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# **TĀWAKEWAKE**

## **An Historical Case Study and Situational Analysis**

**of**

## **Ngāti Ruawaipu Leadership.**



**Rarawa Kohere**

***Tihei tohi ora!***

*Tihei tohi ora te whakapapa, te whakapono, o taku manu kōrero kia tuku  
atu te aho ki te tai whakarunga ki te tai whakararo ki a Ngāti Ruawaipu  
ki a Marangairoa No1, kia pera anō koutou ki te ahikaroa o Te  
Arapangateatinuku, o te Arapangateatirangi e!.*

*Mē timata te tīramarama nuku i ā Kōpuarēhua kia kawē ai te ahi  
hīraurau hopanga ō Rūarikitua ō Waikapakapa ki te tīramarama rangi ō  
te Mimi-o-Rērēwā ō Tūpapakūrau, e!*

*Ka haere tonu te tīramarama nuku ō te whakamahi ō Maraehara kia  
tautoko ai te tīramarama rangi ō Waitaiko, ō Otihi, e!*

*Ka heke tonu te tīramarama nuku ō Mangatekawa ō Awatere kia kawē  
ai te papori mē te mahi tahi ō te whakahaere whaioro ki te tīramarama  
rangi ō Pikoko, ō Maruhou, ō Wharariki, ē!*

*Mai i te tīramarama nuku ō ōrutua, ō Horoera mē haere tahi ai te  
tīramarama rangi o te ahi hangangā ki Whakateao, ki Pouretua, ki  
Ahikāroa.*

*Mai i te kotonga hau ka rere te tīramarama nuku i te pūkenga mahi ō  
Otiki, ō Ōpure, ō Pariwhero kia hikoia te ngakau mōhio ō te  
tīramarama rangi ō Te Pito, ō Paopaoreikiura, ō Waione, e!*

*Tae tonu ra te tīramarama nuku ō te ahi whakamātauria ō Waikākā, ō  
Waioratane, ki te tīramarama rangi ō te pūkenga tinana ō Matakioire mē  
te rau ō Tāwakewake i tōna mangai, “Ē Hika Mā Ē! Huia Mai Tātou!”*

*Whāno! Whāno! Hara mai te toki!*

*Haumie ē! Hui ē! Tāiki ē!*

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# WHAKAAHU – CONTENTS

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*He taumata, he kōrero – There's fresh news at every forum.*

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## TE AU Ō NGĀTI RUAWAIPU KEI MARANGAIROA No 1.

---

Tihei Tohi Ora - Mihi.....	i
Whakaahu - Contents.....	ii
Ngā Tōpito Whenua ō Ngati Ruawaipu - List of figures, maps, photographs, and tables.....	v
Ngā Whakapotonga - Abbreviations.....	ix
Ngā Kapinga Huhua - If knowledge is gathered enlightenment will follow .....	x
Matāriki - Abstract.....	xii
Puanga - Preface.....	xiii

### Chapter 1: Ōtamarakau -

(Hiraurau Hōpanga - Problem Solving - 'Hauora').....	1
Kōpuarēhua - A legacy of concepts and processes.....	2
Rūārikitua - Broadening the vision - Research design & planning issues.....	12
Waikapakapa - Highlighting the importance of derived mechanisms .....	26

### Chapter 2: Te Mahutonga -

(Whakamahi - Implementation - 'Hawahawa') .....	35
---	----

<b>Mimi ō Rērēwā – Endurance - A research framework as an analytical tool .....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Tūpapakūrau – Implications and historical settings for metaphysical associations .....</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>Maraehara – Instigating the recognition of planning processes .....</b>	<b>65</b>
 <b>Chapter 3: Ruhi -</b>	
<b>(Whakahaere Whaioro - Self-management - 'Whakapapa').....</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>Waitaiko - A decision making paradigm - A case study and situational analysis .....</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>Ōtihi - 'Takawaenga' and the implications of unfolding cultural imperatives.....</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>Managatekawa - addressing hapu, whanau, and individual testimony and data.....</b>	<b>95</b>
 <b>Rēhua - Chapter 4 :</b>	
<b>(Ngakau-Mohio - Understanding - 'Whakapono').....</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>Awatere - Validating fundamental elements and relationships of mana .....</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>Pīkoko - Implications arising from government problems with group rights .....</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>Maruhou - The importance of being idiomatic in nature and generating alternatives.....</b>	<b>134</b>
 <b>Poutūterangi - Chapter 5:</b>	
<b>(Pāpori mē te Mahi Tahi - Social &amp; Co-operative Skills - 'Te Aotūroa')..</b>	<b>141</b>
<b>Wharariki - Utilising and maintaining traditions and custom and citizenship .....</b>	<b>142</b>
<b>Ōrutūa - Opposing identities built on moving wealth from the bottom to the top.....</b>	<b>154</b>
<b>Horoera - The importance of promoting sustainable development .....</b>	<b>161</b>
 <b>Uruāo - Chapter 6:</b>	
<b>(Hangangā - Creativity - 'Ngā Taonga Tuku Iho').....</b>	<b>167</b>
<b>Whakateāo-Custom law and practice must be modified to adapt to change.....</b>	<b>168</b>
<b>Pouretua - Individual and whanau 'kaitiaki roles' in hapu development .....</b>	<b>171</b>
<b>Ahikāroa - The importance of implementing hapu and whanau planning.....</b>	<b>189</b>

## **Whānui - Chapter 7:**

<b>(Pukenga Mahi - Work and Study Skills - 'Tūrangawaewae')</b> .....	198
<b>Ōtiki</b> - Governance imperatives in Crown- Tribal situational analyses .....	199
<b>Ōpure</b> - Ngati Ruawaipu land, identity, capitalism and relationships.....	210
<b>Pariwhero</b> - The importance of environmental analysis.....	226

## **Ūetangatanga - Chapter 8:**

<b>(Whakamātauria - Evaluation - 'Whanaungatanga')</b> .....	232
<b>Te Pito</b> - Correlating sustainable decision making protocols.....	233
<b>Paopaoreikura</b> - Facilitating resource rights access to offset government policy.....	245
<b>Waione</b> - The importance of operational planning .....	248

## **Autahi - Chapter 9:**

<b>(Pūkenga Tīnana - Physical Skills – 'Tikanga')</b> .....	261
<b>Waikākā</b> - Illuminating protocols and the significance of feedback pathways.....	262
<b>Waiōratāne</b> - Developing a participatory model - an intergenerational challenge .....	274
<b>Matakiore</b> - The importance of associations of use.....	289

## **Ngā Kapinga Huhua – If knowledge is gathered enlightenment will follow**

<b>Ngā Rārangi Kai Tuhi – Bibliography</b> .....	303
<b>Ngā Kupu Pou - Glossary</b> .....	319
<b>Ngā Tāpiritanga – Appendices</b> .....	335

---

**Ngā Tōpito Ropi, Māhere, Whakaahua, Whakatakotoranga -  
List of cameos/figures, maps, photographs, and tables.**

<b>Ngā Ropi:</b>			<b>Page</b>
Cameo	1.1	Hiraurau Hopanga	2
Cameo	1.2	Te Āotūroa	4
Cameo	1.3	Māmahi	6
Cameo	1.4	Tātaitanga	7
Cameo	1.5	Mana Pōhewa	7
Cameo	1.6	Whakatakotoranga Ihi	8
Cameo	1.7	Whātau	8
Cameo	1.8	Huanga	8
Cameo	1.9	Whakaaroaro	9
Cameo	1.10	Tauira	10
Cameo	1.11	Takapiringa Whakahuahua	10
Cameo	1.12	Hononga	10
Cameo	1.13	Te Peapea	12
Cameo	1.14	Te Aronui	19
Cameo	1.15	Te Aroroa	27
Cameo	1.16	Te Arotāea	29
Cameo	2.1	Whakamahi	37
Cameo	2.2	Kapokapo	39
Cameo	2.3	Poutahi	46
Cameo	2.4	Kerelere	52
Cameo	2.5	Manawaiti	56
Cameo	2.6	Taratara	65
Cameo	3.1	Whakahaere Whaioro	71
Cameo	3.2	Māmahi	73
Cameo	3.3	Mana Pōhewa	85
Cameo	3.4	Huanga	91
Cameo	3.5	Tauira	96

Cameo	3.6	Hononga	103
Cameo	4.1	Ngākau mōhio	103
Cameo	4.2	Tataitanga	111
Cameo	4.3	Whakatakotoranga Ihi	113
Cameo	4.4	Whātau	121
Cameo	4.5	Whakaaroaro	127
Cameo	4.6	Takapiringa Whakahuahua	135
Cameo	5.1	Pāporo mē te Mahi Tahi	144
Cameo	5.2	Tirohanga Tautoko	146
Cameo	5.3	Te Whānuitanga Tātai	149
Cameo	5.4	Whakamāramatia ai, whakamanatia ai	154
Cameo	5.5	Ngā Tono kua whakamanatia	158
Cameo	5.6	Hātepe Taupatu	160
Cameo	6.1	Hangangā	171
Cameo	6.2	Te Rangahau	172
Cameo	6.3	Te Mau Kawenga	178
Cameo	6.4	Ngā Ākonga, Nuka, Aronui	183
Cameo	6.5	Ngā Mahi Wharekura	189
Cameo	7.1	Pūkenga Mahi	201
Cameo	7.2	Whakahauhau Kakama	205
Cameo	7.3	Ngā Takatu Whakarerekē	210
Cameo	7.4	Hei Pou Whakahiato	220
Cameo	7.5	Ngā Whanonga Tikanga	226
Cameo	8.1	Whakamātauria	234
Cameo	8.2	Whainiho Tonu	240
Cameo	8.3	Whakatainga Wenewene	245
Cameo	8.4	Te Taupori e Heke Mai Nei	248
Cameo	8.5	Ngā Whakatau ō te Ihi	253
Cameo	9.1	Autahi – Tāwakewake	262
Figure ✕	1.0	Te Rangihiroa Research Navigation Principles	22



<b>Ngā Māhere (Maps):</b>	<b>Page</b>
Map 1 Te Ika-a-Mauī me te rohe o Ngāti Porou	74
Map 2 Te Rohe o Ngāti Ruawaipu c 1600s	136
Map 3 Te Rohe o Ngāti Ruawaipu c 1800s	138
Map 4 Te Takiwā o Marangairoa No. 1 (Home of the Ngāti Ruawaipu)	140
Map 5 Ngā Moka a Marangairoa No. 1 – The four main land Blocks including C11-Rangiata of the Pākihi IC Block	172

<b>Ngā Whakaahua (Photographs):</b>	<b>Page</b>
<b>Photograph 1.</b> Tapu-a-Rata is in the foreground. Te Whiringa-o-Te Waiu, and Whangaokeno are in the background (Kohere collection).	4
<b>Photograph 2.</b> Matāriki (Te Papa Tongarewa).	47
<b>Photograph 3.</b> Te tohe o te kaimātaitai (Ministry of Education – Social studies)	48
<b>Photograph 4.</b> Te mahi kainga-a-kai (Ministry of Education – Social studies)	49
<b>Photograph 5.</b> Ka pu te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi (Ministry of Education – Social studies)	50
<b>Photograph 6.</b> Waiapu is in the foreground, and Hikurangi is in the background. Marangairoa No 1 lies to the North (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou, Nati-Link).	107
<b>Photograph 7.</b> Looking south to Roto Kautuku, the lake where Paieka met Hutorangi, the daughter of the chief, Te Whironui, the captain of the Nukutere waka. Perhaps it is as a result of this that Ngāti Ruawaipu say that “the mauri of Ngāti Porou resides in Roto Kautuku” (Kohere collection).	147
<b>Photograph 8.</b> Looking south from Te Koau past Punuruku and Karakatuwhero to the Whetumatarau bluffs above Te Araroa. The northern boundary of Marangairoa No 1 (home of the modern Ngati Ruawaipu), the Awatere river, lies in the distance in the middle distance. Whakararanui, Orutua, and Horoera are in the background (Kohere collection).	152
<b>Photograph 9.</b> Looking down from Otiki, are Te Repo and Tapu-a-Rata. Above Pohautūroa in the background is Ahikaroa where Tahingaroahau, the Ngāti Ruawaipu chief had his Pa. To the left, in the distance is Tamataurei Pa also one of Tahingaroahau ‘s pa (Kohere collection).	159
<b>Photograph 10.</b> Looking from above Wakori to Rengarenga and Takapautahi in the foreground. In the background from left to right are Horoera, Tamataurei, Wharenaonao, Ahikāroa, Otiki, and Whangaokena (Kohere collection)	163
<b>Photograph 11.</b> Looking north from Pouretua past Whakateao, and Parera Station.	

The Waipapa river and Horoera are in the background.	177
<b>Photograph 12.</b> Matahi Marae on the Horoera Moka, near Rangitāne Pa. Rangitāne Pa was where Tūwhakairiora settled after marrying Te Ihiko ( 'The Māori Battalion Remembers' 28-31 March 1986)	179
<b>Photograph 13</b> Wharariki is in the foreground. Beyond the bend is Otumarae. Maruhou and Hekawa are in the background	185
<b>Photograph 14.</b> Horoera School. The kaupapa was about empowerment. The discourse between Crown and Māori feature the examination of power relations (Alexander Turnbull Library East Coast collection)	197
<b>Photograph 15.</b> Mōkena Kohere 1812-1894 Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Ruawaipu, and Rongowhakaata. ( <i>Kohere whanau collection</i> ).	212
<b>Photograph 16.</b> Looking towards Te Hātepe and Waioratane. The Norfolk pine trees are near the Aratia uripa and the Waikākā stream. On the other side in the background are Kamiti, Okahu, and Hauatuu. ( <i>Kohere whanau collection</i> ).	223
<b>Photograph 17.</b> From Otiki, Te Haika and Opure are in the foreground, Takapautahi, Rengarenga and Te Pito bluff are in the background ( <i>Kohere whanau collection</i> ).	225
<b>Photograph 18.</b> East Cape in the 1920's. In the foreground is Rangiata with Otiki and Whangaokeno in the background. On a horseback journey to Gisborne in the 1880's with his father Hone Hiki, Reweti speaks of the wildness of the land (Kohere collection)	229
<b>Photograph 19.</b> Looking north past Kopuakanae and the Waikaka Stream. (Kautuku block) and Paopaoreikura. In the background are Opure, Otiki, and Whangaōkeno. (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou collection, Nati-Link )	246
<b>Photograph 20.</b> Ngāti Ruawaipu have always realised that their economic future cannot be divorced from the way their people are managed. Here some of the old ways of doing things, such as scarifying, can be complimentary to the use of modern machinery (such as the tractor in the background near the fence) (Kohere collection)	260
<b>Photograph 21.</b> East Cape 1951. The lighthouse keepers residence and East Cape School are in the foreground (Alexander Turnbull Library East Coast collection)	265
<b>Photograph 22.</b> In the year 1890 three boys, viz, Timutimu Tawhai, Rēweti Kohere, and Māui Pomare, set out on foot to visit Māori settlements in Hawkes Bay, and to preach the health of the Māori people.(Kohere collection)	271
<b>Photograph 23.</b> The Awatere River forms the northern border of Marangairoa No 1 (home of the Ngāti Ruawaipu) Here the cart was a common form of transport right through the 1950's into the 1960's (Alexander Turnbull Library East Coast collection)	278
<b>Photograph 24.</b> Marangairoa No 1 communities were isolated from the nearest towns by tidal waters and poor roading (Kohere collection)	281
<b>Photograph 25.</b> While it is realised that the economic well-being of the country is an imperative it needs to be also realised that the management of Ngati Ruawaipu hapu and whanau are equally as important and each is dependant on the other (Kohere collection)	284
<b>Photograph 26.</b> As a result of isolation causing factors such as unbridged tidal rivers, Kākā Kohere still held the mail delivery contract for the Marine Department to service	

the East Cape Lighthouse. (Kohere collection)	290
<b>Photograph 27.</b> Sunrise! Looking towards Te Whiringa-o-te-Waiu, and Whangaokena from Pohautūroa (Kohere collection)	301

<b>Ngā Whakatakotoranga:</b>	<b>Page</b>
<b>Table 1.0,</b> A Tāwakewake Conceptualisation of Ngāti Ruawaipu decision making	iii
<b>Table 1.1,</b> A Tāwakewake Conceptualisation of Ngāti Ruawaipu decision making	3
<b>Table 1.2,</b> An outline of the Tawakewake Theoretical Model	5
<b>Table 1.3,</b> Interpretations of traditional concepts and processes	12
<b>Table 1.4,</b> Outline of chapters	27
<b>Table 2.1,</b> The parameters of research	36
<b>Table 2.2,</b> Hawahawa	38
<b>Table 2.3,</b> Interpreting esoteric knowledge	41
<b>Table 2.4,</b> The verification of inputs, transformations, and oututs	56
<b>Table 2.5,</b> Research questions and interpretations	61
<b>Table 2.6,</b> The consequences of particular processes	65
<b>Table 2.6,</b> Comparing research tasks to task domain considerations	67
<b>Table 3.1,</b> ‘Whakapapa’	72
<b>Table 3.2,</b> Research methodology: concepts, processes, principles and measures	85
<b>Table 3.3,</b> Levels of research	86
<b>Table 3.4,</b> Traditional whare wānanga decision making concepts and processes	92
<b>Table 3.5,</b> Decision making and custom	96
<b>Table 3.6,</b> Evaluation of relationships	102
<b>Table 4.1,</b> ‘Whakapono’	110
<b>Table 4.2,</b> Sustainable decision making protocols	114
<b>Table 5.1,</b> ‘Whare wānanga’	143
<b>Table 6.1,</b> ‘Whare kura’	170
<b>Table 7.1,</b> ‘Papatipu’	200
<b>Table 8.1,</b> ‘Papatakotoranga’	233
<b>Table 8.2,</b> Proposed Tribal Land Divisions for possible sales	243
<b>Table 9.1,</b> ‘Tikanga’	263
 <b>Sketch 1,</b> “Ko te mea nui he tangata, he tangata, he tangata”.	 302

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## Ngā Whakapotonga – Abbreviations

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<i>AJHR</i>	<i>Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives</i>
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
AU	University of Auckland
CFRT	Crown Forest Rental Trust
<i>GNZMMS</i>	<i>Grey New Zealand Māori Manuscripts</i>
GV	Government Value
HBP	Hawkes Bay Province
<i>JPS</i>	<i>Journal of Polynesian Society</i>
<i>JRAL</i>	<i>Journal of The Royal Anthropological Institute</i>
LRF	Legal Research Foundation
MA	Māori Affairs Deposited Archives
NA	National Archives Wellington – and Other Files
NI	North Island
NZCER	New Zealand Council for Educational Research
NZJH	New Zealand Journal of History
NZPC	New Zealand Planning Council
RCSP	Royal Commission on Social Policy
RTK	Rēweti Tūhorouta Kohere Whanau Files
<i>TAH</i>	<i>Te Ao Hou</i>
<i>TNZI</i>	<i>Transactions of the New Zealand Institute</i>
<i>TPP</i>	<i>Te Pipiwharauroa</i>
<i>TT</i>	<i>Tū Tangata</i>
<i>TTT</i>	<i>Te Toa Takatini</i>
<i>TW</i>	<i>Te Wānanga</i>
<i>TWMNT</i>	<i>Te Waka Māori ō Niu Tīrani</i>
Wp	Waiapu Minute Book

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**NGĀ KAPINGA HUHUA**

**If knowledge is gathered enlightenment will follow.**

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<b>HUHUA</b>	<b>Page</b>
<b>Ngā Rārangi Kai Tuhi - Bibliography:</b>	303
<b>Ngā Kupu Pou - Glossary:</b>	319
<b>Ngā Tāpiritanga – Appendices</b>	335

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## MATĀRIKI – ABSTRACT

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*Te Āu o Tāwakewake, the wellspring of life - I belong therefore I exist. I exist therefore I am.*

This thesis, Tāwakewake,<sup>1</sup> is a case study about decision making protocols adopted by Ngati Ruawaipu. It examines decision making pathways and the significance of intergenerational transmission of knowledge from *whare wānanga* and *whare kura*. Decision making is explored through a range of themes derived from cosmological, theological, and anthropological domains of Te Āo Māori. Emanating from these themes five states of potentiality are identified: *Te Ihowai Te Wehi*, *Te Mana*, *Te Ihi*, and *Te Mākurangi*. They are used to map the long journey of a Ngati Ruawaipu history of struggle to resolve hapu and whanau issues of power and safety.

A framework, Tāwakewake, based on the writings of the theorist Nēpia Pohohū - a descendant of Tīhaere, Tamaihu, and Hinepare and a guardian of Ngati Ruawaipu knowledge - incorporates key elements of Ngati Ruawaipu mediation (*utu*) and moderation (*hoko*), their impact on decision making, and their subsequent socialisation (*manaakitanga*). In this way, a situational analysis details strategies and measures Ngati Ruawaipu took to counter hegemonic processes in defence of *takiwa*, *moka*, and *kainga*.

In drawing upon a range of testimonies, reports, and archival material, the work brings together the lived experiences of an historical sampling of people to land, and people to people interactions. The need to connect passive modes of engagement with land and with people, into pro-active forms of participation based on Ngati Ruawaipu traditions and world views is highlighted.

(Refer to Appendix 2 for Māori synopsis)

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<sup>1</sup> Tāwakewake – Taken from the taniko border of Mokena Kohere's korowai. According to Te Ao Wiremu, in 1986, Tāwakewake meant 'to resolve issues between domains'.

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## PUANGA – PREFACE

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*Conveying the genesis, the search, and the acknowledgements of Tāwakewake – its nature and its being.*

The name of the thesis, Tāwakewake - meaning to mediate, to moderate, and to socialise domains - takes its inspiration from an interpretation of the tāniko border on the korowai<sup>2</sup> of the Ngāti Porou chief, Mōkena Kohere.

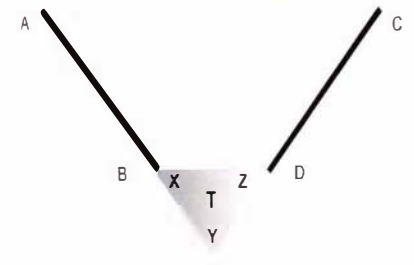
The Ngāti Ruawaipu Iwi are a people who, over centuries, have been noted for their distinctive approach to managing the affairs of their region. It is contended that although this region once extended from the Marachara to Whangapāraoa, historical developments to date now restrict this acknowledgment to the Marangairoa No. 1 block or takiwa. Despite a perception that as a result of the welding together of a disparate group of tribes by Tūwhakairiora into the united tribe now known as the Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Ruawaipu's status may have changed from that of an Iwi to that of a *hapu* (see glossary), Ngāti Ruawaipu remains a people of significance. The Marangairoa No 1 block, Ngāti Ruawaipu's home, although created by the Native Land Court, still retains the same traditional *rohe* (see glossary) boundaries as it had been at the time of the Block Committee Report in 1904.

Tāwakewake is a theoretical framework designed to assist in the conceptualisation of Ngāti Ruawaipu issues over time. To this end the thesis, both as a case study (Tuaka Pou – vertical vector) and as a situational analysis (Tuaka Pae – horizontal vector) becomes pivotal when validated by the Tāwakewake contention (Tuaka Tau – putahitanga or meeting point). The aim of this Tāwakewake matrix or model therefore, is to integrate creative processes with the wisdom of the ancestors. In effect, a theoretical paradigm (Utu - mediation), and a culture of practice (Hoko -

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<sup>2</sup> Korowai: a ceremonial cloak. Te Āo Wiremu, a Ngāti Hokopu elder, in 1988, provided the information that the name of the taniko border on the korowai of the chief Mōkena Kohere was Tāwakewake. Mōkena succeeded his elder brother Kākā-tā-rau soon after 1840. Kākā-tā-rau had been a warrior chief, achieving particular fame for assembling and leading Ngāti Porou in their last tribal battle at Toka-a-kuku. In the ensuing time of peace between the tribes Kākā-tā-rau was to sign the Treaty of Waitangi on behalf of the Waiapu tribes. According to Te Āo 'Tāwakewake' meant - to resolve issues between domains.

moderation) are to be socialised by way of a synchronising or theological adjunct, Manaakitanga (adding value).

Table 1.0		
A Tāwakewake conceptualisation of Ngāti Ruawaipu decision making.		
<p>AB -Utu</p> <p><b>Theoretical paradigm</b> Mediation</p> <p><b>Tuaka Pou –</b> Case Study (Vertical Vector)</p> <p>A – Temporal domain of potentiality (Te Ihowai) B – Stative domain of potentiality (Te Wehi) C – Spatial domain of potentiality (Te Mana) D – Attributive domain of potentiality (Te Ihi) T – Determinative domain of potentiality (Te Mākurangi)</p>	 <p>T - Manaakitanga <b>Socialisation</b> Putahitanga or meeting point at which value is added.</p> <p><b>Tuaka Tau –</b> A theological or synchronising adjunct or vector.</p>	<p>CD - Hoko</p> <p><b>A culture of practice</b> Moderation</p> <p><b>Tuaka Pae –</b> Situational Analysis (Horizontal Vector)</p> <p>X – Papatipu and Whare wānanga concepts and ideas (Whakapapa) Z – Papatakotoranga and whare kura principles and processes (Whakapono) Y – Decision Making Protocols derived from the hawahawa (Nēpia Pohohū 's contentions).</p>

At the heart of the matter has been the desire to offer a view of thought patterns, and ways of doing things as a counterpoint to the deluge of global ways of thinking that pervade contemporary life. In this respect Ngati Ruawaipu sustainability as it has been in the past, and as it might be in the future will likely depend on traditional mores being built on the successful transmission of relevant Ngati Ruawaipu knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values. Such a counter-point envisages that optional solution based traditional pathways can be aligned with contemporary strategic and managerial building blocks.

### ***The Search***

In the early settlement of Aotearoa and in the contact and post contact history of the colonisation of New Zealand, the bias, of the settlers or at least the missionaries, was clearly transparent in their references to the oral transmission of Māori tradition as *myth*. By the turn of the century despite the collection of a substantial range of



traditional knowledge and custom, social anthropologists continued in the same vein, referring to such material as unreliable.

Sir George Grey and other early collectors took it upon themselves to reinterpret Māori tradition in ways that conformed to their own understandings of the way of the world. As a result the popular view of the Māori presence here stemmed back to Māori settlement by canoes of a Great Migration, thought to have taken place at around 1350<sup>3</sup>. Accompanying that view was the suggestion that a Hawaiikian peoples conquered and eliminated a Moriori tangata whenua.<sup>4</sup>

When Elsdon Best was conducting ethnocentric research in Tuhoe in 1907 for his book in 1925<sup>5</sup>, and Raymond Firth's thesis, *Economics of the New Zealand Māori* was being written in 1921<sup>6</sup>, social anthropologists were again revisiting the old dogmas. By examining the tribal organisations of the Whakatāne and Urewera as *tangata whenua* (see glossary) however, Best was able to illustrate the relationship between the early Polynesian settlers and the impact of the Mataatua Waka migration. With Puhi and most of the expeditionary members continuing on to Te Tii only Toroa, Muriwai, Wairaka, and Tōroa's immediate family remained. All married local people, even to the extent that they themselves may have been descended from Toi Te Huatahi and /or Toi Kairākau. As an historical document, readers are therefore presented with a history that depends heavily on oral tradition as a valid form of historiography.

Successive tribal histories followed to carve out their particular traditions by way of emphasising their Hawaiikian genealogies before going on to critique the rationales for favouring certain sites and not others for settlement. In these, particular events of the journey noted for example in the Arawa Canoe tradition, were explained in a

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3 Sorrenson, M,P,K, 1988, (ed.) *Na To Hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend. The Correspondence Between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, Vol III*, Auckland University Press, p.73. Ngata to Buck 22 March 1933.

4 N.B. Kahukura, original owner of the Tokomaru waka, and grandson of Kahutiaterangi, had two grandsons Rongomaiwhenua and Ruanuku who came to Taiharakeke at Waipiro Bay from Taranaki. Ruanuku's daughter Motuariki, married Paikea's son Rongomaituahu, the captain of the Tere Anini waka. The Ngāti Ruanuku of Waipiro Bay and Whareponga derived their name from this ancestor. After a while Rongomaiwhenua took command of the Karaerae waka and crossed over to the South Island and then to Rekohu (Chatham Islands) where according to Mouriuri tradition, was the first ancestor to dwell there.

5 Best, Elsdon, 1925, Tuhoe, The children of the Mist: A sketch of the Origin, History, Myths and Beliefs of the Tuhoe Tribe, Wellington, N.Z. : Board of Māori Ethnological Research for the Author and on behalf of the Polynesian Society, 1925.

6 Firth, R.W, 1959, *Economics of the New Zealand Māori*, Government Printer, Wellington.

super-natural focus. The selections of particular locations centred round the Rotorua and Tarawera regions are important in so far as they explain why the Arawa did not, for example, settle in the Tauranga area. The extension of the Arawa tradition to incorporate the Tūwharetoa region of Taupo adds another dimension, as do the settlements of the Ngati Hei on the Coramandel peninsular.

The updating of the transmission of knowledge strands inherent in the conceptual Tāpere-nui-a-Whātonga legacy must be made accessible if they are to be applicable in order to inform both urban based and rural – kin – whanau - collectives. Added to this issue is a related consideration arising from the fact that some eighty percent of Ngati Ruawaipu now live outside the Marangairoa No. 1 *takiwa* (see glossary). It is clear therefore that Ngati Ruawaipu are not a homogenous group and like other tribes today, their urban migration experience has been an important part of the tribes journey.

The decision to build this thesis around a case study and a situational analysis, came from an opportunity to explore the nature of Ngati Ruawaipu existence. The key influences on the final selections of specific decision making protocols eventually came to be based around the relationship of the two Nēpia Pohohū contentions. The course of such investigations began with a recognition of the *hawahawa* (see glossary) (that is Io-Matua-Kore) between the two manifestations of Io-te-Waiora and Io-te-Whiwhia and inevitable genealogical sequences centred the Tāwakewake research on Ngati Ruawaipu relationships.

The thesis, of course, could not have been written, without addressing the dichotomy between Māori knowledge, western thought processes and two sets of conventions – the Māori - pākehā discourse. Whakapapa and genealogical references have been offered because of the need for readers to understand the reasons why specific actions were taken by specific Ngati Ruawaipu hapu and whanau groupings against or with other close hapu and whanau groupings. Because the framework was built around cosmological, theological, and anthropological domains, whakapapa or genealogy are used to provide the threads or *aho mātua* (see glossary) around which the thesis framework has been integrated.

Nēpia Pohohū and Mohi Ruatapu were identified as the Ngati Ruawaipu tōhunga who emphasised the importance of the *takawaenga role*. This role is significant in

validating the inter-generational transfer of knowledge, skills, and understandings - not to be confused with the research methodology references themselves.

There are three research goals that have been conceived in order to explore the five notions of potentiality terrain. The first was to develop Nēpia Pohohū's contentions on the Io-te-Waiora and Io-te-Whiwhia manifestations of Io-Matua-Kore by researching relations of fixation and variation beginning with but not being limited to, the tōhunga Mohi Ruatapu's writings on whakapapa. From this point, the intention was to align the two theorists in order to understand *whose interests are being served*. This concept, Utu, in Māori terms, is based on observed phases of the genealogical hawahawa (as in the ventricle function of the heart in the processing of arterial and venous blood flow to sustain life) that arise as *Te Rā*, and *Te Mārama* genealogies (see glossary) These genealogies project Nēpia Pohohū's *aho mātua* contentions<sup>7</sup> (from Te Kūnenga to Pūrehuroa and thence to Ranginui-e-tū-nei), and from Te Kore to Ōranga (and thence to Papa-tua-nuku) derived from Io-Matua-Kore, as a single continuum principle.

The second research goal was to identify the applications of five observed phases of the genealogical hawahawa to sustain a culture of practice (Hoko – moderation) which would be inclusive of, and be driven by values centred around Ngā Tāonga Tuku Iho (qualifying temporal notions), Tūrangawaewae (qualifying stative notions), Te Āo Turoa (qualifying spatial notions), Whanaungatanga, (qualifying attributive notions), and Tikanga (qualifying determinative notions). A research analysis model based on these five notions of potentiality utilised twelve cognitive criteria to make observations and research the application of Tāwakewake theory (*as in a culture of practice*) to address the issue of *how the problems of the world are solved over time*.

The third research goal was to formulate from whakatauki, pēpeha, or other forms of wisdom in the Whare wānanga and whare kura traditions. These research goals in turn have been implemented in the text writing plan in which five sections are incorporated into each of three chapter parts. It is a frequent Māori experience that sustainable development belief systems have been passed on from grandfather, father or mother or other whanau member to their mokopuna in that form. The deployment of this technique extends a continuum through Nēpia Pohohū, Moihī Mātorohanga,

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<sup>7</sup> Pohohū, Nepia, in Smith, S, Percy, 1913, *The Lore of the Whare-wananga - Te Kauaerunga or The teachings of the Māori College - Things celestial*, in *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol, III, Printed: Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, p.11.

Mohi Ruatapu, Pita Kapiti, Mohi Tūrei, Keeti Ngātai, Rēweti Kohere, Kākā-tā-rau 2, Koro Dewes, Waiotcora Wanoa, and Te Rerehau Pōtae to the researcher. Not only did this technique appeal as a genuine Ngati Ruawaipu tradition in its own right, but it also allowed the researcher to endeavour to develop events and their associated dynamics into an integrated contemporary decision making matrix - Tāwakewake.

The thesis is based on both written and oral sources within tribal contexts. Many of the ideas and values that have surfaced and discussed need to remain the special knowledge of the Ngati Ruawaipu. Since much of this information has been handed down from one generation to another an important task for tribal researchers has been to distinguish between material that can be introduced into the public domain, and material that ought to remain unpublished, at least in terms of a thesis. Nonetheless the thesis discusses tribal traditions as they have been received and understood. The process, though different, from generations past, should be viewed as being both true to tradition while at the same time being consistent with contemporary circumstance.

This thesis is heavily weighted - both in terms of the classical metaphysical and theological phases of development preceding the Māui journey to Āotearoa, as well as in the migratory and settlement terminology of evolving iwi, hapu, and whanau – on structures associated with Ngati Ruawaipu. What has been avoided however – apart from the base Ngati Ruawaipu founding hapu - has been the freezing of whakapapa lines with genealogical tables, as these often infer relations that are not always what they seem. Eventually these founding hapu, distant in time and nature (almost as distant from the present as Ruawaipu), have been replaced by constituent whanau as hapu in their own right. In this thesis the researcher has, for political reasons, deferred from referring to Ngati Ruawaipu as an Iwi and instead has chosen to refer to Ngati Ruawaipu as a hapu of the Ngati Porou.

In general terms whakapapa that relate to other iwi have not been used in a controversial manner. The only possible divergence, has been to present Tūmatauenga, Rongomaraeroa (Rongomatāne), and Haumietiketike and others as Tāne-Matua's children who engage with Tāne's siblings, most notably with Whiro and with Tawhiri-Mātea. The subtlety of the relationships (subsumed within the Hawahawa) that parallel each other are contextualised within the chapter parts.

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A number of specific people with land, or people with people discussions that the researcher has had will not be included in these acknowledgements. The discussion issues and proposed solutions reached will have been aligned however within research pathways evidenced in the text writing plan. Specific and individual testimonies best known to the researcher to fulfil particular research requirements while not acknowledged here, will be outlined elsewhere. The intention in the latter part of the thesis was to ensure, that key hapu and extended whanau relationships built over the Ngata and Labour Government years, or tolerated under the isolation of a more contemporary twentieth century existence would not be lost. Each of these have been layered in with the evolving decision-making strands characteristic of the idiom and character of Ngati Ruawaipu sustainability over time.

The thesis emphasis on specific moka is a reflection of the writer's papatipu connections and may, as a consequence, be reflected in the weighting of detail in some instances. In an endeavour to balance this, differing measures and values from a range of periods have been used to highlight key contests and associated mediation protocols considered to characterise the overall Ngati Ruawaipu context. I am grateful therefore to Te Kapunga (Koro) Dewes, Waioteora (Stone) Wanoa, and Te Rerehau (Sonny) Pōtae and acknowledge their guidance as key *kai-tiaki* (see glossary) particularly in regard to the Horoera, and the Whakaaraaranui moka.

The relations arising from these modes of tribal and sub-tribal distribution have been, are being, and are always going to be determined by all the Ngati Ruawaipu stakeholders of all the kainga within all of the moka that make up the Marangairoa No. 1 takiwa. For this reason the writer acknowledges that the mandates and the

representational rights to write on behalf of all of Ngati Ruawaipu is not complete. It is apparent however that for reasons of practicality, only a selected range of testimonies in the contemporary sense could realistically be selected for use.

A necessity to make everything more explicit has required quite detailed research, and so untold stories have therefore had to be subsumed. Key sampling of a modern Ngati Ruawaipu perspective has been telescoped down to detail associations linked to the writer's experience in order to illustrate the increasing diversity of pressures placed upon stakeholders, both urban and rural.

In this regard, the thesis research has benefited greatly from the availability of case material and detailed reports, correspondence, minute books and biographies from whanau archives. For these opportunities I am grateful to the Ngati Piritai Trustees for their permission and support for the research project.

I owe a great debt to the peers of my generation inclusive of the mokopuna of Rēweti, Kuata, Poihipi, and Henare for their kinship, interest, and continuing acknowledgment and support for the intent, value and worth of this research. No one who conducts a research of this nature should take for granted the importance of earning respect from hapu and whanau stakeholders. As is indicated in the sequencing of selected Ngati Ruawaipu testimonies and histories - each stakeholder by definition will have a profound influence upon the shared roles and responsibilities of other stakeholders whether in a collective or individual sense.

Finally I thank the members of my immediate family for being there through the very real challenges of writing a doctoral thesis. My wife Kim, over and above the demands of her work place and managing the family home has been my greatest supporter. I acknowledge my daughter Kristen who brought a sharp legal perspective to many aspects of the thesis development and seldom left any comfort zones for me to languish in. I am grateful to my other daughter Keita who simply brought an intuitive aspect to issues raised – and reminded me of just when a spade ought to be called a spade. I thank a number of friends who were significant in being there and being available to walk the talk when others, simply had no more petrol in the tank. Finally, I thank my family and I owe a great debt to you all. I thank you Kim, Kristen and Keita, Malcolm, Kākātārau, and Tūhaka for your love and support.