonial Māori communities. The book described many of Earle's confronting and misinterpreted experiences with Māori and drew attention to some of the flaws and contradictions throughout his journaling. His observations of women's apparel tended to accompany references to their nudity and sexuality, for example (Murray-Oliver, 1968). Earle described how sailors would arrive well prepared to trade for sexual encounters with Māori women, having experienced similar exchanges in other Pacific islands. Red clothing was used by sailors to trade for sex as it was known to be a popular colour amongst Māori women. Garments were often purchased in tatty, worn condition and packed before departure (Murray-Oliver, 1968). This is indicative of early colonial attitudes towards wāhine Māori and the significance of red body adornment.

In the Hokianga, the English language is referred to as "reo pihikete", or biscuit language, because early encounters with Europeans in the Far North were often based on trading cabin biscuits (pihikete) for sexual encounters (A. Harding, personal communication, December 28, 2018, Tāheke Marae). These accounts suggest that Māori women were viewed as a commodity for trade, which would have severely distorted the way their ritualistic roles, such as karanga, were observed and valued, yet Earle's images confirm the unisex nature of pre-colonial apparel. Kākahu are dominant elements in his scenes and portraiture works. There is evidence that subjects were occasionally chosen by Earle because of their graceful costume; however, in contradiction to this documented preference, he often referred to elaborate kākahu as mats or blankets (Murray-Oliver, 1968).

Black: The History of Black in Fashion, Society and Culture in New Zealand. Clarke (2012) offered a comprehensive and informative account of customary Māori apparel, with a Māori perspective throughout. There was limited information on other forms of adornment, but some reference was made to headwear and body painting, and in the chapter, "A Māori Perspective on Wearing Black", Clarke identified elements of function (Clarke, 2012).

The publication was an examination of black as a part of our national identity, but this chapter focused on the evolution of Māori apparel, from Polynesian beginnings through to modern-day attire. Clarke revealed Māori women's initial reluctance to adopt Victorian attire because they enjoyed more physical and social freedoms than European women at the time. The resistance was not only based on the physically restrictive nature of the European garments but

was also because Māori women typically dressed like their male counterparts, whom they worked alongside in complementary roles, and thus, the European differences in dress were perceived as divisionary and extreme.

Similar to Clarke (2012), Malthus (2012) offered a comprehensive examination of colonial apparel in a chapter titled "Black in the Victorian Era", again with emphasis given to the European preference for black. Attention was given to Queen Victoria's influence on the mourning attire of Māori and Pākehā by both Malthus (2012) and Clarke (2012); both authors also brought to light the influences of fashion styles and the social context of each.

Traditional Māori Clothing. Mead (1969) provided a very technical account on how colonisation affected Māori apparel. Construction techniques and materials were identified, along with significant changes in warps, wefts and resources. A small section was dedicated to the clothing of Māori women, however, as expected in literature from this era, most of the focus was on male clothing, with a predominantly male perspective. Mead's (1969) coverage of modern-day apparel tended to focus on the shift from traditional clothing to costumes. There was a limited section aimed at analysing the symbolism used in traditional Māori clothing; however, this refers referred to the perceived hierarchy of the wearer and was devoid of any explanation regarding pictorial elements. Unlike Clarke (2012), Mead (1969) refrained from connecting pictorial elements with cosmological narratives, whakapapa or any notion of a Māori world view.

Mau Moko. Te Awekotuku's (2007) publication, *Mau Moko*, offered insights into the personal experiences shared by Māori women adorned with tā moko. Unlike Mead (1969), who wrote as an observer, Te Awekotuku provided a female perspective when referring to female tā moko. Many misconceptions in relation to female tā moko were identified by the author, extending beyond the moko kauae (female chin tattoo) and referencing other areas of the female anatomy adorned with tā moko, sharing their relevance and spiritual significance. The unspoken pressure to karanga when adorned with moko kauae was discussed, along with the additional expectation to wear skirts when attending marae ceremonies. The author described one woman, who found the colonising origins of wearing a skirt offensive, and her frustration with this protocol. When compared to Clarke's (2012) description of Victorian influences on tangihanga attire, Te Awekotuku offered greater understanding by identifying underlying issues regarding this widely accepted practice. The transformative qualities of tā moko, on a spiritual, emotional, and physical level, formed an overarching theme throughout the experiences shared by Te Awekotuku.

Memento Mori, Memento Māori, Moko and Memory. Te Awekotuku (2009) took a comprehensive look at moko and its relevance to memory. The author explained the connection

between haehae and tā moko, as wounds were sometimes filled with blackening soot, creating a permanent reminder of loss. Higgins (2019) extended on this theme by identifying haehae as the origin of early tā moko known as moko kuri (see figure37b), an ancient form of Māori tattooing.

Pleasure of the Flesh. *Pleasures of the Flesh: Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand* by Eldred-Grigg (1984) was dedicated to creating an historical overview of activities and lifestyles deemed morally corrupt. This publication revealed historical accounts of hypocrisy, prejudice and elitism. Eldred-Grigg (1984) outlined the eagerness of early missionaries to cover up what they deemed to be the shamefully over exposed bodies of Māori. Abolishing casual nudity was one of the first steps taken by missionaries in the attempt to Christianise Māori because it was the cause of much excitement and alarm for early Pākehā colonists, and this sentiment was captured in 1820 by Reverend John Butler (as cited in Eldred-Grigg, 1984, p. 14): "I hope the time will come in the not too distant future when they will all be clothed and in their right mind, sitting at the feet of Jesus".

The Māori Race. This publication has already been reviewed as karanga literature, but as it also provides relevant information on pre-colonial kākahu, it has been included in this section as well. In regard to kākahu, Tregear (1904) offered varied descriptions of pre-colonial Māori body adornment. The chapter, "Textiles, Dress, Ornament" is informative, offering a wide scope of gender-specific information, which has proven to be a rarity. Both Tregear (1904) and Ferris (2005) described adorning the head with greenery as a symbol of grief during tangihanga. Ferris (2005) also discusses the importance of connecting to Papatūānuku by being adorned in greenery. In his publication, Tregear (1904) shared practical information by identifying plant species and referring to specific methods of adorning the head and hair, e.g., in addition to greenery, Tregear (1904) described instances in which dog hair or dried black seaweed encircled the head of a female chief mourner. Seaweed potae, or hats, are also briefly described by Clarke in Black (2012). Tregear (1904) also provided a very broad and in-depth account of maro, with gender-specific information regarding size, decoration and practicality in addition to a detailed description of how female apparel was layered, fastened and fragranced. A variety of maro were described by the author, and while information about maro is readily available in other literature, it is usually presented as a construction guide, motivated by the revitalisation of raranga (weaving), and therefore, descriptions usually omit any pre-colonial social context or physical practicality, which makes Tregear's (1904) account valuable.

Tregear (1904) also referenced woven, scented neck pouches, which are rarely documented. He described them as being specifically worn by women, and he informed the reader of specific plant varieties and feathers used to construct them. Furthermore, Tregear

(1904) described Māori body painting and identified a variety of colours, including the possible means of obtaining each pigment. More recent work by Salmond (2018) also identified red body painting and alluded to this practice as being more prevalent for Māori women.

Indeed, face painting was observed by George French Angus, a visiting English artist in 1844, who described red ochre applied to the face for the purpose of attending funeral ceremonies (Reed, 1979), indicating a form of adornment specific to tangihanga. In a similar way, Tregear (1904) also confirmed that Māori dressed specifically for tangihanga prior to Victorian influence; "wailing and cutting with flints were indulged in by the assembled crowd, all of whom were painted and adorned in their most glaring toilettes" (p. 397). The act of self-laceration (haehae) was described at length in Tregear's (1904) "Burial" chapter, in which he detailed the angle, direction and tools used to self-lacerate. Tregear (1904) documented the extent to which this act of grief was taken, stating that sometimes a woman would become a "mass of congealed blood" (1904, p. 349).

The Maori as He Was: A Brief Account of Life as it Was in Pre-European Days. Like Tregear (1904), Best (1934) shared an informative yet bluntly Eurocentric account of pre-colonial clothing, a documented historical account tarnished with extreme bias in which the author, even more so than Tregear, presented observations tainted with an arrogant tone, portraying Māori as an inferior people. Despite the offensiveness of the tone, Best's (1934) research was comprehensive and gave additional details pertinent to some aspects of Māori apparel. In the chapter, "Textile, Clothing and Adornment", Best (1934) immediately identified the unisex nature of basic Māori apparel. His account of tā moko in this chapter, including the application of kauri resin or gum soot pigment to open lacerations (Best, 1934), supported links made previously by Te Awekotuku (2009).

Best (1934) wrote extremely detailed accounts of hair arrangements, weaving techniques, tools and adornments. Information is quite scattered, however, and there are several topics that are barely mentioned, meaning their inclusion is questionable. Best (1934) offered information regarding female adornment, but it was not as broad or as in-depth as Tregear's (1904) research. Information pertaining to Māori adopting European apparel was discussed, and accounts describing confused and dishevelled ensembles were used by Best (1934) to explain the difficulty Māori initially experienced during the adoption of Pākehā clothing. Māori were presented as being overwhelmed by the functionally intricate, complex and restrictive nature of Pākehā clothing. These accounts revealed severe arrogance, showing little respect or empathy for Māori.

Whatu Kākahu: Māori Cloaks. *Whatu Kākahu: Māori Cloaks* by Te Kanawa and Turi-Tiakitai (2011) includes three examples demonstrating early experimentation with wool and

embroidery. These experiments marked an aesthetic shift, as thread embellishments were being applied into existing garments using needles. Previously, needles had been used to attach skin patch embellishments on existing garments, as well as the joining and attachment of whole animal skins. The authors offered ample information on construction and the significance of various weaving elements, but little explanation of embellishments such as hukahuka (fringe, tassel), ngore (pompoms) and paheke (rectangular embellishment) were provided. Adrianne Spratt (personal communication, December 14, 2019), a weaving tutor at Te Wānanga ō Aotearoa, views ngore and paheke as more recent embellishments, post contact with Europeans, and therefore likely to be inspired by European fashions and materials, rather than deriving from the same ancient knowledge as hukahuka.

There was scope in this topic to delve deeper into the symbolic and narrative nature of kākahu as vessels of ancient knowledge and as expressions of changing approaches to embellishments. Therefore, to support whakapapa knowledge gained from attending hapū wānanga, I sought out literature written or edited by Te Tai Tokerau academics that reference the narratives and expressions of Ngāpuhi, and more specifically, the Hokianga region.

Whakapapa

The Woven Universe. Edited by Charles Royal (2003), this publication is a selection of writings by Māori Marsden, an acclaimed tohunga, scholar, healer and minister from Te Tai Tokerau. The first half of the publication generally focuses on Marsden's understandings of creation and divinity, providing a deeply philosophical and enlightening read. The second half of the publication presents his thoughts and ideas pertaining to the current issues confronting Māori.

Overall, the selection of writings provides a broad summation of his life's work. This work fluctuates and creates a dialogue between his deep spiritual knowledge and Māori wellbeing, to his thoughts on socio economic and health reform.

Tai Tokerau. Keene's (1975) writing is collated as three sub-regions, with a final chapter focused on customs prevalent in the Northland region. In the third chapter, "The Middle North", the author provided accounts of all the main ancestral narratives, referencing voyages, arrivals, whakapapa and the settlements of Ngāpuhi. Accounts included how significant plant and animal species, land formations and celestial beings have contributed to Ngāpuhi history, and within this chapter, there are several anecdotes that relate directly to my hapū, documenting the founding of wānanga and the resting places of rangatira (Keene, 1975).

Keene's (1975) chapter about customs also provides specific details of tikanga associated

with reo ururangi, but like "The Middle North" chapter, information specific to my hapū is limited. Customs were described within a post-colonial context, and there were continual references to Christianity and strong European influences, alluding to the fact that the author is of Pākehā descent, although she has worked in close cooperation and with the full support of Reverend Herepo Harawira.

Tai Tokerau Whakairo Rākau: Northland Māori Wood Carving. Brown (2009) provided an in-depth and concise coverage from early pre-colonial Māori wood carvings to contemporary artworks, referencing the distinct elements that have continued to influence Te Tai Tokerau art. This publication is extremely informative, not only including many carvings of tohunga whakairo, Kohuru Te Whata, a direct ancestor of my hapū, but also a section that speaks of him directly. Brown's (2009) seemingly gentle and clear approach enables the reader to revisit several biases and assumptions made by Pākehā researchers. Her writing seems to have the intention of providing very clear documentation of Northland carving, endeavouring to maintain transparency in presentation and accountability to a discerning Māori audience.

Ko Tautoro Te Pito o Tōku Ao: A Ngāpuhi Narrative. Sadler's *Ko Tautoro Te Pito o Tōku Ao: A Ngāpuhi Narrative* (2014), written in both English and Māori, is a concise and clearly structured publication about various historical narratives of Ngāpuhi. Three chapters contributed significantly to Ngāpuhi tikanga and pertain to reo ururangi. First, "The World of Enlightenment" chapter attempted to rectify misinterpretations of our atua wāhine, such as Hine-nui-te-pō, misinterpretations that were caused by the influence of colonial attitudes and gender roles, which has led to the distortion our cosmological narratives. Once these were clarified, Sadler (2014) was then able to provide an informative explanation of welcoming rituals, referencing their cosmological and spiritual significance.

The "Noble Women" chapter provided a brief statement declaring the gender balance between Ngāpuhi women and men, using evidence of our tūpuna wāhine, their fearlessness, their mana and their legacies. "The Sacred, The Charisma, The Awe, the Authority" provided an explanation of mana, outlining its source and its purpose. In this chapter, Sadler (2014) again stated that men and women hold equal status, but perform different roles, inferring that these roles were equal in value. This chapter was concluded by referencing marae tikanga, and the participation of women in warfare. *Ko Tautoro Te Pito o Tōku Ao: A Ngāpuhi Narrative* spanned the documentation of whakapapa extending as far back as Io (the supreme being), to the deciphering of He Whakaputanga (the Declaration of Independence) and Te Tiriti (the Treaty of Waitangi). It provided a very broad, sweeping and engaging commentary on Ngāpuhi.

Te Puna. *Te Puna: Māori Art from Te Tai Tokerau Northland* (Brown & Ellis, 2007)

brilliantly bound pre-colonial Te Tai Tokerau visual art with contemporary Te Tai Tokerau artists, collating a very dynamic and diverse range of disciplines in a manner that successfully created a clear sense of regional art. Like *Tai Tokerau Whakairo Rākau: Northland Māori Wood Carving* (Brown, 2009), the author intended to unravel some of the assumptions of historical Pākehā researchers that have perpetuated a misrepresentation of Māori visual art.

Although the editors took the wero (challenge) to present Te Tai Tokerau art so extensively, the writing holds together by identifying, with great insight, the threads of influences, themes, movements, values and eccentricities that make up the region's creative language. It cleverly and empathically locates the reader in a uniquely multifaceted and broad community. Te Puna (2007) gave adequate weight to the historical significance of various events, ancestors and artworks, and the author was still able to collate an extensive range of artists, celebrating their knowledge and contributions. These contributions are far-ranging, from the home-grown to high-tech art-making methods, from the revitalisation of pre-colonial to conceptual and minimalistic styles. Te Puna (2007) offered a sense of context and connection to the region and to the artists.

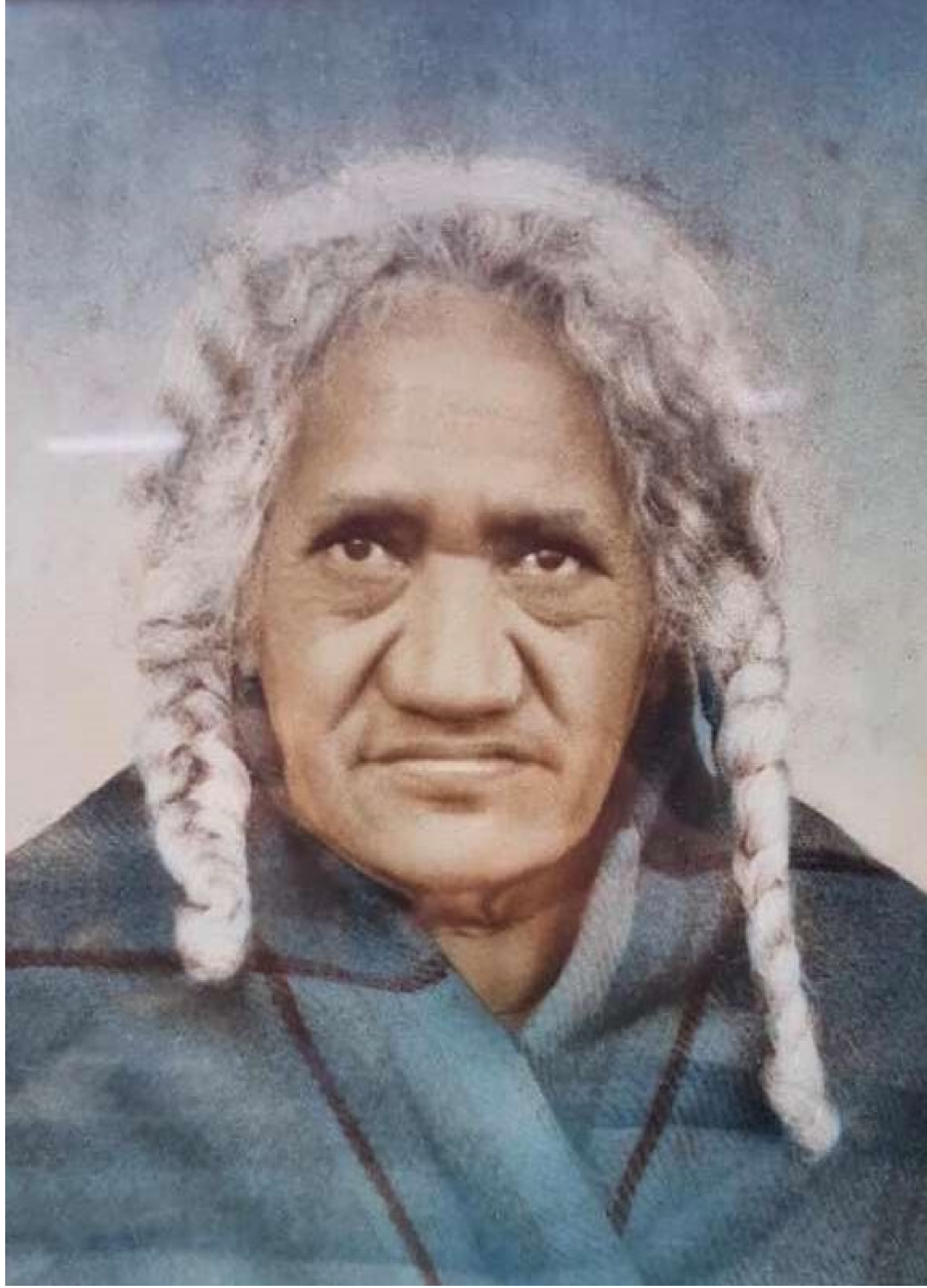
Literature Review Summary. My research recognises how limited the coverage of karanga and Māori women's apparel is in literature. The general aim of most publications covering karanga is to educate a novice audience on marae protocol. Similarly, the general aim of most publications covering Māori apparel is to educate weavers about construction and technique. These generalisations became instantly apparent. Research that is more recent provides a less Eurocentric approach to Māori adornment as the understanding of Te Ao Māori seems to hold more value. However, to access actual written descriptions and accounts of pre-colonial Māori apparel, readers must navigate through the bias and judgmental perspectives of historical accounts written by early European artists, explorers, researchers and ethnologists.

In general, there is more information available on male Māori adornment, probably a residual effect, or continuation of, early European gender bias, and the imposition of a Pākehā patriarchy. Also, the limitation may be due to the unisex nature of Māori apparel, and therefore, taonga and evidence of items specific to women are limited.

These limitations indicate a need to expand further, broadening the kaupapa to include aspects of relevant Māori visual language. Those familiar with karanga, who seek a deeper and richer understanding, will need to diversify their sources beyond the limited literature available. I am grateful for the experiences offered through karanga programmes and whānau wānanga as they have provided extensive information, enabling greater opportunity to compare sources. Broadening the kaupapa will create a richer and more extensive representation of Te Ao Māori.

Researching specific whakapapa using literature will always be less fruitful than attending hapū wānanga, hence this review has only been a means seeking supporting documentation. *Te Puna: Māori Art from Te Tai Tokerau* (Brown & Ellis, 2007) and *Tai Tokerau Whakairo Rākau: Northland Māori Wood Carving* (Brown, 2009) successfully delivered very broad, but still insightful and engaging, documentation of Māori visual language specific to Northland. Both publications created a context for my own practice, as a reciprocal act of support to my hapū and the wider region.

Ko Tautoro Te Pito o Tōku Ao (Sadler, 2014) and *Tai Tokerau* (Keene, 1975) are written in a similar style, often like a manual or guide providing a generalised account of what Ngāpuhitanga is, like the instructional style of several kākahu-based works. Sadler's *Ko Tautoro Te Pito o Tōku Ao* (2014) is a more personal and engaging approach to documenting tikanga, whereas *Tai Tokerau* (Keene, 1975) is more of a sporadic collation of various narratives and accounts; although some have relevance to my hapū, they were challenging to find. I appreciate Sadler's (2014) insights into our narratives and rituals as he, like Ellis and Brown (2007) and Brown (2009), can present our world view in a way that challenges the existing misrepresentations of Māori values. With access to hapū wānanga, accessing literature will then supplement or broaden my understanding. Researching three main areas (karanga, kākahu and whakapapa) will inform my approach to Māori visual language, which will then be refined down to specific language elements relevant to reo ururangi, kākahu wāhine and to my Hokianga whakapapa connections.



Chapter 3: Wisdom and Knowledge

This chapter outlines subject matter that can inform the development of visual language relevant to the thesis kaupapa (whakapapa, kākahu wāhine, reo ururangi). Once evaluated, the subject matter can then be used to guide the indigenisation of apparel construction. Each section focuses on a single form of visual language, outlining its validity and identifying relevant elements. Conceptual development is an outcome of data analysis, aligning with Marsden's (2003) intellectual growth sequence as knowledge is evaluated in relation to its relevance to whakapapa and ancestral knowledge.

Reo Ururangi

The role of reo ururangi is the leading concept for apparel indigenisation, giving a solid purpose for the development of new construction methods. The term "ururangi" translated into English means "star gate" or "portal to the future", and it is the term used by my hapū when referring to the reo karanga during tangihanga. To reiterate, the role of reo ururangi is to invoke the wairua of the deceased, open the cosmic space, and then, channel the wairua upward, thus ensuring the protection of all who are present. Once engaged correctly, the wairua then becomes guided by alternative forces. "Uru" means "to enter", and "rangi" refers to the sky, hence "reo ururangi" alludes to a woman's ability to channel the wairua upward. While reo ururangi invoke and channel the wairua, it is then the role of our reo tūpoupou to incite the healing and unification of communal grief. "Tū poupou" (Moorfield, 2022) means to pitch repeatedly, which is relevant because the evocative wailing of reo ururangi is in a high to low, wavering, repetitive pitch. The visual language sourced from reo ururangi constitutes her physical movements while she is fulfilling this role, the spaces and people being impacted upon during this process and the metaphorical references she makes when evoking wairua.

Pare

Pare are carved lintels located above the whare entrance way, above the kuaha (door). Figure 33 shows a Northland wharepuni (guest house, sleeping house) illustrated by Augustus Earle in 1827, when first landing in the Hokianga, my ancestral home (Brown, 2009).

Figure 33. Earle, A. (1827). *Northland Wharepuni*. [Water colour painting]. Rex Nan Kivell Collection, Canberra, Australia.

Pare have a transformative role in relation to the states of tapu (restricted) and noa (unrestricted), and the spaces in front (marae atea) and behind (whare interior) pare require consideration. Marae atea, the exterior space in front of the whare tūpuna, is considered tapu when waewae tapu (visitors) move through the ritualistic stages of pōwhiri. The marae atea is where they are acknowledged and cleansed. However, the state of the marae atea fluctuates (Skinner, 2016). When not undergoing ceremonial processes the atea is often a carefree, casual space, becoming tapu and more formal when the need arises.

The interior of the whare, regarded as an ancestral body, is often understood to stand in contrast to the exterior (Brown, 2009). Manuhiri are considered noa once inside the whare, having passed beneath pare. Often, pare depict a central female ancestral figure, and it is the passing beneath the female genitals that alters the state of tapu to noa. New arrivals are prepared for the purpose of their visit when the tapu is lifted. Dr. Tui Adams (2019), the official spokesperson for the late Māori queen, refers to this tapu as of the recently deceased, as they also move through the space and are acknowledged during the welcoming process.

Tapu is not only altered for welcoming encounters. According to Houltham (2021), a teacher of the Whare Ahuru Rongomamau o Te Orangaiti, tapu is a daily process of preparing your physical and spiritual self for an intended purpose. Tapu and noa are indicators of when to be focussed and aware of our impact, enabling the projection of certain types of mana. Tapu allows us to change our energy and intention, a process we do every day. We cannot live in a state of tapu, so we move away and free ourselves of restrictions (Houltham, 2021). Thus, the transformative progression of pōwhiri is a collaborative act negotiated by physical objects such

as pare, differing spaces and people, all navigating the tangible and intangible elements of the process.

Pare contain local narratives and genealogies (Simmons, 2001) and are important boundary markers. Simmons (2001) described common themes depicted on pare as the three states: Te Kore, Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama. Out of the three whare tūpuna to which I affiliate, the only kuaha adorned with pare (Figure 34) is Tutairua on Tāheke Marae, which is carved in the Tai Rāwhiti style as it was gifted along with several other whakairo. These whakairo came with minimal information; however, during a full renovation in 2019, a group of Ngāpuhi carvers led by Ralph Ruka researched and restored the carvings. Our pare depicts four manaia, which are based on morepork, or koukou, as they are referred to in the Hokianga region. Koukou are the kaitiaki of our marae and support our reo ururangi in their shared ability to traverse the realms.

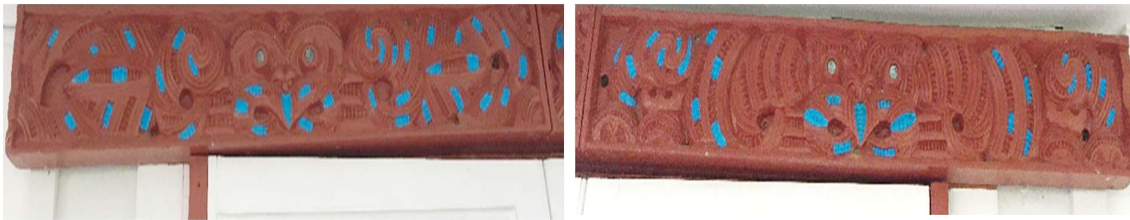


Figure 34. Kaa, E. (2020). Pare, Tāheke Marae, Hokianga, Northland. [Photograph].

The visual language derived from pare can be abstracted from the aesthetic binding and entwining of entities within the composition. Symbolism can be employed to depict the lifting of tapu, the location of pare and its function as a boundary marker.

Manaia

Manaia often flank and envelop the central figure in pare compositions, which inspired the exploration of symmetry and entwinement in kākahu construction (figure 35 and 36). Brown (2013) documented the historical discourse undertaken by researchers from several disciplines in their attempts to decipher the ambiguous manaia. The author concluded that the simple, pragmatic approach of contemporary carvers to observe manaia as a spirit kaitiaki or protective guardian may indicate that the term manaia has been too broadly applied.

Figure 35. Kaa, E. (2020). Experimental forms conveying ki mua, ki muri (in front and behind), and tapu, noa (restricted and unrestricted).

Figure 36. Kaa, E. (2020). *Reflective Profile Silhouettes*.

The pare on my whare tūpuna in Tāheke is composed of four manaia figures based on koukou. These manaia were described to me by Piripi Cope, a Marae trustee and hapū genealogist (P. Cope, personal communication, December 14, 2019, Tāheke Marae). They are relevant to the reo ururangi as the call of the koukou pierce into the darkness like the cries of our wāhine that pierce out across the atea and beyond. This relevance is enhanced by the location of our reo ururangi who stand beneath the pare koukou, anticipating and beckoning our manuhiri forward to pass beneath and into the whare tūpuna.

Clinton Dearlove (personal communication, November 14, 2008), one of our whānau historians, referred to our tūpuna Te Hikapiri as a manaia when describing his ability to take on the form of various forest creatures; he was what would often be referred to as a "shape shifter". The mystique that surrounds the manaia may in fact be a result of its transformative abilities.

Brown’s (2013) conclusion was that the term manaia may be used too broadly, but as a shape-shifting entity, the broadness of manaia may be a fitting term. Dearlove (personal communication, November 14, 2008) described the manaia Te Hikapiri as a kaitiaki and caretaker of the ngahere (forest), which again aligns with the protective qualities observed by contemporary carvers. The visual language of manaia is its curvilinear form and illusionary movement, its beak, limbs and eyes, and the symmetrical placement of its profile which inspired the explorative silhouettes in Figure 36. Its protective and phantasmagorical qualities may also provide visual relevance to the role of reo ururangi.

Nguru

In *Te Ara Puoro: A Journey Into the World of Māori Music*, Nunns (2014) likened the sound of nguru, a nose-blown flute, to the sobbing and weeping calls of the kuia (reo tūpoupou) during tangihanga. He further described the sounds of a nose-blown flute as extraneous and the nasal breath as sacred. Kavanagh (2020), a taonga puoro (musical) artist and Māori instrumental specialist, recalled a Northland kuia’s insight into the sounds made with the tohora niho nguru (whale bone nose flute): she explained that the love songs of a mother whale to her child are present in the sounds of the nguru when it is played.

The intense and genuine love of a mother is embedded in the narratives surrounding Papatūānuku, Hine-tītama, Hine-nui-te-pō and Taranga, all of whom are atua who aid and guide our reo ururangi. Thus, Hine-raukatauri (the goddess of music and dance) has relevance as she makes her presence known through the strained aerial sounds of wind instruments (Nunns, 2014). The mother whale’s hauntingly elongated reverberations can be likened to the rhythm and resonance that we experience with the cry of reo ururangi and reo tūpoupou.

Although the nguru may evoke grief, this emotion is also heavily embedded in aroha, and therefore, the energy or presence of love derived from a mother whale’s song seems appropriate. Aroha is deeply significant to reo ururangi because her role is not only to express grief, but also aroha, as love is the core component of immense grief. Ururangi work within a conscious state of aroha (Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986) for those who have passed on and for those who are present. A visual language derived from nguru may be based on the functionality of its form, its embellished surface, as well as the quivering, wavering sound it produces.

Haehae

Haehae is a Māori term for self-laceration exercised as an expression of grief during tangihanga (Figure 37a), usually performed by female mourners (Tregear, 1904). As previously discussed in the literature review, haehae is a form of visual language that is relevant to both reo ururangi and the adorning of Māori women. Haehae was described by Tregear (1904) as follows:

> The holder would draw the razor-edged fragment of obsidian up her left arm from waist to shoulder, and then from the left shoulder to the ribs on the right side. The flint was shifted across to the other hand and the process repeated till a cross of blood appeared on the breast, the blood spurting after the passage of the knife. It was a hideous spectacle. (p. 349)

The act of haehae led to the practice of tā moko (Figure 37b and 37c) as soot began to be worked into wounds as an act of remembrance (Higgins, 2019). Therefore, haehae can be associated with not only specific marks and lines being applied to the body, but also the colours red (blood) and black (soot), acting as a permanent expression of grief. The visual language of haehae constitutes the lacerations themselves, the lines, patterns, colours, and the viscerally emotive impact of the marks.

Figure 37. (a) Sainson, L. (1827). *Haehae At Funeral*. [Detail of hand coloured engraving]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand; (b) Anonymous. (1891). *Artist unknown. Ancient Tattooing. Moko kuri. Frontispiece.* [Detail of Lithograph on sheet 143 x 221 mm]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand; (c) Rodley, H. (n.d.) *Hongi Hika.* [Ink drawing replica of an 1820 painting by James Barry]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

Kākahu

Reo ururangi capitalise on the richly metaphoric nature of Te reo Māori, including the enveloping and protective nature of kākahu, as well as the act and motion of sewing and weaving. These references are often used to emphasise the ritualistic processes occurring during tangihanga. The warp (whenu) and weft (aho) threads that make up the main construction of whatu kākahu also have spiritual meaning. According to Maihi (2011), whenu is an abbreviation

of the term whenua, meaning placenta and land, the former giving sustenance during gestation (Te Pō), and the latter providing sustenance in life (Te Ao Mārama).

The first and second aho are significant as these are the foundational threads that dictate the size, shape and pattern of the entire garment. These initial aho are the first indication of what is yet to be made visible in the mind of the weaver. The other significance of aho is that it encapsulates the whenu, binding and forming the threads into a surface. As it encapsulates the whenu, it is therefore the thread that contacts the wearer's skin. Because of this, a finer muka is used for aho (Maihi, 2011).

Figure 38. (a) Gordon, W. (n.d.). *Patuone.* [Photograph, carte de viste portrait]. Puke Ariki Heritage Collection, New Plymouth, New Zealand; (b) Gordon, W. (n.d.). *Portrait of Māori man.* [Photograph of. Mohi Tāwhai; 14 x 18cm, half plate]. Auckland War Memorial Museum Collection, Auckland, New Zealand (c) Merrett, J. (1846). *The warrior Chieftains of New Zealand.* [Water colour painting of Harriet, Hone Heke and Kawiti, 558 x 460mm]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

The selection of kākahu adorning my tūpuna in Figure 38 clearly demonstrates the diversity of pre-colonial kākahu in the Hokianga- region, if not throughout all of Aotearoa New Zealand. Overall, pre-colonial apparel construction was based on the draping over and envelopment of various body parts, such as the shoulders, neck, waist and head, with consideration being given to gravity, body shape, posture and movement, as well as warmth, moisture and durability. Woven garments, or kākahu whatu, contain darts such as whakahoi (darts) and aho poka (bias weft) to curve and manipulate the garment into a functional, wearable form. Some waist-worn garments are pulled between the legs, and some shoulder garments are draped under an arm. These key characteristics of pre-colonial apparel offer a foundation for constructional considerations.

Fibre

Flax, or kōrari (a Northland term), is the leading material for kākahu. Kōrari is processed into muka, a very practical and durable twine that is socially and spiritually significant. Muka

represents the unseen wairua and the binding of its existence to the world of the living, Te Ao Atea or Te Ao Mārama. This binding permeates all aspects of life and is critical for negotiating space and engagement with other people, thus aligning the significance of fibre with the role of reo ururangi. In modern times, tūpuna are presented as static wooden carvings, but in the pre-colonial period, heads were often embellished with feathers attached with muka thread, causing them to react easily to the slightest movement of air, creating the illusion of life (Maihi, 2011).

According to Maihi (2011), the fragility of muka cord brings the past into the present, merging or channelling the spiritual realm with the physical. The fibres act as a channel between the physical and spiritual realms, like the function of hukahuka (Maihi, 2011), which fall gracefully from the garment, reacting to the movement of the wearer. Hukahuka are connected to the natural world as they are attached to the kaupapa, as well as to Te Ao Mārama in the free-falling end of the fibres. Hukahuka are seen to visually represent tūpuna. The spiritual significance of hukahuka may also be relevant for other free-falling attachments such as hihima (two-three ply thread), kārure (reverse twisted black tassel embellishment) and pihepihe which are similar to piupiu (curled flax strips scrapped at intervals). The tentative movement (quiver, flutter, ripple, shimmer) of muka is like that of feathers, fur, skin strips and even water, all of which are indicative of spiritual presence or engagement. Tentative movement becomes a visual representation of the evocative quivering of our reo ururangi, as well as the swirling, alternating sounds of reo tūpoupou.

Visual language associated with kākahu can be derived from the negotiation of space and form between the force of gravity and the presence of the wearer. This negotiation is evident in the draping, enveloping and entwining nature of garments. The rich textural and kinetic elements that reference the spiritual world, as well as the symbolic nature of whatu, aho and whenu, offer potential for visual language development. Technical manipulation of detailing and trims, like fraying, ruffling and pleating, offer alternative methods for kinetic enrichment. Genealogical analogy is also possible through an engagement with formal patterning.

Tuitui

Tuitui is often used metaphorically by reo ururangi. Not only can the call of reo ururangi and the repetitive motions of a submerging and re-emerging needle (ngira, mātuhi) be associated with the fluctuation of realms of Te Kore, Te Pō and Te Ao Marama. In addition, the call can invoke connection and unification of people, space and time. The following traditional oration (as cited in Baker, 2012) is an example of the metaphoric use of tui to reference unity and connection. The idea of the tūī singing together, as well as sewing, is used to describe space and time, and the manifestation of binding together.

Whakarongo rā: I listen
Whakarongo ake au: I listen, where up high
Ki te tangi a te manu: A bird flies
E rere runga rawa e: Its cry rings out
Tui, tui, tui, tuia: Sew, stitch, bind it together
Tuia i runga: From above
Tuia i raro: From below
Tuia i roto: From within
Tuia i waho: From outside
Tui, tui, tuia: Sew and bind it together
Kia rongo te ao: During the day
Kia rongo te pō: And the night
Tui, tui, tuia: Sew, stitch, bind it together.

In association with Cotton's *Hanging Sky* publication (2013), Weinberger, an American poet, described the tūī bird,

> …who was trained to talk, syllable by syllable,
> by altering its tongue and throat
> until it could repeat
> songs, prayers, proverbs, genealogies, and words of welcome. (p. 11).

Tui means "to fasten" or "sew", and the tūī bird's song ties heaven to earth (Weinberger, 2013) w audible and inaudible, suggesting an audible fluctuation between realms. The tūī is linked to the act of sewing, fastening, welcoming and the binding of spiritual and earthly worlds, as well as the recitation of genealogy and proverbs, making several associations to the role of reo ururangi and the composing of karanga.

Kākahu Tuitui

Pre-colonial sewn garments, or kākahu tuitui, are described by Wallace (2007) as being a long way from static in their design, as fashions and popularity evolved continuously through experimentation and the discovery of adaptations to techniques using semi-familiar materials. Wallace (2007) suggested that after initial garment solutions were sought, Māori would have quickly learned to utilise bird skins for clothing once bark cloth was deemed inadequate for the new climate. There is early evidence of weka skins being cut into rectangles and stitched together with wing holes aligned. The small portion of this garment that remains indicates that an intentional pattern was created through the well-considered placement of feather colour and texture (Wallace, 2007). Wallace (2007) likened the regularity and finesse of pre-colonial stitching as equivalent to today's machine sewing.

Figure 39. Parkinson, S. (1769-70). *Chief Wearing an Ihupukupuku.* [Engraving].

A well-preserved example of a kahu kuri (a dog-skin cloak, Figure 40) made from the skins of eight kuri (dogs), four brown and four white, provides evidence of a sewing technique similar to French seam work. In this composition, the inclusion of ears and tails illustrate the economical and resourceful way Māori approached apparel construction and adornment. Every aspect of a resource was considered, entire pelts were arranged in a manner that privileged the materials and reduced wastage.

Figure 40. (a) Collis, W. (1897). *Rameka Te Amai.* [Photograph]. Puke Ariki Heritage Collection, New Plymouth, New Zealand; (b) Rawahotana, (1800-1810). *Huruhuru Kuri*. [Large cloak made from skins of eight Māori dogs]. Puke Ariki Heritage Collection, New Plymouth, New Zealand.

Figure 41. Anonymous. (1800-1840). *Kahu Kuri.* [Muka, dog skin and dog hair cloak, 1090 x 1190mm]. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand.

Before the arrival of Cook, seal numbers had become depleted, and therefore, kahu kekeno, or seal-skin garments, ceased. Wallace (2007) pointed out that even though seal numbers later increased, kahu kekeno still remained out of fashion, possibly because dogs were still rare and therefore more prestigious; either way, this is an example of how pre-colonial fashions and trends evolved. There is evidence of refined discrimination when using various hues and shapes to construct bold and diversely fashioned kākahu tuitui. Some kahu kuri were made by stitching whole skins together, others by sewing strips of skins onto a woven kaupapa (foundation surface) (Figure 41). Wallace (2011) stated that men often prepared the skins while women wove the inner flax lining, once that method became a mode of construction.

Little is known about skin preparation for sewn garments; however, it would seem logical that the process involved tanning or wind-drying, and that shards of obsidian rock would have been used to cut and prepare skin strips. Strips were stitched together in a variety of compositions such as framing, chequered and linear patterns, and compositions (Figure 39). Weavers of kahu kuri became very skilful at concealing stitches successfully to create the illusion of a single fur cloak (Te Papa, n.d.). This was achieved by placing strips closely together and ensuring the hair direction was consistent, thus enabling a seamless array of striking designs (Te Papa, n.d.). An additional visual language that can be derived from tuitui is the undulating and binding nature of the stitch, as well as the dynamic arrangement of pelts and embellishments.

Tāniko (Black on Black)

Often embedded within the intricately woven tāniko patterns of pre-colonial garments are carefully constructed relief patterns (Figure 42). These patterns are created by the reverse facing of the twining, grouping warps in the twining, or the passive and second twining passing in front of only one weft (Blackman, 1998). Blackman (1998) emphasised that these weaving variations are reserved for black areas within the tāniko border. By creating another layer of pattern, the weaver presents an additional narrative within the void of a visually dominant narrative. This refined weaving detail is not evident in wool garments, which may be due to the technique requiring a cleverly achieved balance of dimensions in warp and weft to create the correct density of thread count. This may only be satisfactorily achievable with muka. The symbolic intentions of using such a strictly monochrome, textural approach to layered patterning is unrecorded. However the layering of Te Pō as stages of intensified darkness, offers tantalising connotative significance.

Figure 42. British Museum. (1960). 1 colour tāniko over 2 warps and reverse face. [Detail of photograph demonstrating black on black].

These visually enhanced voids provide scope to explore the depiction of unseen forces, energies, entities and processes, while engaging with kākahu and construction methods. The voids generate a relationship between tāniko as a weaving technique and as a concept of ki mua (forwards), ki muri (backwards), and as a rhythm of existence and binding. The use of black on black is well established in the works of Māori painters and poets, where it is often used to reference varying states of existence, very closely aligned with reo ururangi.

Robyn Kahukiwa. In *Te Pō*, and in *Te Pō and Papatūānuku* (Figure 43), Robyn Kahukiwa depicts gestation, filling the images with monochromatic, curvilinear shapes and lines that converge and diverge within the space. These works are accompanied by what is termed as "kōrero" by Patricia Grace (1983), who describes *Te Pō* as "darkness unseen, darkness touchable and untouchable, and every kind of darkness" (p. 31).

Figure 43. (a) Kahukiwa, R. (n.d.). *Te Pō.* [oil on hard board, 118 x 118cm]. Private Collection; and (b) Kahukiwa, R. (n.d.). *Te Pō and Papatūānuku*. [Pencil on paper, 31 x 32 cm]. National Art Gallery, Wellington, New Zealand.

Ralph Hotere. The way Ralph Hotere employs black has been traced to his roots in the Far North (Baker, 2008). His use of black is associated with the black smoke screen synonymous with his iwi Te Aupōuri, who, as stated by Baker (2008), are known as the iwi who emerge from under a cloud of smoke to escape attack. Baker (2008) interpreted Hotere's use of black as Te Kore, describing the clean lacquered surfaces as "creating illusions of depth and light and forming a close visual and emotional correlative of the black and light that finds its genesis in the genealogy of Te Korekore, Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama" (p. 127).

Hone Tuwhare. Poet Hone Tuwhare (1987), who often collaborated with Hotere, has depicted the eternal pulsating nature of black in his poem, "We Who Live in Darkness":

> And what was time, anyway? Black intensities of black on black on black feeding on itself.
> Something immense? Immeasure-less? (p. 57)

Whakapapa. The complexity of understanding how darkness was perceived in pre-colonial times is evident in the central section of this creation whakapapa (Anonymous, n.d.).

- Na Te Kore Te Pō (from the void the night)
- Te Pō-nui (the great night)

- Te Pō-roa (the long night)
- Te Pō-uriuri (the deep night)
- Te Pō-kerekere (the intense night)
- Te Pō-tiwhatiwha (the dark night)
- Te Pō-te-kitea (the night in which nothing is seen)
- Te Pō-tangotango (the intensely dark night)
- Te Pō-whāwhā (the night of feeling)
- Te Pō-namunamu-ki-taiao (the night of seeking passage to the world)
- Te Pō-tahuri-atu (the night of restless turning)
- Te Pō-tahuri-mai-ki-taiao (the night of turning towards the revealing world)
- Ki te whai-ao (to the glimmer of dawn)

Unseen elements inhabit Te Pō, and when dealing with the unseen, Makiha (2021) instructs us to consider matangaro (unseen energies) and the impact they have in the physical world because their detection is often imperceptible, without absolute clarity or definition.

When working with a visual language, black is an appropriate colour to represent the invisible. Black on black as a palette for producing textured patterns has relevance to the depiction of the unseen, as a two-dimensional element (colour) converges with a three-dimensional element (texture), successfully projecting notions of fluctuation, emergence and invocation. It also becomes a relevant means of exploring broader concepts such as stitching, binding and the traversing of realms.

The aho tapu, or sacred foundational thread, sets the pattern in place, giving the first indication of the unseen in the mind of the weaver (a transference from unseen to seen), thereby further binding the garment to the spiritual realm. Unfortunately, the pre-colonial process used to dye materials black involved saturating fibres in an iron-rich paru (mud), which oxidises over time, causing the fibres to disintegrate. This limits the access we have to the technical and conceptual elements of these garments, which may have contributed to the illusiveness of the symbolism associated with the black-on-black patterning. Although the symbolism may be illusive, our symbolic associations with whatu, tāniko, Te Kore and Te Pō provides ample scope for reclaiming pre-colonial meaning and significance.

Victorian Mourning Attire. I am reluctant to reference the influence of black Victorian garb on Māori female tangihanga apparel, although I acknowledge it is a prevalent practice that has evolved into a tikanga of its own, strictly adhered to by many hapū. I consider this colonial

practice to be motivated by a collective desire for unification as a people through the teachings of our kaumātua, rather than a sentimental association with Queen Victoria and her morning attire. Currently on our marae, reo ururangi and tangihanga attendees in general, are expected to be adorned in black unless specified in the wishes of the deceased, as was the case with our beloved whanaunga (kin) Hemi Toia in 2022, who requested whānau and friends to dress colourfully. This was reminiscent of tangihanga on Tāheke Marae in the 1970s during my childhood, when our mothers and aunties would quickly flee from kitchen duties dressed in the bright, psychedelic colours and patterns of the era, to step into the role of reo ururangi, with only a few wāhine choosing to dress in black. This suggests that the contemporary expectation to wear black attire was not as strictly adhered to in the past.

Although the expectation to adorn ourselves in black is a valid form of Māori visual language, nevertheless, when reo ururangi are fulfilling their role, I am not inclined to place value on Victorian garb as having significant relevance to the authenticity of this ritual. I am, however, inclined to place significance on blackness used to reference the unseen elements of Te Kore, Te Pō, our tūpuna and matangaro, and the blackness we adorn ourselves with, in the form of moko kuri, hukahuka and potae taua (head adornments). Deriving a visual language based on tāniko creates scope to reference specific patterns and their correlating narratives, and to experiment with black, focussing on texture and pattern within a monochrome palette, as well as the alternating twists that produce this subliminal language.

Unaunahi

Unaunahi is an established surface pattern synonymous with Te Tai Tokerau carving (Graham, 2014). My initial research indicated that unaunahi was a depiction of the scales of the taniwha Puhimoanaariki, as well the waves Ngaru-nui, Ngaru-roa and Ngaru-paewhenua (I. Andrews, personal communication, 2019). However, Te Tai Tokerau father-and-son master carvers, Warahi and Poutama Hetaraka, provided a different explanation. Both carvers agreed that this pattern is in reference to scales; however, they associate the scales with Te Ika Nui a Māui (The Great Fish of Māui). This entity being the whenua, is also our Earth mother, Papatūānuku. More specifically, the scales depict the protective layers of Papatūānuku.

Figure 44. (a) Te Whata, K. (n.d.). Unaunahi embellishment around the mouth. [Waka kōiwi, 125 x 66cm]. Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland, New Zealand; (b) Kaa, E. (2019). Unaunahi embellishment on the raparapa (fingers) at the end of the maihi (bargeboards), Taheke Marae, Hokianga. [Photograph].

In a short film documentary, Poutama Hetaraka (2019) explained his use of a four-scaled unaunahi as a depiction of four layers: the geological, the flesh, the plant life and he tangata (the people). In a Toi Ngāpuhi webinar, Warahi Hetaraka (2020) listed five-scale layers, including wairua. Hetaraka (2020) also discussed the evolutionary/genealogical and conservational relevance of unaunahi. The depiction of fish scales adorning whare is indicative of not only an abundance of kai (food), but also the adherence to tikanga surrounding kai moana (seafood) being processed away from the sea.

The origins of unaunahi are said to be an innovation of tohunga whakairo Kohuru Te Whata (Figure 44a). His grandfather, Tupoto, is depicted on the maihi and raparapa (the carved ends on bargeboards) of our whare tūpuna at Tāheke Marae (Figure 44b). The sister of Te Whata, Māhuri, is the matriarchal ancestor of my hapū Ngāti Pākau, and was a renowned healer, prophetess and master of tewhatewha (a wood or bone weapon like an axe; C. Dearlove, personal communication, November 28, 2018). Te Whata had another sister, Kuiawai, who is the matriarchal ancestor of my hapū, Māhurehure. These genealogical links demonstrate the significance of unaunahi when developing a visual language relevant for my whakapapa. The visual language of unaunahi is the pulsating, alternating pattern, the crescent forms and the channel, or haehae, they sit within. The ideas behind protective layers, as well as waves and scales, are all significantly relevant in several hapū narratives and whakataukī (wise proverbs), and they are potential motifs from which to derive visual language relevant to the role of reo ururangi.

Pūriri

Pūriri are majestic tress that mainly grow in the Northland region, and the tree is recalled in several significant events throughout Ngāpuhi history. This practical and extremely hardy native tree is symbolic of mourning and healing. It is used throughout the grieving and burial processes of my hapū, Ngāti Pākau, Ngāti Te Rauwawe and Māhurehure (A. Harding, September 21, 2018, Māhuri Marae). Even the pūriri moth, or pepe tuna, whose larvae burrows into the pūriri tree, is relevant to the role of reo ururangi as it is perceived to be a spiritual messenger (Bradford, 2007). The glossy, thick leaves of pūriri were used as a germicide in the past (Māori Rongoā, n.d.), which would explain its prominent role in pre-colonial burial processes. Pūriri leaves infused with water were previously used during pre-colonial burial processes to cleanse the tūpāpaku, who was brushed with bunches of pūriri greenery. During this era, the tūpāpaku themselves were often adorned in pūriri (Vennell, 2013).

According to one of the most visible reo ururangi for our hapū, Angel Harding (personal communication, December 28, 2018, Tāheke Marae), the pūriri leaves are used to adorn the walls of the whare tūpuna directly above and around the tūpāpaku, as well as the head of reo ururangi in the form of a reef, referred to as taua pūriri. The reo ururangi also holds small bunches of pūriri leaves in each hand. These handheld leaves give visual emphasis to the thread-pulling gesture often used to motion manuhiri forward during the welcoming process. A. Harding was taught by local kuia to use pūriri to monitor the condition of tūpāpaku, observing the wilting and drooping of leaves to gauge how the body was coping with the conditions in the whare. A. Harding (personal communication, December 28, 2018, Tāheke Marae) was also shown how to dispose of the taua pūriri correctly, which is to shed the leaves, like roimata into the grave before the grave diggers cover over the site.

Figure 45. Kaa, E. (2020). *Pūriri*. [Series of photographs].

It is usually reo ururangi who harvest, or instruct the harvesting of, pūriri leaves (R. Makiha, personal communication, February 27, 2021) because they are entrusted with the knowledge of where our tapu pūriri groves are located. These groves are wāhi tapu (sacred places) as they are the resting places for the bones of our tūpuna (A. Harding, personal communication, December 28, 2018, Tāheke Marae). It was not only the hollow trunks of pūriri that were used as burial vessels, but also the high branches which that would hold up the tūpāpaku so that the natural bone-cleaning process could take place (A. Harding, personal communication, December 28, 2018, Tāheke Marae). When harvesting pūriri for tangihanga, the flowering parts of the tree must be avoided because these branches are considered to hold the wrong energy for tangihanga, like a wāhine having her energies altered when menstruating or pregnant, as the flowers are necessary to enable the pollination process (A. Harding, personal communication, December 28, 2018, Tāheke Marae).

There is a great deal of knowledge pertaining to harvesting that may be lost to our hapū. For instance, a generation ago, there were wāhine who could tell if you had picked leaves from the sunny side of the tree or the shady side by closely observing the surface of the plant. Our kaumātua, Rereata Makiha (personal communication, February 27, 2021) remembered a scolding he received as he was told to harvest from the shady side of the tree, and his karani ma (female elder) could tell he had not adhered to this instruction by closely examining and feeling the leaves. There were many occasions in which he has closely examined the foliage at various times of the year and has yet to determine how she knew he had not paid attention. Unfortunately, this knowledge may remain irretrievable, which is very concerning as the wāhine in my hapū descend from many female ancestral healers, all of whom had an immense knowledge of rongoā, Te Taiao and tikanga.

Figure 46. Kaa, E. (2021). Textile treatments. [Linen and printing ink].

The visual language derived from pūriri could convey its characteristically rippled leaves (Figure 45 and 46), as well as the bundled and reefed forms with which we associate the pūriri during tangihanga. Language that references the medicinal and ceremonial benefits of pūriri would have significant relevance for adorning the body. The pūriri moth, which itself is perceived to be a spiritual messenger, could also be referenced through its patterns, shapes, colours, form and texture.

Koukou

The koukou are considered the kaitiaki (guardians) of our marae in Tāheke (Cope, personal communication, December 14, 2019, Tāheke Marae) and Moehau (Riccardo, personal communication, July 14, 2021). The nocturnal cries of the koukou are likened to reo ururangi as the sound is understood to have the capacity to transcend the veil. The pare at Tāheke Marae depicts a series of koukou that overlook the atea, located above the waiting position of our reo ururangi. The emblem used to represent Moehau Marae (Figure 47) is solely based on the koukou.

Figure 47. Riccardo, J. (n.d.). Moehau Marae emblem. [Computer generated image].

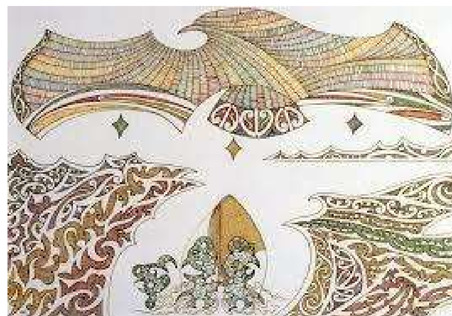
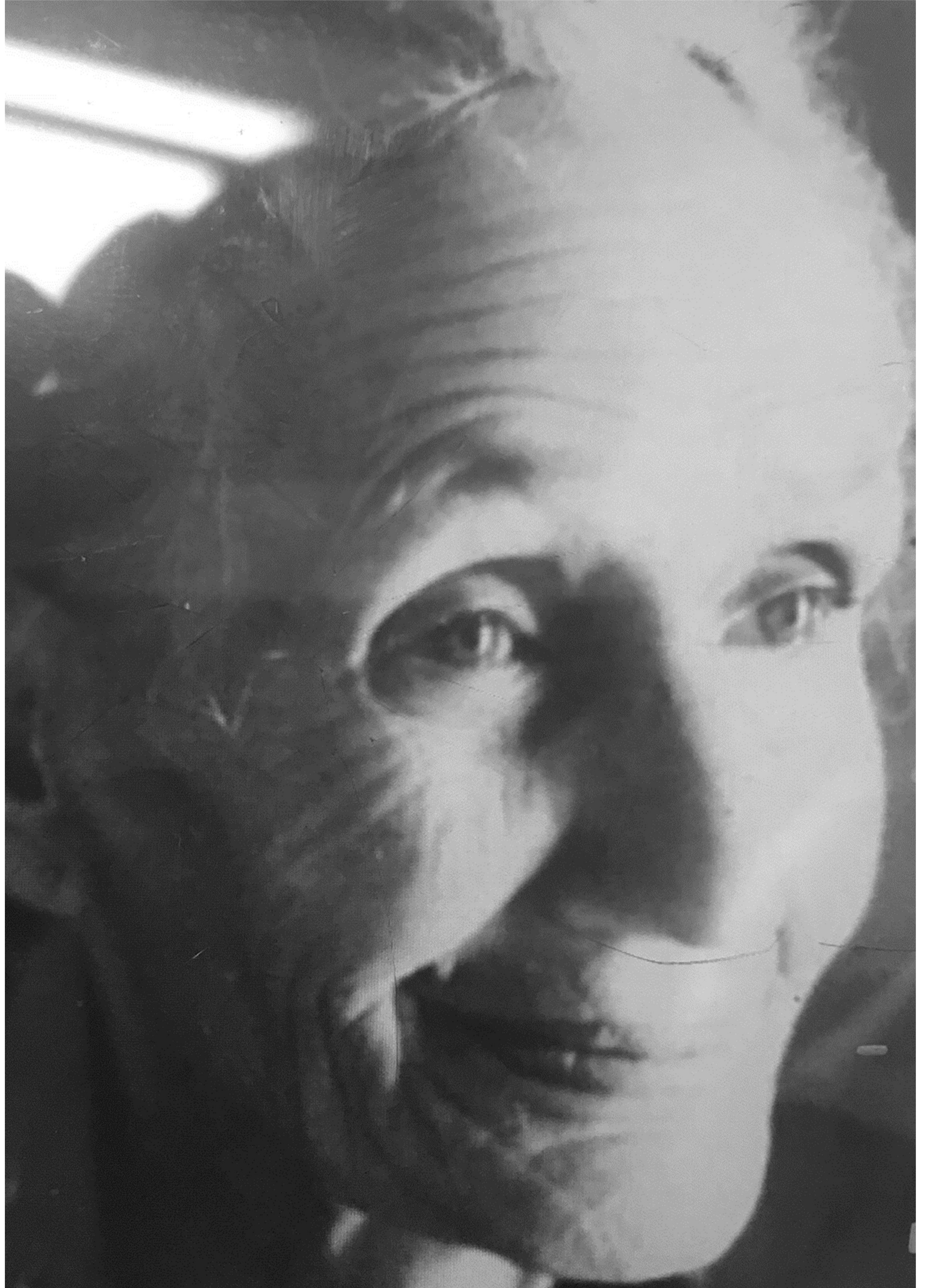


Figure 48. Bevan ford, J. (1992). *Ko Kupe 4*. [Ink on paper]. Te Manawa Museum, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

The use of a bird in association with kākahu to convey notions of protection and kaitiakitangi (guardianship) has been explored by John Bevan Ford (Figure 48), who likens

kākahu to the form of a mythical bird (Smith & Smith, 2001). Bevan Ford suspended large-scale birds in the sky, often with an alignment of stars spread out above land, as a symbol of guardianship, protection, navigation and migration (MacAulay, 2014), all of which are relevant to the ritualistic process of tangihanga.

The visual language of koukou may be derived from the bird itself, either in its entirety, or specific elements such as wings, feathers, eyes, beak or even its nocturnal call. The depiction of koukou as they appear in the Tāheke Marae pare may be relevant due to its placement, but, as mentioned previously, this artwork does not portray characteristics of the Te Tai Tokerau carving style because it has been gifted from elsewhere.



Chapter 4: The Rise of Space and Time

The conceptualisation of the series, *Kākahu o He Reo Ururangi*, was showcased online as an interim presentation in 2020, encapsulating and affirming the research and practical development at that stage of the research project. There were several questions that arose during the series' development.

What makes a garment a taonga?

The idea that the apparel could not obtain value or mana through the time-consuming processes of pre-colonial practice had to be reconciled. Because my aim was to indigenise commercial practice, new methods had to be developed so that apparel could remain suitable for daily wear while still acting as a vessel for ancestral knowledge. Pre-colonial harvesting, preparation and construction methods would play a pivotal role in conceptual development; however, the fundamental practicalities of daily apparel required major consideration, and in this series of works, this consideration resulted in a negotiation between pre-colonial values and present-day practicality.

How are industry beauty ideals influencing me?

Counteracting the influence of prevalent Western beauty ideals required a conscious effort to uphold beauty ideals inspired by atua, tūpuna, whānau and Te Taiao. Shona Davies upheld these beauty ideals in her terracotta sculpture *Ngā Morehu*, by depicting wāhine Māori in the act of karanga, stating "yet in spite of everything these extraordinary women come into their own on the marae and all their beauty and gifts come out" (Jahnke & Ihimaera, 1996, p. 92). The role of reo ururangi epitomises Māori ideals of beauty that encompass the diverse female qualities playing out so profoundly in our rituals of engagement and grief, as opposed to the homogenised Western beauty ideals that are continually imposed on Māori women. These influential alien ideals stretch back to initial contact with Pākehā, when my tūpuna first coined the term "reo pihikete" to describe the English language, because it was initially used to obtain female sexual favours from Māori women for cabin biscuits (A. Harding, personal communication, December 28, 2018).

These alien ideals continued through the teachings of early missionary wives in Northland. These women imposed their Christian values on my tūpuna wāhine in the hope of creating wholesome, dutiful, subservient, modestly dressed native women. These culturally and economically persuasive engagements initiated the re-shaping and distortion of our own understanding of beauty. Yet, the love, sacrifice, resourcefulness and sheer genius of wāhine

Māori provides ample guidance in re-defining beauty for ourselves. Our karani mā often refocus us on these qualities, often growling when we become overly occupied with our physical appearance.

What cultural values shape my understanding of wearable?

A garment that is deemed wearable has a functional element in that it can physically adorn the body, as well as a cultural element that aligns with expectations of social norms. These elements required further analysis so that the understanding of wearability is not conditioned by social norms that homogenise cultural apparel. During my analysis, there was ongoing media coverage of Member of Parliament (MP) Rawiri Waititi who refused to wear a tie, thus challenging its classification as business wear by labelling it a colonial noose (Radio New Zealand [RNZ], 2021). Instead, he adorned himself in taonga as an affirmation of his own cultural values and identity, which are central in his role within the House of Representatives in Parliament.

To support the indigenisation of the term "wearable", I engaged with European descriptions of pre-colonial apparel and the early adoption of Victorian apparel. Early Victorian garb was not functional for Māori women, who worked alongside their male counterparts; therefore, Māori women were slow to adopt Victorian apparel. It became more desirable when communities that were more heavily involved in trading, sought the benefits from engaging in both Māori and the Pākehā customs. This transitional stage illustrated that the physical functionality of Māori apparel was based on allowing ease of movement and protection from the outdoor elements. Societal norms for Māori would have considered the status or role of the wearer, which would have impacted on the visual enhancement and refinement of the materials and construction of the garment. There were also metaphysical functions embedded in Māori apparel that were expressed in the visual enhancement of the garment and in the fundamental processes undertaken in its manufacturing. These metaphysical functions offered me guidance in replacing the social norms that deem what a colonial majority would consider wearable. Consequently, societal expectations and functionality provided the framework for my created body-wearable apparel; located within a pre-colonial context that indigenises the level of wearability.

Kākahu o He Reo Ururangi

Concept. The aim of the *Kākahu o He Reo Ururangi* series was to produce apparel appropriate for daily attire that connected the wearer to Te Ao Māori, without knowing the wearer, yet still referencing their mana and whakapapa. Our ancestral weavers were experts at navigating this task, and the goal was to speak to that practice to create accessible garments. My initial experimentation was based on considering the aho and the whenu as separate elements so

that their individual symbolism could be explored, resulting in the wearer becoming the whenu and the garment becoming the aho, binding her to the spiritual realm and adorning her in a manner that emphasised the movement inherent in her role as reo ururangi.

The construction was based on two main narratives. The first was a pre-colonial construction narrative; the garments mimicked the draping and enveloping nature of pre-colonial apparel as fabric was formed into elongated strips that wove around, bound and encapsulated the wearer. This was achieved by bagging out the printed strips by machine sewing with self-lining. The second narrative spoke to the tikanga surrounding reo ururangi relevant to my hapū, Ngati Pākau, Māhurehure and Ngāti Te Rauwawe. Both narratives referenced the same value system in which manaakitanga, whakawhanaungatanga and kotahitanga guide our societal structure and our engagement rituals.

The fabric was printed by hand using a textile block printing ink that required several days to cure. This time was spent considering the new arrangement of patterns as the fabric strips formed the garment around the body, distorting the crescent shapes. During this stage, the fabric transformed from two-dimensional to three-dimensional. I associated this stage with the aho tapu, when the weaver's conscious or sub-conscious plan starting to impact the materials because the garment began to emerge into the physical world. The aho tapu is the critical thread that references the unseen and the seen co-existing, providing the initial foundation of a garment.

Figure 49. Kaa, E. (2020-2021). Experimentation with printed strips, from collage to formation.

The print blocks were centred on the fabric to ensure a symmetrical distortion, then cut. The rectangular stripes were lined using the bagging out technique, and then, they were worked into a three-dimensional form on the mannequin or body (Figure 49), depending on the need for assessing movement and ease. The strips were then sewn at specific points to ensure the garments were wearable and functional, both physically and ritualistically.

Formation. Each garment was produced intuitively through rigorous experimentation. The toiles where then constructed to determine a series of rectangular pattern blocks. There

were several elements at play in the formation of these garments. Concepts such as binding and envelopment spoke to the unification and interconnectedness that is central to the role of reo ururangi; she binds the past and the present in all aspects of engagement and negotiation of space and time.

At the points where fabric crosses over diagonally haehae is evoked in the repetitive self-laceration movements undertaken during grieving and burial rituals. These expressions of severe, primal and visceral grief aided in the unification and healing processes that are initiated by reo ururangi and reo tūpoupou. The elongated strips of the garment curve and entwine with the body, encapsulating the curvilinear style of Hokianga whakairo. This characteristic is prevalent in the carving style of my ancestor, Kohuru Te Whata. Te Whata and his students are associated with many waka kōiwi (bone chests) found in caves throughout the Hokianga.

Pattern. The crescents are arranged in a pattern derived from unaunahi, which is an innovation of a hapū ancestor, and represents the five protective layers of Papatūānuku. Protection is relevant as reo ururangi provide spiritual safety. Referencing Papatūānuku acknowledges the mauri that is derived from her by reo ururangi, as they adorn themselves in skirts and remove their shoes in recognition of this connection (Ferris, 2005). The pattern also references the leaves of the pūriri tree, the greenery used during tangihanga processes by my hapū to adorn reo ururangi, the whare tūpuna and historically, the tūpāpaku.

Mawhero/Pink. The use of pink (Figure 50, 51, and 52) locates the reo ururangi within Te Whai Ao, the dawning potential of light between Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama, as this is the space of transformation, where the unseen elements are revealed, and the distinctive nature of reo ururangi is at its most potent. The blending of white and red signifies space through light and sacred transformation through blood.

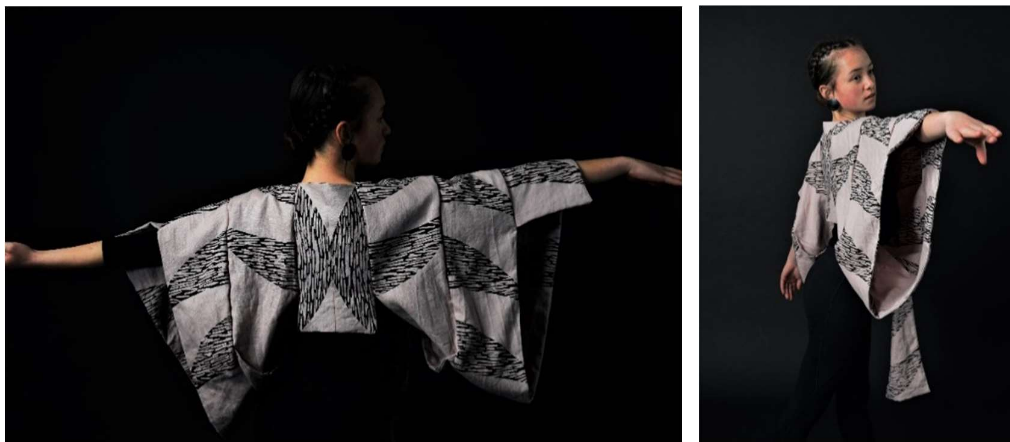


Figure 50. Kaa, E. (2020). *Whiria* (to bind). [Linen, textile printing ink]. Private collection.

Figure 51. Kaa, E. (2020). *Kaokao* (armpit/rib, symbol of protection). [Linen, textile printing ink]. Private collection.

Figure 52. Kaa, E. (2020). *Whakawātea* (cleansing a pathway). [Linen, textile printing ink]. Private collection.

Kākāriki/Green. The use of green (Figure 53, 54 and 55) references the act of rongoā, more specifically the healing and cleansing qualities of the pūriri leaves during tangihanga, as this enhances and compliments the role of reo ururangi. The use of greenery during tangihanga

remains a significant form of body adornment, predating the black mourning attire of Queen Victorian. It is a continuation of what Tregear (1904) described as "glaring toilette" (p. 397). The greenery is our tangihanga, our Taiao, our rongoā.

Figure 53. Kaa, E. (2020). *Whatu* (weave). [Linen, textile printing ink]. Private collection.

Figure 54. Kaa, E. (2020). *Whakanoa* (removing tapu, or restrictions). [Linen, textile printing ink]. Private collection.

Figure 55. Kaa, E. (2020). *Hononga* (to unify, join, connect). [Linen, textile printing ink]. Private collection.

Te Kākahu o Reo Ururangi (the clothing of female callers during funeral processes) offered ample opportunity to experiment with the processes and symbolism embedded in whatu kākahu and tangihanga. From this point, it became a natural progression for me to narrow down pre-colonial kākahu construction to tuitui kākahu. The apparel I describe in the next few sections began to explore the connotative and practical nature of sewing.

Ngā Pākau o Te Koukou

Early pre-colonial, sewn skin garments clearly demonstrate how resourceful and economical Māori processes were when engaging with materials sourced from the wider natural world. This core value connected instantly with the unaunahi pattern as a symbol of protecting Papatūānuku and prompted my investigation into developing a more ecological approach to sourcing materials and experimenting with possible aesthetic outcomes of targeting waste reduction. The deconstructing of existing garments, often referred to as "harvesting" (Richards, 2021), has significant historical relevance as there are documented accounts of Māori deconstructing European garments and repurposing thread to embellish and enhance kākahu, taking one valuable resource and utilising it sparingly, in a broader and more communal manner (Lander, 2019). Re-constructing a surface using harvested fabric creates an opportunity to experiment with compositions that emphasise the placement of horizontal and vertical lines. Negotiating texture, shape, pattern, weight and colour when constructing a surface aligns with pre-colonial construction as skin tone, grain, fur colour and texture; even various body parts were carefully considered, often resulting in a variety of trends and regional characteristics.

The symmetrical nature of the animal and human form is relevant in the sourcing and processing of materials. Feathers are arranged so that the placement considers from which part of the animal they are extracted. This consideration is also relevant when processing and arranging animal skin. Symmetry is also considered when harvesting and processing plant fibre, as korari is harvested either side of a fan formation using a diagonal cut away from the centre, leaving a symmetrical form that then enhances the plants health. The rotation of grouped fibres, once para (non-fibrous leaf material) is extracted when processing muka, reduces the impact of the leaves' tapered ends, which would otherwise create an uneven thread.

When I experimented with arrangements, or compositions, the initial symmetry did not create any continuity with the alternative surface (front–back). Experimentation then began with flipping and abstracting elements of symmetry so that the work was not symmetrically balanced relative to front-to-back views, but rather from a bird's-eye view when laid flat (Figure 56).

This created a material and compositional relationship between the front and the back, as

well as the side views, as the surfaces were flipped and rotated (Figure 57).

Figure 56. Kaa, E. (2021) laid flat to show reflected symmetry.

Figure 57 (a). Kaa, E. (2021). Front left and right panels are reflected on the back in complete rotation; (b) Kaa, E. (2021). Sides rotated to the front to show rotational symmetry.

Black became significant when referencing the visibility of the unseen. The black-on-black patterning in pre-colonial tāniko provided a relevant visual reference to explore notions of Te Pō, as the layering and multifaceted levels of meaning could be derived from this complex employment of black. This highly considered patterning symbolises a deeper language that has the potential to reach into or out of the dark, unseen spaces. The structure of darkness has relevance to the whakapapa of creation, as the complexity of night is a central point of revelation and concealment. This leads to a perception of black as a binding agent, an alternative space

from which matangaro stem as their unseen faces continually impact the world of light.

Within a monochromatic scheme, the variety and contrast of harvested fabrics visually impacts the surface and creates a stimulus to present clothing as a communal object. The garment visually encompasses people as a collective geographically and inter-generationally, acknowledging their residual presence as a form of maumahara (remembrance). This diversity of texture and pattern begins to symbolise whanaungatanga and the communal grief expressed during tangihanga, as often, mourners are collectively adorned in an array of black apparel.

The resourcefulness of repurposing fabric aligns with the economical pre-colonial use of animal skins. It also links to a present-day economic attraction of local hokohoko (second-hand) shops. Northland hokohoko shops are always depleted of black clothing due to local demand for what we call our "tangi blacks". Harvesting fabric could also be viewed as a counteraction to mass production and consumerism — an inevitable reality for urbanised Māori migrating from the Hokianga.

The apparel can be worn either frontwards or backwards, or even side-ways (Figure 57 and 58). This flexibility speaks to the complexity of the role of reo ururangi, as she is fracturing, and permeating, the boundaries and structures between the physical and spiritual worlds. All these actions enable her to lift the tapu as she faces forwards while moving backwards, ka mua (future), ka muri (past). The emphasis and contrast of length on the sides of the garment acknowledges the presence of flanking celestial entities, like those evident in pare compositions.

Figure 58. Kaa, E. (2021). *Ngā Pākau ō Te Koukou*. [Repurposed black fabric]. Private collection.

The dominant element is the sense of weight created by the gravity of the fabric. The basic construction of the garment references the koukou, not only as a kaitiaki for my hapū, but also its association with reo ururangi. It is the tangi (cry) of the koukou that, like reo ururangi, transcends the barrier (ārai) that exists between realms. As the koukou, like all owls, are silent during flight, it is its perched pose that is being referenced in the weighty wings (ngā pākau) of these kākahu (figure 57). The weight of the sides gives emphasise to the protective qualities of

the garment and the resolute strength of the wearer.

William Colenso, a historical figure who documented his accounts of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, noted that the proverb “me he toroa ngungunu” describes an orator whose flowing garments are placed neatly and compactly like an albatross folding its wings (Wallace, 2007). The relevance of this whakataukī speaks to a gender bias that devalues the role of reo karanga, which is often misunderstood in regard to female speaking rights. Adorning reo ururangi in a manner that imitates the complimentary description of a male speaker, while associating her with a koukou instead of a toroa (albatross), is a strategy aimed at counteracting the ignorance and the devaluing of female speaking roles and oratory skills.

In this series of garments I have created, black alludes to darkness and its cleansing, protective properties. The cleansing properties are outlined in our pūrākau of Hine-tītama, who transformed into Hine-nui-te-pō to be cleansed. The protective elements of darkness are not only relevant in widely known narratives, but also are relevant for our hapū: generations ago, our tūpuna tohunga, Tutairua, hid in caves for over a year. She sought refuge and protection when hunted by Tupoto, who sought to marry her in order to gain access to her ability to tame taniwha. My tūpuna rangatira, sisters Māhuri and Kuiawai, were renowned healers, responsible for entering burial caves to visit with our ancestral bones. Due to the capacity of women to safely navigate restricted spaces, it was deemed the role of women to maintain these wāhi tapu. This ritual continued: my mother has childhood memories of our Nanny Blind maintaining the practice. Over centuries, women upheld the tapu of our ancestral bones. These dark resting places are where many of our ancestors continue to rest today. My mother’s birth was concealed in a cave, as my grandmother conceived her out of wedlock. Her birth was attended solely by women and she was delivered by my name sake, her great aunty Erana. My grandmother was arranged to be married not long after my mother was born.

Several generations ago, leading up to the Dog Tax War, my hapū Māhurehure was under continual harassment from the Imperial Red Coats. It became the role of our women to build shelters for the children and elderly, deep within the ngahere, every night for more than 5 years. These wāhine sought the protection of the nocturnal forest while the men remained home to guard their settlements. It is these intergenerational women seeking protection, healing and cleansing in darkness that gives even greater potency to the colour black as an apt symbol of protection and safety. The women in our hapū sought protection and safety in the darkness of shadows, caves and forests where the bones of our tūpuna still rest, and our taniwha and koukou still reside.

Kareao

Creating a textile skin to coat kareao (supplejack) provided disruption to a prolonged period of fixating on human form and movement. My intention was to adorn kareao (Figure 60a) to acknowledge the tapu potential of a medicinal and utilitarian material.

Figure 59. (a) Kaa, E. (2020). Kareao, Waitomo. [Photograph]; (b) Kaa, E. (n.d.). My childhood home behind crayfish pots with construction stand to the right. [Photograph]; and (c) Kaa, E. (n.d.). My father constructing crayfish pots. [Photograph].

This material surrounded my childhood home (Figure 59b) throughout the duration of my formative years. My Pākehā father crafted his own crayfish pots (Figure 59c), twisting and wrestling the vines between number 8 wires protruding out of his makeshift stand (Figure 59b). These pots and the supple strength of kareao are associated with many playful memories with my siblings. The use of repurposed textiles activated residual and intergenerational memories on the encased vine. The shift to red aligned with the surface treatment of treasured timbers and bodies with kōkōwai (Makeshift Spaces, 2020) referencing tapu, remembrance and protection. The return to a black-on-black aesthetic references the blackening of our bodies as a means of maumahara as soot was worked into open lacerations.

Figure 60. Kaa, E. (2022). Experimenting with kareao and fabric. [Neck adornments, kareao encased and embellished with fabric scraps].

Haehae

Working with raw material, such as kareao (Figure 60), challenged my notions of what defines a beautiful object, and how beauty relates to function and the nature of taonga. This then led to the realisation that the natural world potentially held the answers to these questions. This realisation broadened my definition of apparel as I had placed an illogical and unnecessary expectation on each garment to provide a certain amount of coverage for the wearer (Figure 61). This pressure to provide modest coverage stemmed from the fashion industry's definitions of apparel and adornment, with the former shaping around the body, thus providing the expected amount of coverage. Modesty has been historically influential in the colonisation of Māori apparel, as early missionaries and their wives were fixated on the covering of Māori women's bodies and their sexuality in accordance with a wholesome English notion of femininity.

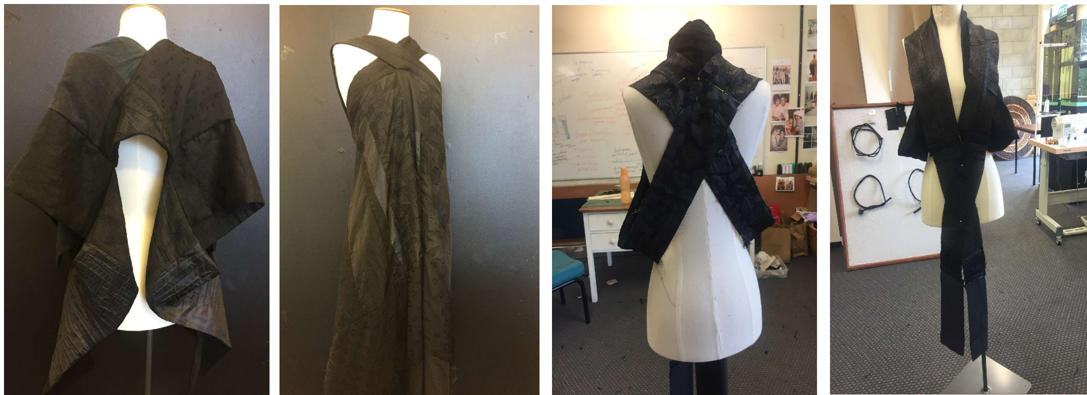


Figure 61. Kaa, E. (2021-2022). Examples of reducing fabric width and weight, when no longer concerned with coverage or modesty.

Unburdened by this constraint, my shift in focus towards emulating Te Taiao resulted in greater functionality in terms of tikanga, and further enhancement of the cultural and personal value embedded in the garment. Returning to the initial series *Te Kākahu o Te Reo* ururangi, with less focus on modesty and a greater focus on ritualistic function, the fabric strips became more vine-like, resembling a utilitarian harness-type garment.

Figure 62. Kaa, E. (2022). Final series sample: (a) side, (b) back; and (c) front view. [Repurposed black fabric, embroidery thread]. Private collection.

These garments (figure 62) continue to acknowledge the space in front and behind the wearer (ka mua, ka muri), which stems from the *Ngā Pākau o Te Koukou* series. The energy and tension in front of reo ururangi is referenced in the lengthened strips (Figure 62c). Like the unfinished whāriki (woven mat) in *Ngā Morehu* (Rapira-Davies 1988), the elongated strips indicate a space of potential and incompleteness. The strips are extended using fluid fabric to emphasise the presence of unseen energies as the reo ururangi stands and waits to engage with manuhiri. The fabric extensions have been selected to draw attention to her movement as she sways while walking backwards into the whare tūpuna. There is potential for her to clasp the excessive fabric in her hands, thus enhancing her simulation of pulling a rope or thread, drawing attention to her wiri, or any movement that enables her to fulfil her role with greater clarity and intensity.

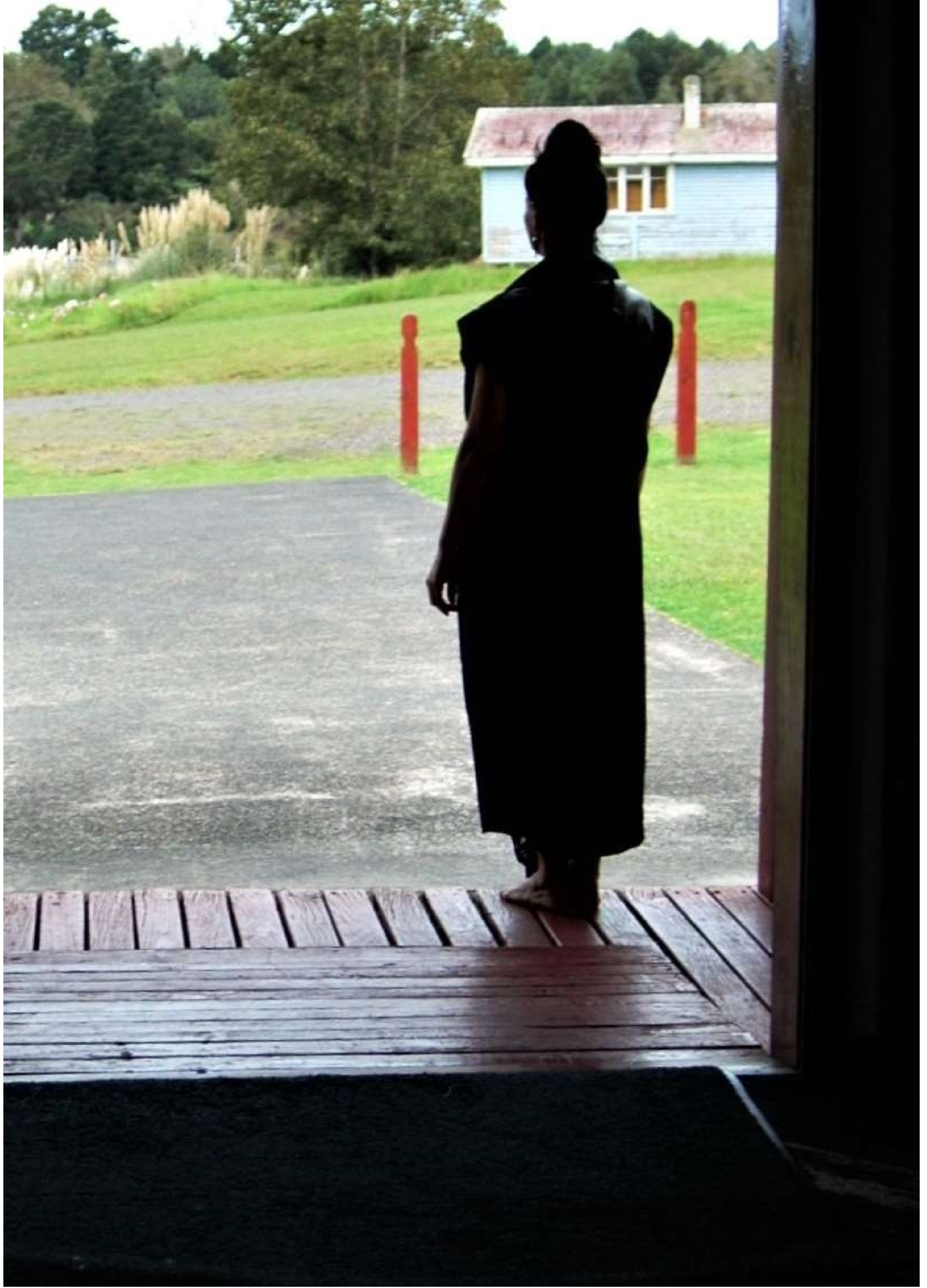
The crossing and binding of strips on the back of the garment indicates unification and envelopment (Figure 62b), simulating her anchored stance on Papatūānuku and creating a symbolic pulling mechanism as she moves backwards into the whare tūpuna. The blanket-stitch detailing (Figure 63) is functional as well as aesthetic. It was the only solution to counteracting the bulky and puffy nature of the lining that, without it, detracted from the overall structure of the garment. Machine top stitching was a very rigid solution, as it stiffened and corrugated the edges of the self-lined strips. The diverse density of fabrics also caused irregularities. Blanket stitching by hand provided a gentler means of defining the edges without dominating the form,

while allowing the earlier stitching techniques of pre-colonial kākahu tuitui to be echoed in the work.

Figure 63. Kaa, E. (2022). Blanket-stitch edging.

The repurposing of fabric provides an avenue to assign Māori meaning to commercial patterns and embellishments. Florals and leather now speak to the protective layers of Papatūānuku, referencing the ancestral pattern of unaunahi; stars and spots now speak to the remembrance and presence of tūpuna, while swirls, abstract shapes and lines speak to the presence and impact of both hidden and visible elements. The textural elements of harvested textiles, such as frayed, pleated and gathered fabrics, symbolically replicate the movement of feathers, hukahuka and muka. Sheer and reflective textiles replicate the shimmering qualities of water, heat and light.

Figure 64. Kaa, E. (2022). *Haehae Series*. [Repurposed black fabric, embroidery thread]. Private collection.



Chapter 5: Conclusion

The Germination of Seed

The term reo ururangi is not presently used on our marae. Aunty Ipu (and several others of her generation) remembered the term being used when they were very young. Whenever Aunty Ipu spoke with kaumātua, there was a collective acknowledgement that reo ururangi had been the true term for reo karanga during tangihanga, along with reo tūpoupou, our karani mā, who incite grief with their evocative wailing.

The centrality of whakapapa has provided me with greater clarity in relation to collective identity, encouraging me to build relationships that healed some of the disconnection created when my mother migrated to the South Island. Wānanga provided essential knowledge pertaining to hapū, specific tikanga and narratives. An additional source of knowledge that stemmed from attending wānanga was the social media networking that occurred between noho marae (staying at marae). The privilege of having ancestral knowledge shared with me and celebrated with whānau has been profound. This knowledge has already strengthened connections for the next generation.

Working in a repetitive state of self-awareness and reflection substantiated Whiting's (1992) fluctuating state of creativity (Te Whai Ao) for me. The visual diary provided an opportunity to document this process as I navigated Marsden's (2003) adapted growth sequences (Royal, 2005). The diary provided the space and time to clarify, reflect and evaluate the evolution of artistic designs.

Increased Energy

It was during the literature and art reviews that I was able establish the scope of my research and ascertain the reality of navigating between art and fashion. The biggest challenge was not only producing apparel that was embedded with Māori values, but also locating the work within an industry that is synonymous with fast-changing trends and homogenised global ideals of beauty and style. Through the review process, I was able to identify the three main categories of Māori apparel:

- Wearable art/avant-garde apparel, with its extreme forms and textures, that makes bold political or cultural statements, but often impractical for daily attire.

- Ceremonial/formal apparel that employs customary manufacturing and construction techniques, often merging indigenous ceremonial apparel with glamourous, high-end garments.
- Mainstream apparel, which generally employs conventional construction methods that explore notions of cultural identity, with varying degrees of empathy for customary aesthetics.

These modes defined the contribution my research could make; by taking guidance from each category, I could produce apparel with both ceremonial and avant-garde elements, while still addressing mainstream considerations of wearability and functionality.

Wisdom and Knowledge

I narrowed the colour palette down to black with trepidation as I was aware that associations would be made with Victorian mourning garb. In the Hokianga, we value the colonial practice of black tangihanga attire because a collective desire exists to be visually unified in grief. However, I also associate the wearing of "tangi blacks", so called by my whānau, as a continuation of pre-colonial Māori being "adorned in their most glaring toilettes" (Tregear, 1904, p. 397), a phrase indicating that Māori dressed specifically for tangihanga outside of Victorian influences. In fact, the use of black soot gave emphasis to haehae wounds. Haehae has a deeper and richer history related to black body adornment worn during tangihanga, rather than Victorian garb.

During the consolidation of visual language, the interconnectedness of various kaupapa became more apparent, whereby the spiritual significance of muka, whatu, aho and whenu intensified. The fluctuating and rippling elements of whatu, fibre, pūriri, unaunahi, tides and seasons interrelated and increased in relevance in the depiction of reo ururangi and her quivering, tentative call, as well as her penetrating impact on space and time. The curvilinear characteristics of Hokianga carving, and the entwinement of haehae, took shape to engage with the body. The binding of whatu threads, and the entanglement of manaia limbs within pare compositions, all compounded into forms and notions of functionality.

The Rise of Space and Time

The movement of the body required greater consideration than I anticipated. When endeavouring to develop an unconventional construction method, the body was used to construct and form the garments. Bodily movement and physical requirements of daily activity

also required me to carefully consider this embodiment.

Because of the current level of homogenisation in the apparel industry, it was often difficult to identify the influence of global fashion trends, or the general expectation of what was deemed aesthetically pleasant for everyday wear. When indigenising apparel that is designed for daily wear in a customary context, the garment becomes very personal, and very public at the same time. It was therefore imperative that I continually self-assessed and moderated the internal pressure to conform to what was deemed flattering or socially acceptable.

The practicalities of the research required an early decision not to engage with pre-colonial materials. It was undeniable that pre-colonial materials would limit the ability to wash and maintain the garments, rendering them unsuitable for daily wear. Even so, I was constantly questioning my disengagement with natural materials and whether my interpretation of functionality was too reliant on homogenised values. One method of counteracting the use of processed textiles was to consider the environmental impact of materials. Repurposing fabric created an opportunity to explore pre-colonial practices associated with constructing garments from animal skins. I referenced pre-colonial processes in my fabrications, and I infused the symbolic relevance of tuitui and whatu to the newly formed surfaces.

The central aims of the research were to contribute to the indigenisation of apparel by navigating between clothing construction and Te Ao Māori, focusing on three main research areas: reo ururangi, kākahu wāhine and whakapapa. It was also imperative to contribute to the normalisation of tikanga by developing an approach to apparel construction based on elements of Māori visual language that enhanced the role of reo ururangi.

The level of conceptualisation exceeded my expectations, whereby the construction of these garments was heavily influenced by tikanga and the highly relevant visual language of our hapū. Therefore, the indigenisation process went beyond apparel construction. It challenged the colonisation of function and beauty, and thus, my research extended beyond my initial considerations. The apparel produced contributes to an ongoing disruption of apparel homogenisation. I am committed to revitalising cultural apparel and to challenging the notions of fashion, beauty and function. My merging together of wearable art, mainstream apparel and ceremonial wear adds significant cultural value. Whilst realising that a Māori approach to functionality and beauty is heavily colonised, I acknowledge the spaces to be found between these three apparel modes. But I pose another challenge: to indigenise the apparel industry.

List of Figures

Figure 1. (a) Kaa, E. (2005). *Mana Wāhine I.* [Acrylic on canvas painting, 1600 x 900 mm painting]. Private collection. (b) Kaa, E. (2005). *Mana Wāhine II.* [Acrylic on canvas painting, 800 x 900 mm]. Private collection. 5

Figure 2. (a) Kaa, E. (2012). *Ki Tua o Te Ārai.* [Acrylic on canvas painting, 1000 x 800 mm]. Private collection; (b) Kaa, E. (2012). *Whakaeke Mai.* [Acrylic on canvas painting, 1000 x 800 mm]. Private collection. 7

Figure 3. (a) Kaa, E. (2012). *Ihirangaranga Series.* [Acrylic on canvas painting, 600 x 1600 mm]. Private collection; (b) Kaa, E. (2012). *Whakaeke Mai.* [Acrylic on canvas, 900 x 1600 mm]. Private collection. 7

Figure 4. Kaa, E. (2017). *Hine Ūkaipō*. [Recycled wool blanket and embroidery thread garment]. Private collection. 8

Figure 5. Kaa, E. (2018). *Te Whare ō Wikitoria Mini Collection.* [Linen, textile paint, textured cotton and cotton garment]. Private collection. 8

Figure 6. Kaa, E. (2018). *Pepper Pot Collection*. [Linen, textile paint, textured cotton and cotton garment]. Private collection. 9

Figure 7. Kaa, E. (2020). *Tuitui.* [Linen and embroidery thread garment]. Private collection.. 9

Figure 8. Kaa, E. (2020). Tāheke Marae atea, Hokianga, Northland. [Photograph]. 14

Figure 9. Kaa, E. (2019). Whare tūpuna, Tāheke Marae, Hokianga, Northland. [Photograph]. 15

Figure 10. (a) Kaa, E. (2019). Tutaeauru, Koruru (carved face), Tāheke, Hokianga, Northland. [Photograph]; (b) Kaa, E. (n.d.). Mere Katete. [Photograph]. 17

Figure 11. (a) Kaa. E. (n.d.). Mum and her younger siblings. [Photograph]; (b) Kaa. E. (n.d.). Mum with my eldest sister. [Photograph]. 18

Figure 12. T, Marler. (n.d.). *Whaiao.* [Giclée print, 775 x 785mm]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 19

Figure 13. (a) Kaa, E. (2021). Maramataka with Rereata Makiha, Moehau Marae. [Photograph]; (b) Kaa, E. (2019). Observing tikanga reo–karanga, Tāheke Marae. [Photograph]; (c) Kaa, E. (2021). Mana wāhine with Ipu Absolum, Moehau Marae. [Photograph]. 23

Figure 14. Kaa, E. (2020). Research Presentation, Tāheke Marae. [Photograph]. 23

Figure 15. Kaa, E. (2021). Visual Diary excerpts. [Drawings, paintings, collage]. 26

Figure 16. The Woven Women. (n.d.). (a) Detail of promotional image. [Photograph]; (b) The Woven Women. (n.d.). Touring exhibition. [Photograph]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 27
Figure 17. Kahukiwa, R. (1988). *Mo Irihapeti Tēnei Karanga*. [Diptych, alkyd oil and oil stick on canvas, 29575 x 1985 mm]. Collection Irihapeti Ramsden Estate. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 30
Figure 18. Rapira-Davies, S. (1988). *Ngā Morehu*. [Sculpture, terracotta figures with muka and wood, 2400 x 7855mm]. Te Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Collection, Wellington, New Zealand. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 31
Figure 19. Reihana, L. (2008). *The Silent Karanga*. [Single channel video, HD Video, 3 minutes]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 32
Figure 20. Shonibare, Y. (1995). *How does a girl like you get to be a girl like you?* [Installation, Dutch wax print cotton on mannequins, 1727mm in height]. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, United States of America. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 34
Figure 21. Kihara, S. (2013). *Roman Catholic Church, Apia*. [C-print, 843 x 1088mm]. Christchurch Art Gallery Collection. Christchurch, New Zealand. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42...35
Figure 22. Sidhu, N., & Galanin, N. (2005). *No Pigs in Paradise*. [Mixed media series]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 36
Figure 23. Anonymous. (n.d.). Home-made Hopi Indian costumes. [Photograph]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 36
Figure 24. Crowest, S. (2016). *Strap-on Paintings*. [Linen painters' canvas, synthetic polymer paints, screen printing inks and haberdashery]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 37
Figure 25. Camel, P. (2015). *Wearing–Watching*. [Installation of 800 ponchos made from second-hand fabrics]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 38
Figure 26. Tirikatene-Sullivan, W. (1975). *Silk Caftan*. [Screen printed silk evening dress]. The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 40
Figure 27. Pacific Sisters. (1997). *21st Century Cyber Sister*. [Mixed media]. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 41

Figure 28. Whitewood, A. (2018). *Pitau Tunic Dress*. [Polyester]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42..42
Figure 29. Nathan, K. (n.d.). *Contemporary Kākahu*. [Black piu weave with cotton cord ties and black feathers]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 43
Figure 30. Luke, B. (n.d.). *Prairie Dress*. [Sheer fabric]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 44
Figure 31. Briggs-Houston, L. (n.d.). *Binyal Dress*. [Hand painted, dyed and printed fabric]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 45
Figure 32. Okuma, J. (n.d.). Modern Ceremonial Wear. [Beaded dancewear]. Private Collection. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42.......................................46
Figure 33. Earle, A. (1827). *Northland Wharepuni*. [Water colour painting]. Rex Nan Kivell Collection, Canberra, Australia. Reproduced according to copyrigth permissions from National Library of Australia https;//www.nla.gov.au/about-us/about-site/copyright-website 64
Figure 34. Kaa, E. (2020). Pare, Tāheke Marae, Hokianga, Northland. [Photograph]............65
Figure 35. Kaa, E. (2020). Experimental forms conveying ki mua, ki muri (in front and behind), and tapu, noa (restricted and unrestricted)..66
Figure 36. Kaa, E. (2020). *Reflective Profile Silhouettes*. 66
Figure 37. (a) Sainson, L. (1827). *Haehae At Funeral*. [Detail of hand coloured engraving]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand; (b) Anonymous. (1891). *Artist unknown. Ancient Tattooing. Moko kuri. Frontispiece.* [Detail of Lithograph on sheet 143 x 221 mm]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand; (c) Rodley, H. (n.d.) *Hongi Hika.* [Ink drawing replica of an 1820 painting by James Barry]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42................68
Figure 38. (a) Gordon, W. (n.d.). *Patuone.* [Photograph, carte de viste portrait]. Puke Ariki Heritage Collection, New Plymouth, New Zealand; (b) Gordon, W. (n.d.). *Portrait of Māori man.* [Photograph of. Mohi Tāwhai; 14 x 18cm, half plate]. Auckland War Memorial Museum Collection, Auckland, New Zealand (c) Merrett, J. (1846). *The warrior Chieftains of New Zealand.* [Water colour painting of Harriet, Hone Heke and Kawiti, 558 x 460mm]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42..69
Figure 39. Parkinson, S. (1769-70). *Chief Wearing an Ihupukupuku.* [Engraving]. Reproduced according to copyright permissions from National Museum Australia https;//www.nma.gov.au/about/contact-us/copyright. 72

Figure 40. (a) Collis, W. (1897). *Rameka Te Amai.* [Photograph]. Puke Ariki Heritage Collection, New Plymouth, New Zealand; (b) Rawahotana, (1800-1810). *Huruhuru Kuri*. [Large cloak made from skins of eight Māori dogs]. Puke Ariki Heritage Collection, New Plymouth, New Zealand. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42. 72
Figure 41. Anonymous. (1800-1840). *Kahu Kuri.* [Muka, dog skin and dog hair cloak, 1090 x 1190mm]. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42 73
Figure 42. British Museum. (1960). 1 colour tāniko over 2 warps and reverse face. [Detail of photograph demonstrating black on black]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42 74
Figure 43. (a) Kahukiwa, R. (n.d.). *Te Pō.* [oil on hard board, 118 x 118cm]. Private Collection; and (b) Kahukiwa, R. (n.d.). *Te Pō and Papatūānuku*. [Pencil on paper, 31 x 32 cm]. National Art Gallery, Wellington, New Zealand. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42 75
Figure 44. (a) Te Whata, K. (n.d.). Unaunahi embellishment around the mouth. [Waka kōiwi, 125 x 66cm]. Auckland War Memorial Museum, Auckland, New Zealand. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42; (b) Kaa, E. (2019). Unaunahi embellishment on the raparapa (fingers) at the end of the maihi (bargeboards), Taheke Marae, Hokianga. [Photograph]. 78
Figure 45. Kaa, E. (2020). *Pūriri*. [Series of photographs]. 79
Figure 46. Kaa, E. (2021). Textile treatments. [Linen and printing ink]. 80
Figure 47. Riccardo, J. (n.d.). Moehau Marae emblem. [Computer generated image]. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42 81
Figure 48. Bevan ford, J. (1992). *Ko Kupe 4*. [Ink on paper]. Te Manawa Museum, Palmerston North, New Zealand. Reproduced according to NZ copyright Act 1994 s.42......81
Figure 49. Kaa, E. (2020-2021). Experimentation with printed strips, from collage to formation. 86
Figure 50. Kaa, E. (2020). *Whiria* (to bind). [Linen, textile printing ink]. Private collection. 87
Figure 51. Kaa, E. (2020). *Kaokao* (armpit/rib, symbol of protection). [Linen, textile printing ink]. Private collection. 88
Figure 52. Kaa, E. (2020). *Whakawātea* (cleansing a pathway). [Linen, textile printing ink]. Private collection. 88
Figure 53. Kaa, E. (2020). *Whatu* (weave). [Linen, textile printing ink]. Private collection. . 89

Figure 54. Kaa, E. (2020). *Whakanoa* (removing tapu, or restrictions). [Linen, textile printing ink]. Private collection. 89
Figure 55. Kaa, E. (2020). *Hononga* (to unify, join, connect). [Linen, textile printing ink]. Private collection. 89
Figure 56. Kaa, E. (2021) laid flat to show reflected symmetry. 91
Figure 57 (a). Kaa, E. (2021). Front left and right panels are reflected on the back in complete rotation; (b) Kaa, E. (2021). Sides rotated to the front to show rotational symmetry. 91
Figure 58. Kaa, E. (2021). *Ngā Pākau ō Te Koukou*. [Repurposed black fabric]. Private collection. 92
Figure 59. (a) Kaa, E. (2020). Kareao, Waitomo. [Photograph]; (b) Kaa, E. (n.d.). My childhood home behind crayfish pots with construction stand to the right. [Photograph]; and (c) Kaa, E. (n.d.). My father constructing crayfish pots. [Photograph]. 94
Figure 60. Kaa, E. (2022). Experimenting with kareao and fabric. [Neck adornments, kareao encased and embellished with fabric scraps]. 94
Figure 61. Kaa, E. (2021-2022). Examples of reducing fabric width and weight, when no longer concerned with coverage or modesty. 95
Figure 62. Kaa, E. (2022). Final series sample: (a) side, (b) back; and (c) front view. [Repurposed black fabric, embroidery thread]. Private collection. 96
Figure 63. Kaa, E. (2022). Blanket-stitch edging. 97
Figure 64. Kaa, E. (2022). *Haehae Series*. [Repurposed black fabric, embroidery thread]. Private collection. 98

Full page figure list

Kaa, E. (n.d.). My grandmother, Celia Timoko. [Photograph]. 1

Kaa, E. (n.d.). My great grandmother, Wairau Ruma-Harding. [Photograph]. 28

Kaa, E. (n.d.). My great great aunt, Te Rangai Timoko. [Photograph]. 62

Kaa, E. (n.d.). My great great great aunt and twin sister to my great great great grandmother Kohingārua. [Photograph]. 83

Kaa, E. (2023). My older sister overlooking the atea, Tāheke Marae, Hokianga. [Photograph]. 99

Glossary

A	
aho	weft
aho poka	bias weft
ako	learning
Aotearoa	New Zealand
ārai	barrier
arero	tongue
aroha	love
atua	supernatural beings
H	
hapū	extended family
hapū wānanga	a wānanga intended for extended family
hihima	two-three ply thread suspended embellishment
hine	girl, young woman
hokohoko	second-hand shops
hukahuka	fringe, tassel
hura kōhatu	unveilings
I	
ihirangaranga	sound frequency
K	
kākahu	garments
kākahu wāhine	female clothing
ka mua	future
ka muri	past
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
karanga	formal call
kareao	supplejack
Kaupapa	garment foundation; also, topic, plan, purpose or agenda
kawe mate	returning spirit
kete	basket or kit
ki mua	forwards

ki muri	backwards
kōpū	location of initial conception
korari	flax
koruru	carved wooden face of tupuna at gable peak of a meeting house
kowhaiwhai	painted scroll pattern
M	
mana	status, spiritual power
manaia	celestial being
mana wāhine	the physical and spiritual strength of women
manuhiri	visitors
Māoritanga	culture traditions way of life
marae	the courtyard of an ancestral house and the buildings around it
maro	short kilt, loincloth or apron
matangaro	unseen energies
mātauranga	knowledge
mauri	life force or essence
maumahara	remembrance
maurua	seams
moko kauae	female chin tattoo
moteatea	laments
muka	processed flax
N	
ngahere	forest
Ngā Morehu	survivors
Ngaru Nui	great wave
Ngaru Roa	long wave
Ngaru Paewhenua	the wave that lands on the shore
ngira	needles
ngore	pompoms
K	
kaitiaki	guardians
kaitiakitangi	guardianship

karani ma	female elder
kārure	reverse twisted black tassel embellishment
kuri	dog
P	
paheke	rectangular embellishment
pākau	wings
Pākehā	person of European descent
pao	short chant
Papatūānuku	Mother Earth
para	non-fibrous leaf material
pare	door lintel
paru	mud
pihepihe	hanging embellishment similar to piupiu (curled flax strips scrapped a at intervals)
pihikete	biscuits
potae taua	head adornment
pōwhiri	formal ritual of welcoming
pūrākau	narratives
R	
raranga	weaving
reo karanga	female caller
reo tuatahi	first voice
reo ururangi	female caller during burial processes
rohe	region
rongoā	healing properties
rōpū whakaeke	entering group
T	
taha Māori	Māori character, identity
tā moko/moko	the art of tattoos, or permanent markings
tangata whenua	hosts
tangihanga	funeral
tangi	weeping, cry
taniwha	celestial beings
taonga	treasured objects

taonga tuku iho	cultural heirloom treasures
Te Ao Māori	wider Māori world view
Te Ika a Maui	the great fish of Maui (land mass)
te puna roimata	unlocking tears
Te Taiao	the natural world
Te Tai Tokerau	Northland region
tewhatewha	a wood or bone weapon like an axe
tikanga	customs, customary rituals and procedures
tohunga	expert
tohunga wāhine	expert women
tohunga whakairo	expert carver
tono	request
tuitui	sew
tūpāpaku	deceased
tūpoupou	female elders incite expressions of grief wailing
tūpuna	ancestors
tūpuna rangatira	high-ranking ancestors
U	
ūkaipō	mother, source of sustenance
unaunahi	a fish-scale carving design
W	
wāhine	women, females
wāhine atua	female gods
wāhine rangatira	high-ranking women
wāhi tapu	sacred places
waiata	songs
waka kōiwi	bone chests
wairua	non-physical spirit, distinct from the body and mauri
wairuatanga	spirituality
wānanga	usually, a marae gathering to discuss traditional knowledge, lore
wero	challenge
whānau	family
whanaunga	kin

whānau pani	the bereaved family
whare tangata	womb
whare tupuna	ancestral house
whakahoi	darts
whakapapa	genealogy
whakaeke Mai	enter into a space
whakataukī	wise proverbs
whakatangitangi	to incite crying
whakawhanaungatanga	connection through share experiences, or shared purpose
whānau wānanga	wānanga involving family
whāriki	woven mat
whenu	warp
whenua	land, placenta
wiri	trembling hands

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