

MĀORI-TŪHOE EPISTEMOLOGY:
STAGES OF SUSTAINING TRIBAL IDENTITY
THROUGH TŪHOE PERFORMING ARTS

by

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ABSTRACT

Many Indigenous peoples cite the processes of colonization as the single greatest contributor to the loss of language, culture, land, and tribal practices. In 1971, the Tūhoe tribe of the Eastern Bay of Plenty in New Zealand established Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe (The Unique Gathering of Tūhoe) to retain their culture and language. This bi-yearly, performative arts gathering affords those tribal members living outside of the region the opportunity to return to their tribal lands to rekindle kinship ties and tribal practices. This dissertation focuses on the experience of being Tūhoe, as described by a single participating haka (song and dance) group (Ngāti Haka-Patuheuheu). It identifies how people develop and sustain their individual and collective tribal identity through Māori performing arts and how Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe contributes to the continued transformation of Tūhoe self-determination.

In order to focus on the experience of Tūhoe identity, this dissertation poses two major research questions: (1) How is Tūhoe epistemology transmitted/transformed through traditional performing arts? And (2) How does Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe sustain tribal identity?

Māori-Tūhoe identity is centred on their language and culture; therefore, this research was conducted in a culturally sensitive and community-centred manner. A Kauapapa Māori Research Approach and a Māori Centred research approach enabled the Māori-Tūhoe participants to share their knowledge(s), epistemology, ontology and pedagogy for developing their identity. I examined emerging trends in the development of Tūhoe identity through interviews, focus groups, observations, scholarly literature, and personal experiences. In order to ensure the development and sustainability of Tūhoe identity, it is

essential for Tūhoe to develop both an individual and collective identity, which will challenge them to develop their knowledge and understanding of how and what Tūhoe identity is.

Performing Arts, for Māori-Tūhoe, are an integral component of developing who the Tūhoe are: they enable the transmission/transformation of knowledge(s), create a place to encourage tribal identity, and act as a site of resistance to new forms of colonization.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
LIST OF PICTURES.....	xiv
LIST OF MAPS	xv
HE KARAKIA	xvi
MIHI	xvii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xviii
DEDICATION	xxi
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
Staging the Overall Thesis	1
Opening	2
Introduction.....	2
1.1 The Role of Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe.....	3
1.2 Statement of Purpose.....	4
1.3 Thesis Parameters.....	4
1.4 Thesis Organization	5
1.5 Situating the Researcher	10
1.6 Journeying Forward... ..	14
1.7 The Research Begins... ..	19
1.8 Research Approach	20
1.9 In the “Mist” of Theory	22
1.10 Defining Epistemology.....	25
1.11 Māori-Tūhoe Epistemology.....	27
1.12 Defining Ontology	29
1.13 Defining Tikanga Māori (Māori Ontology)	31
1.14 Defining Pedagogy	31
1.15 Defining Ako Māori (Māori Pedagogy).....	32

1.16	Performative Praxis	33
1.17	Participating in the Mārae – the Foundations of Knowledge(s)	34
CHAPTER 2.....		35
Setting the Stage: a Narrative Perspective		35
Opening		36
Introduction.....		36
2.1	Part One: Ko au ko koe – ko koe ko ahau (I am you – and you are me).....	37
2.1.1	Whānau (family/extended family).....	37
2.1.2	Hapū (sub-tribe).....	39
2.1.3	Īwi (tribe).....	41
2.1.4	Waka (canoe)	42
2.1.5	Whare Wānanga (house of learning or house of teaching).....	44
2.1.6	Marae (traditional meeting places).....	45
2.1.7	Hui (gathering)	46
2.1.8	Tikanga (principles)	47
2.1.9	Kawa (procedures).....	48
2.1.10	Whānaungatanga (kinship)	49
2.1.11	Whakapapa (genealogy).....	49
2.1.12	Te Taiāo (environment)	51
2.1.13	Ngā Kōrero Pūrākau (tribal narratives)	53
2.1.14	Te Reo ā Īwi (tribal dialect)	55
2.2	Part Two: Mā te kōrero ka mōhio, mā te mōhio ka mātau, mā te mātau ka mārama (when we communicate, we know; when we know, we understand; when we understand, we are enlightened)	58
2.2.1	Empiricism vs. Rationalism.....	59
2.2.2	Truth, Belief and Justification.....	61
2.2.3	Place: Space and Time.....	62
2.3	Phases of Individual Decision Making.....	65
2.4	Stages of Collective Decision Making:	68
2.5	Reflection.....	72

CHAPTER 3.....	73
Stage Rehearsal – Methodology.....	73
Opening	74
Introduction.....	74
3.1 A Māori – Centred Qualitative Research Approach.....	76
3.2 Kaupapa Māori Research Approach.....	77
3.3 Paradigms and Paradigm Shifts.....	80
3.4 Māori Research Paradigm Net.....	82
3.5 Case Study versus Ethnography and Auto-Ethnography.....	84
3.6 Selection of Research Participants and Interview Locations	87
3.6.1 Difficulties Surrounding the Research	87
3.6.2 Engaging the Participants	87
3.6.3 The Research Site.....	92
3.7 Values and Ethics Guidelines	92
3.7.1 Personal and Tribal Accountability	94
3.7.2 Informed Consent.....	96
3.7.3 Maintaining Privacy and Confidentiality.....	97
3.8 Analyzing the Data.....	99
3.9 Reflection.....	103
 CHAPTER 4.....	 105
Personal Stages of Development: Introducing the Author	105
Opening	106
4.1 Growing up Tūhoe.....	108
4.2 Heaven or Hawaiki.....	112
4.3 Return to The Mountains.....	114
 CHAPTER 5.....	 116
Māori Stages of Development.....	116
Opening	117
Introduction.....	117

5.1	The Māori of New Zealand	118
5.2	Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi.....	119
5.3	Māori and the Land.....	122
5.4	Māori and Education	124
5.4.1	Whānau and Language	124
5.5	Māori and the Haka.....	128
5.5.1	Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Society.....	129
5.5.3	Contemporary Māori Performing Arts – The Super 12 Festival	133
5.6	Reflection.....	134
CHAPTER 6.....		136
Tūhoe Stages of Development.....		136
Opening		137
Introduction.....		137
6.1	History of the Tūhoe Nation.....	138
6.2	Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu ki Waiohau	147
6.3	Tūhoe of Today	148
6.4	Children of the Mist or Guerrillas in the Mist	149
6.4.1	The New Zealand Terrorism Suppression Act of 2002	152
6.5	Reflection.....	155
CHAPTER 7.....		156
The Learning Stage: The Case Study.....		156
Opening		157
7.1	Introduction	157
7.2	The Male Focus Group	159
7.2.1	The Male Focus Group on Ontology – (how is it that we are who we are?)	159
7.2.2	The Male Focus Group on Epistemology – (how is it that we know what we know?).....	161
7.2.3	The Male Focus Group on Pedagogy – (how can we teach what we know through Māori performing arts?)	163

7.3	The Female Focus Group	164
7.3.1	The Female Focus Group on Ontology – (how is it that we are who we are?)	164
7.3.2	The Female Focus Group on Epistemology – (how is it that we know what we know?).....	166
7.3.3	The Female Focus Group on Pedagogy – (how can we teach what we know through Māori performing arts?)	167
7.4	Tāne.....	169
7.4.1	Tāne on Ontology	169
7.4.2	Tāne on Epistemology	170
7.4.3	Tāne on Pedagogy	171
7.5	Tame Iti.....	172
7.5.1	Tame Iti on Ontology.....	172
7.5.2	Tame Iti on Epistemology	176
7.5.3	Pedagogy.....	178
7.6	Daphne.....	180
7.6.1	Daphne on Ontology.....	180
7.6.2	Daphne on Epistemology	181
7.6.3	Daphne on Pedagogy.....	182
7.7	Rita.....	184
7.7.1	Rita on Ontology.....	184
7.7.2	Rita on Epistemology	185
7.7.3	Pedagogy	189
7.8	George.....	191
7.8.1	George on Ontology.....	191
7.8.2	George on Epistemology	192
7.8.3	George on Pedagogy.....	193
7.9	Hera	195
7.9.1	Hera on Ontology	195
7.9.2	Hera on Epistemology.....	197
7.9.3	Hera on Pedagogy.....	199
7.10	Ameria.....	200

7.10.1	Ameria on Ontology	201
7.10.2	Ameria on Epistemology	201
7.10.3	Ameria on Pedagogy	204
7.11	Hōhepa.....	205
7.11.1	Hōhepa on Ontology.....	205
7.11.2	Hōhepa on Epistemology	207
7.11.3	Hōhepa on Pedagogy.....	210
7.12	TR.....	213
7.12.1	TR on Ontology	214
7.12.2	TR on Epistemology.....	214
7.12.3	TR on Pedagogy	215
7.13	Yvonne.....	218
7.13.1	Yvonne on Ontology.....	218
7.13.2	Yvonne on Epistemology	219
7.13.3	Yvonne on Pedagogy.....	222
CHAPTER 8.....		225
Progressive Stages: Trails to Enlightenment.....		225
8.1	Introduction	226
8.2	The Piupiu as an Identity Framework	227
8.3	Analogy of "The Piupiu"	230
8.4	Part One: Tātou katoa - Tātou ka toa (collectivity ensures a great outcome for all)	233
8.5	Analyzing the Data	233
8.6	Phase One: Reflection	235
8.6.1	Principles	235
8.6.2	Individual Decision Making.....	237
8.7	Phase Two: Reclamation	239
8.7.1	Principles	239
8.7.2	Individual Decision Making:.....	242
8.8	Phase Three: Revision.....	243

8.8.1	Principles	243
8.8.2	Individual Decision Making:.....	245
8.9	PART TWO: Ehara I te mea poka hou mai nei, nō Hawaiki mai ano.....	246
8.10	Stage One: Mōhiotanga (understanding)	248
8.10.1	Learning Who We Are as a Tribe: Whānau and Marae.....	248
8.11	Stage Two: Mātauranga (knowing)	250
8.11.1	Practicing Who We Are as a Tribe: Hapū and Īwi.....	250
8.12	Stage Three: Māramatanga (enlightenment).....	251
8.12.1	Challenging Who We Are as a Tribe: Waka and Wānanga.....	251
8.13	Informing our Future: Today’s Legacy for Tomorrow’s Progeny	253
8.13.1	Assessment /Evaluation	256
8.14	Conclusion.....	259
BIBLIOGRAPHY		265
APPENDIX A:		275
GLOSSARY.....		275
	Glossary of Māori Words	275
	Glossary of Māori Terms.....	278
	Aconymns.....	279
APPENDIX B:.....		281
	Ethics Approval.....	281
APPENDIX C:		282
	Letter of Initial Contact for Expert Interviews.....	283
APPENDIX D:.....		284
	Letter of Initial Contact for Focus Groups	285
APPENDIX E:		286
	Transformation Through Māori Traditional Performing Arts	286
	Semi-Structured Interview Questions	287
	PhD Interview Questions – Transformation.....	287
APPENDIX F: CONSENT FORM		288
	Transformation Through Māori Traditional Performing Arts.....	288

APPENDIX G:.....	291
Questionnaire for Participants.....	291
APPENDIX H:.....	295
Letters of Invitation	295
APPENDIX I:.....	301
Māori Performing Arts in the Curriculum.....	301
APPENDIX J:.....	304
Other Relevant Material	304

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The developing view of Tangaroa.....	65
Table 2: Paradigm Reversal.....	82
Table 3: Using the Analytical Framework.....	104
Table 4: Adapted from Geneological Table No.7	143
Table 5: Hapu of Tuhoe	146

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The Eclectic Trail.....	14
Figure 2: Irwin's Model	69
Figure 3: Māori Research Paradigm Net.....	85
Figure 4: Selected Participants.....	93
Figure 5: Analytical Framework	103
Figure 6: Tuhoe Identity Framework	233
Figure 7: Sustaining Tribal Identity: Individual Development	235
Figure 8: Sustaining Tribal Identity: Collective Development.....	249

LIST OF PICTURES

Picture 1: Dedication Photos	xv
Picture 2: Female Faces of Tuhoe.....	108
Picture 3: A portrait of my father	112

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: A map of the Tuhoë Boundaries 141

HE KARAKIA

Tēnei au, tēnei au, te hōkai nei i taku tapuwae
Ko te hōkai nuku, ko te hōkai rangi,
ko te hōkai a to tīpuna a Tānenuiārangi
i pikitia ai ki te rangi-tu-hāhā, ki Tihi o Manono
i rokohina atu ra ko Io-te-matua-kore anake
i riro iho ai ngā kete o te Wānanga
ko te kete Tuauri
ko te kete Tuatea
ko te kete Aronui
ka tiritiria, ka poupoua ki Papatuānuku
ka puta te ira tangata ki te whaiāo
ki te ao mārama.

ŌKU PĒPEHA

Ki te taha o tōku pāpā

Ko Maungapōhatu te Maunga
Ko Ōhinemataroa te Awa
Ko Papakainga te Marae
Ko Kourakino te Whare Tīpuna
Ko Ngāti Koura te Hapū
Ko Tūhoe te Iwi
Ko Mataatua te Waka

Ki te taha o tōku māmā

Ko Hikurangi te Maunga
Ko Rangitāiki te Awa
Ko Waiohau te Marae
Ko Tama-ki-Hikurangi te Whare Tīpuna
Ko Ngāti Haka me Patuheuheu ngā Hapū
Ko Tūhoe te Iwi
Ko Mataatua te Waka

Ko Tina Ngāroimata Thompson-Fraser ahau

MIHI

Hoki kōmuri ana ngā mahara, ka tangi hotuhotu te ngākau
Aue! te mamae. Aue! te mokemoke, e kai kini nei I roto I te whatumanawa
Ka hinga ngā tōtara haemata o runga I ngā maunga
Ka ngaro ngā kāka tarahae o runga I te waka
Nga manu tioriori o runga I ngā marae
Ka kore ngā kanohi o matariki
Tu kau ngā kura maunga whenua
Ka ngaro te kura tangata mate
Ka hoki ki Hawaiki, ki pāmamao, ki te hono-i-wairua
Ki te pae whakairo o ngā tīpuna
Moe mai e aku rangatira
Moe mai e aku whakaruruhau
Nā koutou nei au I opeope mai I te tīmatanga
Moe mai, moe mai, moe mai
Tūhoe nui tonu, tēna koutou katoa
Tēna koutou e tiaki tonu ana i ngā ahikā o te hau-kāinga
Koutou i whakatakoto i ngā whakaaro, i ngā kōrero e whai muri mai
I rongohia ana tēnei i te matemateaōne kei waenga i a tātou
i kitea te kotahitanga o te iwi
Tēna kua āhei ana tēnei te mea atu
He Tūhoe au
E kore tēnei e wareware

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Tēna koutou, tēna koutou, tēna koutou katoa

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the following people:



Bella Te Pera
RĀNUI

21st February 1911
to
25th November 1977



Jessica Te Pera Tania
BANTING

10th October 1976
to
12th July 1979



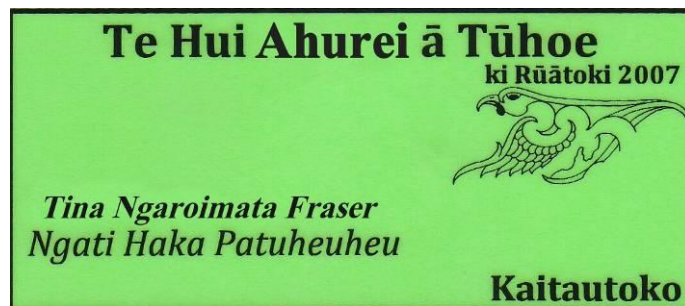
Richard Vincent Ranapia
THOMPSON-TAMEHANA

19th September 1936
to
18th February 2004

The lessons learned will forever be remembered

There is not a day that goes by without feeling your presence, your teachings and learnings are etched in my mind. This journey is perhaps the most reflective event of my life; which has magically guided me through the mist. Did you know, even though I am living half-way around the world and across the seven seas, I continually feel the calmness of our oceans, the flowing streams of tears, and the whispering of your voices. There is nothing strange about this feeling, it is meant to be. I write knowing that you are all here with me even the ancestors that departed long before your time. This is what inspires me to tell our truth, my lived experience, and the ‘legacy to journey forward’.

I will continue to move the words, the dreams, the vision through to another dimension, and when I see you all, I can say that my job is complete.



Pic 1 – The Tūhoe Ahurei stage and my entry pass 2007
(Photographed/ scanned by H Tamehana 2007)

CHAPTER ONE

Staging the Overall Thesis: Theory

Opening

Attending a native school was probably the most damaging part of my educational career. At the same time Māori language was beaten out of us, European worldviews were beaten in. We were made to understand that our ways of knowing and being were unacceptable in the eyes of the white man and if we ever wanted to survive in European society we were to discard all things Māori. This is no different from my father before. My father carried the scars of the headmaster's whip on his back and knuckles but always spoke proudly of how he and his friends would go sit in a remote corner of the school playground and converse in Māori. It was his way of defying the Pakeha¹...I see it as his contribution towards the survival of our language and our tribal identity.

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to articulate Māori-Tūhoe² world-view as communicated and expressed through the medium of the performing arts, specifically Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe (the unique, bi-annual gathering of Tūhoe); together, all these elements help to build a sustainable and functional tribal identity. This argument is interwoven throughout the thesis – in the literature review, the theory, the methodology, and the interviews conducted in my communities. I gather support for this argument through many sources, including the scholarly works of Māori-Tūhoe, Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. To set the context for the argument, this dissertation will explore why the communication of shared knowledge(s) is important. The performing arts are a site of resistance: they enable a legacy to be passed down the generations to prevent the loss of Māori-Tūhoe knowledge(s) and to ensure its survival. With respect to this dissertation, Te

¹ Pakeha is a term that is commonly used to identify the European people of New Zealand.

² Throughout this dissertation, I use the terms Maori-Tūhoe and Indigenous peoples interchangeably. Maori people are the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa (New Zealand) and the Tūhoe people are the iwi (tribal group) of the Eastern Bay of Plenty. The people of Aotearoa are also known as Tangata Whenua (people of the land).

Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe is simultaneously a site of resistance and a site for the transmission/transformation of knowledge(s).

1.1 The Role of Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe

Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe was established in 1971. Prior to the festival and apart from funerals and other tribal gatherings, there was no significant gathering like it in the region. Its origin stems from an annual gathering of the Tūhoe descendents domiciled in the two largest cities in New Zealand: Tira Hou (The Tūhoe community in Auckland) and Tūhoe ki Poneke (The Tūhoe community in Wellington). Their gathering was held annually, and the communities would come together for a weekend of sports and culture. A Tūhoe Elder (John Rangihau) saw the potential of this gathering, and in a meeting of Elders, he discussed the possibility of using this concept to bring all Tūhoe people together. A gathering of such magnitude was an opportunity to bring Tūhoe who lived outside of the region together with those who resided within Tūhoe boundaries. In an interview with Rangihau's son, the comment was made that "Tūhoe were leaving the region to find work and relocating to the urban areas. His father foresaw that Tūhoe tribal practices were at risk of being lost to those that were raised out of the traditional territory of Tūhoe." This urban migration (as explained in Chapter seven by Rita) evolved in the sixties when the government set up policies to relocate young Māori to the cities and to train them for the trades under an apprenticeship scheme.

Initially, the first Ahurei type gathering was held in Rotorua which is located within the boundaries of a neighboring tribe Te Arawa. Because Rotorua is situated towards the middle of the North Island and could easily be traveled to and from any part of the island, it seemed an ideal location. Tāne¹ remembers there being only four teams who attended the

first festival: Ruatoki, Te Tira Hou, Mataatua ki Rotorua (Mataatua derives from an ancestral canoe) and Tūhoe ki Poneke.

After the first festival in 1971, the Elders decided that this type of gathering was indeed going to be beneficial to all Tūhoe. A decision was made to take the festival back to the Tūhoe region. With the festival now held in the Tūhoe region, it was later decided that it would be held bi-annually, sharing the gathering between three Tūhoe tribal localities: Waimana, Ruatoki and Ruataahuna. Each community would take turns hosting the festival which ensured that the responsibilities of hosting such an event were equally distributed. The 2007 Ahurei hosted 17 adult cultural performance groups and 13 children's cultural performance groups, and saw an attendance of over 18000 people. Since its earliest beginnings, Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe has been a place of revitalization; a place for gathering and sharing of the Tūhoe culture to ensure sustainability and tribal identity.

1.2 Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this research is to examine tribal identity through performing arts. In order to substantiate the purpose, I seek to examine the following research questions:

- 1) How is Tūhoe epistemology transmitted/transformed through traditional performing arts?
- 2) How does the role of Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe sustain tribal identity?

The focus of this research was originally conceptualized in 2005. This was followed by an ethics approval and consultation period during 2007.

1.3 Thesis Parameters

Although the statement of purpose indicates that I seek to determine how tribal identity is sustained through Māori-Tūhoe performing arts, the thesis is guided by the

worldviews of the specific tribal group (Tūhoe) itself. As such, I am aware that the Tūhoe worldviews may clash with other Māori tribal worldviews; however, I also suspect that much of what I talk about also reflects and correlates with other tribal worldviews, and, therefore, I invite other Māori to see the relevance of this work in their own context and to make a comparison with their own tribal gatherings in the hope that this information may also aid them in understanding who they are or how they can inform their futures. Finally, while I acknowledge that a thesis must be written in an academic manner, I endeavor to write this thesis in a language that is understandable to those who may not necessarily have an academic background.

1.4 Thesis Organization

My hope is that this thesis will not only be accessible in terms of language, but also in terms of structure, so that readers will find its organization logical, cohesive, and thought-provoking. This thesis is divided into eight chapters and is ordered in much the same way as a Kapa Haka (performing group) preparing for a performance as was explained to me by Hōhepa who is a tutor and composer. Hōhepa explained that composers and tutors generally decide on which topics to write about which is normally influenced by recent tribal or sub tribal occurrences; in most cases, the tutor/composer will use personal reflection and interpretation to develop how the story will unfold in performance (unfolding theory/praxis). Next, the tutor/composer researches information that is either recorded in scholarly writings (narrative gaze) or amongst the community (Māori research approach). Tutors and composers then prioritize the information gathered and decide how best to portray these stories in an accurate manner before presenting them to the performers and will generally discuss why they have written regarding that topic and how they (the

tutor/composer) view that topic (personal stages of development). The group is then taught to understand the composer's/tutor's vision to ensure that they (the performers) portray the vision the way it is intended by the composer (Māori stages of development). The group will, in most cases, (according to Yvonne) be able to find personal relevance in the songs and messages and be encouraged to connect spiritually, mentally, emotionally, and physically to the composition and its meaning (Tūhoe stages of development). Once the bracket of songs has been completed (body actions, music, words), the group is most likely to have a dress rehearsal for their supporters and immediate family members which will lead them to their final performance at the festival (stage production). Upon completion of the performance it is expected that they will become more knowledgeable and have a more profound understanding of what they have just performed (stages of enlightenment). This thesis, therefore, can be read as the embodiment of Māori knowledge(s): the synthesis of rigorous thought and cultural reflection. Mead (1997) writes that Māori people need to be adventurous; he encourages them to travel, work, live, and educate themselves abroad. We are a part of a wider world and community (p. 246). He discusses the importance of exploring the world to advance the causes for Māori self-determination.

Prior to Chapter one I begin with a Māori karakia (prayer) situating myself spiritually, emotionally, physically, and mentally at the heart of Maungapōhatu in Te Urewera. I have deliberately left the prayer in Māori as my father always told me that the essence of these rituals is best preserved in the Māori language. This process is typical of most Māori cultural and customary practice.

Following the karakia is a mihi or acknowledgement to the people of the Tūhoe Nation; those who have passed on and those who remain on our tribal territory ensuring that the home-fires remain lit for those who have chosen to live outside of our traditional

territories such as myself. It is important for me to acknowledge the people who have shared their vision and knowledge to support this work. These commentaries are written in both English and Māori languages; furthermore, these people have also contributed to analyzing the data which I collected on my trips, and bestowed upon me their interpretations.

I have inserted a one-page dedication to my grandmother who taught me the fundamental principles of whanau (family), whanaungatanga (family connectedness), and ‘whaka whanaungatanga’ (family practice); my first child who gave me the opportunity to demonstrate those fundamental principles; and my father who spent a great deal of time with me sharing his philosophies about those principles. This dedication also includes the Elders who have gone on to the spirit world of Hawaiki and who have left behind the most valuable lesson in life: to “know oneself.”

As stated above, this thesis contains eight chapters which are symbolically tied to the stages of practice and performance of Māori-Tūhoe performing arts. I provide a brief overview of the contents of these chapters below:

1. Chapter 1: Staging the Overall Thesis

Chapter one sets the context in which this thesis is written by providing a statement of purpose, an explanation of what the thesis does and does not cover and how the thesis is organized. For the most part, this chapter discusses theory, both Western and Māori. Both forms are useful with this thesis. The chapter includes an eclectic model, which relies on a variety of methodologies and theories, including the ones which personally influence me.

2. Chapter 2: Setting the Stage – A Narrative Perspective

Chapter two is divided into two parts. Part one discusses the concepts that are found within the theoretical framework: Whanau (family), hapū (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe), waka (canoe), wānanga (institutional education forums), mārae (tradition meeting places), Hui (tribal gatherings), tikanga (principles), kawa (procedures), Whanaungatanga (family practices), whakapapa (genealogy), te taiāo (the environment), nga kōrero pūrākau (myths/stories) and te reo ā iwi (tribal dialect).

Part two discusses methods of knowledge justification: empiricism versus rationalism; place, space and time; truth, belief and justification, as well as phases of individual decision making and stages of collective decision making which are found in the identity framework found in Chapter eight.

3. Chapter 3: Stage Rehearsal – Methodology

This chapter emphasizes critical reflection of the issues that underpin Māori research and explains the methods that I employed to ensure that rules of cultural sensitivity, appropriateness, engagement, accountability and ethical considerations were met. The chapter also presents my Māori Research Paradigm and the Values and Ethics Guideline which has been adapted from an ethical framework given by Linda Tuhiwai Smith³.

4. Chapter 4: Personal Stages of Development – Growing up Tūhoe

Chapter four introduces myself and briefly details my personal journey as a child growing up Tūhoe and the lessons I learned. The chapter also discusses the influence that my family, religion, tribal values and my native surroundings have had on my life and concludes with a section that explains my journey home to rejuvenate and reground myself as I prepare to undertake my research.

³ Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (2001) Zed Books and University of Otago Press

5. Chapter 5: Stages of Development – the Māori People

Chapter five is an introduction into the world of the Māori and traces the characterization of education, social experiences, and the consistent inequality and disadvantage of Māori people in Aōtearoa/New Zealand through colonization. A point must be made that this chapter is only a brief introduction to Māori and how they relate to, or are affected by, the Treaty of Waitangi, the land, language, education, and Māori performing arts both traditional and contemporary.

6. Chapter 6: Tūhoe Stages of Development – Children of the Mist

The structure of Chapter six is unusual in that the insights into the existence of the Tūhoe people are presented from two ostensibly different perspectives. The first part describes the geographical and tribal landscape of Tūhoe (te taiāo); this part is followed by linking kinship relationships, the environment and tribal landmarks as features of Māori tribal existence. Finally the chapter follows Tūhoe through the period of early century land confiscation, to government bullying during the 2007 Terrorist Raids.

7. Chapter 7: The Learning Stage – The Case Study

As I have already intimated, there is evidence to suggest that each tribe has its own concept of Māori Performing Arts and is not always accessible or articulated as such. Instead, distinctive tribal concepts of language and customs are demonstrated in the living practices of the people. Therefore this chapter draws upon the community voices and highlights the ontological, epistemological, and pedagogical learning and teachings within each interview. This chapter concentrates specifically on the recorded interviews of a single Tūhoe performing arts group. However, interviews were conducted with other people of relevance who are well versed in the field of Tūhoe ontology, epistemology and pedagogy.

8. Chapter 8: Progressive Stages – Trails to Enlightenment

This chapter is divided into two interrelated parts, entitled Part One and Part Two. The first part revisits how the data was analyzed⁴ and describes the experience of “being Tūhoe” as told to me by the participants. Part Two discusses Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe, its relevance and importance for Tūhoe people, and the role it plays in sustaining Tūhoetanga (Tūhoe tribal identity).

1.5 **Situating the Researcher**

Because the community must approve my research, I recognize that situating myself is imperative to grounding the study in real people – respecting their philosophies and theories – which ultimately create research that is trustworthy (Lather, 1991). Lather posits that in scholarly discourse, norms and protocols are shifting; there is, therefore, a reluctance to accept research from objective observers who do not reveal their human identities as part of their research activities, which works in favor of Indigenous people. I recognize that being both Tūhoe and a Western researcher ultimately affects how and why I conduct my research.

Given the deep-rooted suspicion Māori harbor with regards to the real motives of research within their communities, the inability to deliver research outcomes cannot simply be dismissed as part and package of the research terrain. For research to be meaningful, community involvement is critical – particularly when the researchers are members of the same community. There has been much criticism from Māori about research reports being processed in language that is inaccessible to the communities being researched. McNeil (1986) reports that

⁴ Through the analytical framework of space, place, and time (analytical framework is presented in Chapter 3).

the people under study rarely benefit from the research; rather, it is the researcher(s) who accrue academic status and monetary gain rewards from the study. Furthermore the issue of relevancy needs to be addressed; who is the research for? Past experience indicates that it is the academic community who are the ultimate consumers as the language used in the finished product is usually the language of academia (p. 51).

McNeil's (1986) statement resonates with me, (and is relevant as I am both a researcher and a community member) as I am forced to consider many questions such as, "how do I write this thesis so that it meets academic requirements?" Also, "how could it be written at the community's level of comprehension without taking cultural knowledge away?"

According to Dewes (1975), a noted Māori scholar, it is a common practice when establishing contact amongst Māori to ask someone local, known and trusted through local Māori networks, to set up the first face-to-face contact. Likewise, Bishop and Glynn (1972) promote the concept of research as empowerment: research undertaken "with" a community (as opposed to "on" a community) both positively affirm the lifestyle of the community and improves the life chances of the community and its members.

While research is commonly seen as existing between the researcher and the researched, there is also a third party (a supervising committee) to consider. Ultimately, this means that I follow two sets of ethical guidelines. As a doctoral candidate, I am required to follow the ethics set out by the University of British Columbia; I also (as a member of the Tūhoe people), must adhere to the cultural processes and expectations required by this community. There must be interaction and communication between myself, the community and the committee, as throughout the various stages of this dissertation, my work will be influenced by both. Subsequently, both the community and the committee must also interact with each other in order to get to understand each other's expectations. This has been partially achieved via current technological advances, such as video conferencing,

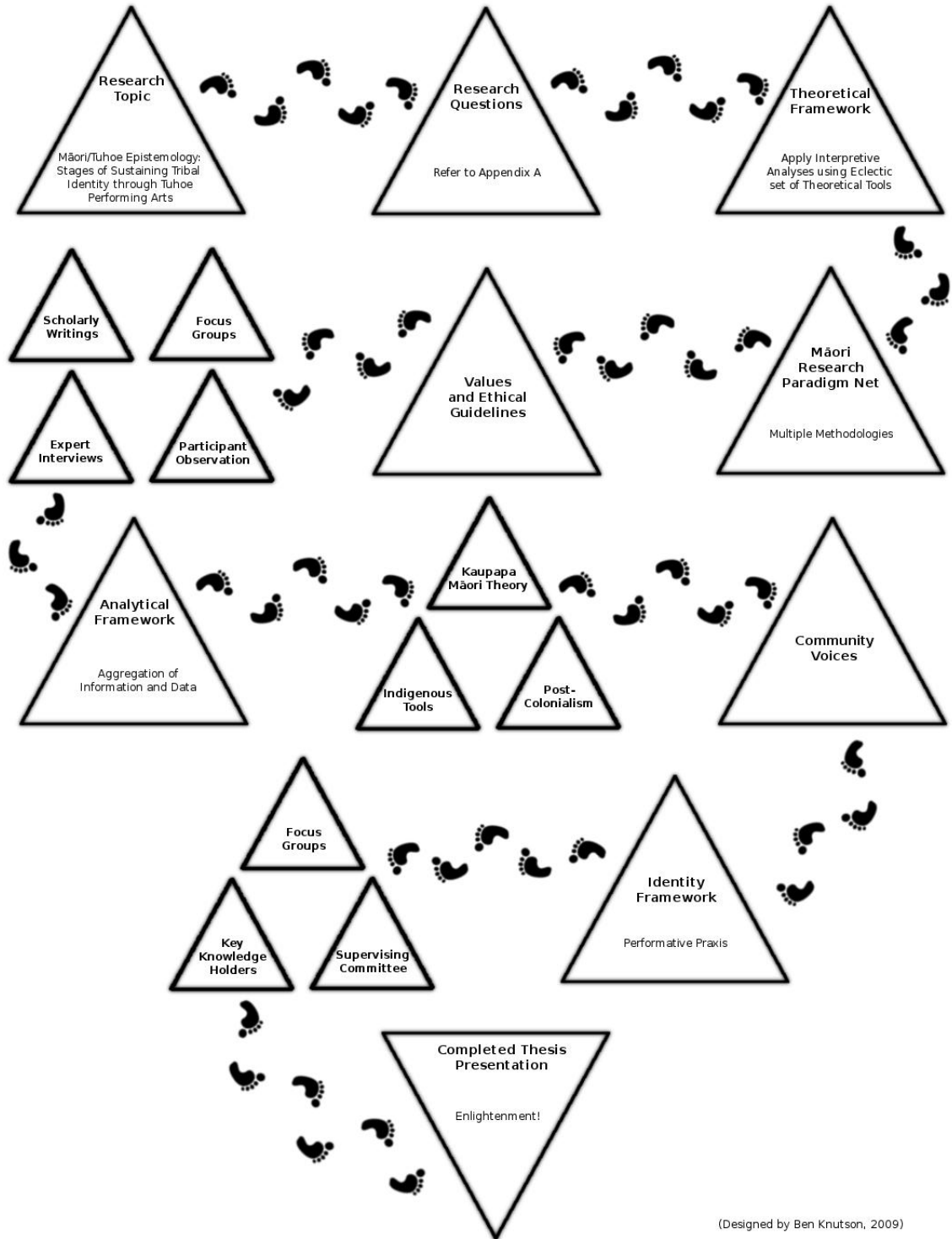
telephone, and email. In the current academic system, potential gaps in understanding exist between the researcher and the community, and the researcher and the university. Some of these gaps relate to cross-cultural “talking past each other,” and, therefore, this process inevitably leads to knowledge misinterpretation or translation error. For example, one of the challenges that Māori researchers experience is that community knowledge is contested particularly in academia (and is often categorized as myth, for example).

As a Māori-Tūhoe woman, I am proud of my heritage. This pride and interest in my culture ultimately affects how I conduct my research. However, it is important for me to point out that I have lived in northern British Columbia, Canada amongst the Dakelth⁵ people for thirty-six years. The education and life experiences I have gained in Canada have also influenced who I am now and how I should conduct my research with appropriate respect to the people hosting me in Canada. Inevitably, then, this thesis is reliant on a mix of methodologies and theoretical insights. As such, my research approach might be described as ‘eclectic.’ This strategy responds to the fact that Māori need to engage with transformation on multiple sites and in multiple ways (G. H. Smith, personal communication, April 8, 1999). Smith has argued that this approach is necessary because colonization, assimilation and oppression are not experienced as singular actions; rather, they are promulgated in many different forms and in many different places.

The following diagrammatic representation (Figure 1) attempts to simplify the complexity of such an approach by laying out the progression of the thesis and showing the relationship of various frameworks and guidelines, and how they were positioned. This model is presented with the intent of assisting the reader’s understanding.

⁵ The Dakelth people are geographically located in northern British Columbia. Dakelth is the traditional name for the Carrier people. I worked amongst people the Dakelth people, and I would therefore like to acknowledge them for their generosity and kindness.

The Eclectic Trail



(Designed by Ben Knutson, 2009)

Fig. 1 The Eclectic Trail

1.6 Journeying Forward...

In my previous life as a community nurse practitioner and living amongst the Dakelh people, I developed an appreciation for cultural history and traditional knowledge(s), and the need to preserve both. I was unaware that many Elders could have been traumatized by their past experiences and subsequent loss of identity, culture, traditions, customs and language. I was naïve about the residential school experience told to me by the Elders whom I cared for. I somehow related their cultural deprivation to hospitalization because that was the way we were trained to think.

It was not until the Elders, who were experiencing death, dying, loss and grief, pulled me aside to ask questions about my background (because I spoke with a funny accent) that I began to get a better understanding of their situation and was then able to link some of their experiences to my own. It was in these conversations that I found out about the residential school treatment they had endured. The Elders wanted to know who I was and where I came from, and asked if we had residential schools to which I replied, “yes, I attended a native school but we got to go home every day.” After listening to their horrifying stories, I was in shock, I felt humbled, and I wept. Fretting for my family because of the stories I heard, I wanted to fly home immediately but was told by my father to remain in Canada and to learn from the people of the land. When I reflect back to that day, the message my father gave me was about appreciating gifts, like stories. The stories of the past and present are opportunities for change. Though many of the Elders had not left their communities, they could relate to tribal ways of knowing and being. Just talking about New Zealand would have been more confusing for them. In this sharing of stories and knowledge I also developed lasting trusting relationships. It was from this sharing and experiencing of

stories that I became informed and developed a desire to take a proactive role in cultural revitalization.

In my second career, I became an early childhood educator and was presented with another gift. I was offered the opportunity to start a new community-based Carrier Aboriginal Head Start Program for urban Aboriginal preschoolers. I was more than happy to take on the challenge. It was a chance for cultural renewal and language revitalization. From my previous discussions with Elders, I thought about innovative ways to implement culture into preschool curriculum, not just performing mainstream nursery rhymes and dances. It occurred to me one day when I was recruiting Aboriginal families who had no knowledge about the program that perhaps they could share their most memorable cultural moment, traditional events, stories, songs, dance and drumming that might be useful in program development. I wanted the parents and families to own their children's Head Start to early learning. The program had to be culturally innovative so that early childhood educators, who were educated in mainstream early childhood development, could learn traditional childrearing practices and effective learning for young Aboriginal children. I needed the full support of the community to implement this vision.

Four years into the program, I was asked to start another Aboriginal⁶ Head Start Program, this time specifically designed to support Cree/Métis⁷ children and families. Again, I needed the support of the community: the Cree/Métis. These children would be taught the teachings of the medicine wheel. I came to realize that both programs were unique in their philosophies and their practices.

⁶ "Aboriginal" is the collective name for the original peoples of North America and their descendants.

⁷ The word 'Métis' is French for "mixed blood." The Canadian Constitution recognizes Métis people as one of the three Canadian Aboriginal peoples. "Cree" refers to another First Nations nation.

After spending many years working in the program with young children and their families and training Aboriginal early childhood educators, I came to a place of knowing that my job was complete and that I would always be there to support the program. It was time for me to move to another place in my life.

I applied to the Master's of Education Program at Simon Fraser University. Being new to higher education, critical thinking and reading, I wanted to expand the foundations which had been laid when I was a young child. I therefore began exploring Indigenous knowledge and philosophy. In one of my many classes, I witnessed new ways of learning and teaching pedagogies as demonstrated through the works of Augusto Boal, a Brazilian scholar and expert of power play that is re-enacted in the *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1979). At the same time, we were offered complementary readings such as Paulo Freire also a Brazilian educator and scholar, who wrote *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), and Bell Hooks, an African American educator, who wrote *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice Freedom* (1994). I was developing a critical consciousness of the oppression of Indigenous peoples throughout the world.

At the same time, however, I was attending classes as an Indigenous, marginalized 'other.' Not many Māori-Tūhoe people, particularly women, leave their whanau (family) for an overseas experience to seek academic education and truth. What I did learn from my experience of higher education was that critical consciousness allows us to question the nature of our historical and social situation; this reminds me to pay close attention to the onslaught of colonization (in the guise of globalization) and its continued potential to devalue Indigenous worldviews.

Later I became aware of Henry Giroux (1983) and his work on radical pedagogy. One of his quotes that has influenced my thinking was the following description on radical

pedagogy: “its spirit is rooted in an aversion to all forms of domination and its challenge centres around the need to develop modes of critique fashioned in a theoretical discourse that mediates the possibility for social action and emancipatory transformation” (p. 2). As I read his writings, what came to mind was the successful revival of te reo Māori (the Māori language). Disappointed with the socio-economic standards and depletion of the culture, Māori people advocated the establishment of language programs for infant/toddlers that emerged as Te Kohanga Reo (The Language Nest).

To finish up the semester, I was introduced to Antonio Gramsci an Italian born scholar and a Marxist thinker of critical thought. In his “Further Selections” from the *Prison Notebooks* (1999), Gramsci spoke about the role of education in maintaining a separation between “high culture and everyday life, between the intellectuals and the people...referring to academics as cultural cemeteries” (p. 145-146). I gained a new understanding about hegemony and cultural domination from Gramsci’s writings. As I came to the end of my Master’s degree with all of its learning, I was encouraged by friends and family to apply for a doctorate in Educational Studies at the University of British Columbia.

At the same time as I contemplated and solidified my desire for a Doctor of Philosophy, I was asked by Dr. Antonia Mills, an author and a professor at the University of Northern British Columbia, to teach a First Nations course on oral traditions and literature. I was later asked to develop a special interest course on oral traditions and performing arts. Because I had guest lectured in Dr. Mills’ classes on numerous occasions, the development of such a course afforded me the opportunity to implement my own learning as well as engaging other performers’ learning about their heritage. This opportunity also gave me ideas for developing a dissertation topic focused on the Kapa Haka (performing arts). I would have to return home to do the research. As a Māori-Tūhoe woman, a past performer,

a mother and grandmother, a visiting scholar and a researcher, I was determined to undertake the research. Although my knowledge was limited in Kapa Haka, I knew enough to get me started. It was my goal to return home and to meet people face-to-face.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) a Māori scholar points out, Kanohi Kitea (the seen face...present yourself to the people face-to-face). This is one of the seven key conducts from her ethical framework to which Māori researchers should adhere (p. 120). Once I returned home, it didn't take me long to seek cultural advice on how to go about researching a topic that I had not been a part of since the late 60's and early 70's. I rely heavily on my stored memories based on the teachings and the guidance of my people, Tūhoe, and my lived experience. The dialogue began with my father who found the research rather interesting. I do not think any of my family members had ever seen me perform because it was a part of the extra curricula in mainstream education. He liked the plan but wasn't too sure how to help me since he had spent most of his time supporting and observing the younger generation, family and tribal members at Kapa Haka regional competitions. My father would never speak of his involvement in the haka back in the days of his youth. He was a devout minister, who freely embraced Christian philosophies, but at the same time did not neglect tribal responsibilities; however, he certainly was the type of man who would question his own thinking and actions. For example, he would say "nowhere in the Bible did it say I could not be Māori." I spent countless hours and days listening to my father reiterate the importance of tribal language, tribal preservation and sustainability, particularly, through Kapa Haka (the performing arts).

He would continue on to say "kei roto I nga waiata nga korero a nga tipuna" translating into "the words of the ancestors are in the songs." He reminded me that it was not just about singing the songs, or performing the haka; rather, it was also about listening to

the messages embedded in the songs. The songs, chants and dances spoke about historical events, current day issues, and preparing for the future. As I was listening to him one day, he said, “if you are interested in researching knowledge and how it is transmitted through the songs, chants and dances, then you need to come home for Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe” (The Unique Gathering of Tūhoe). My father believed that “just talking about it is not useful; you need to experience and to use all your senses to get a broader scope of the whole picture.” My father would say, “try to visualize what it was like for you when you performed. Look for changes, feel the emotions and the power of language, celebrate cultural knowledge, and learn from it.” The encouragement gave me the strength to begin my journey forward.

Knowing that I had full support from my families both in Aōtearoa and Canada, I began dialoguing via telephone with my brother (a performing arts tutor, writer and composer) and mapping out communities of where I would be researching, tribal experts, and cultural performers of whom I would be interviewing. Upon completion of the required course work, comprehensive exams, and proposal writing, I earned the approval of the ethic’s board and my doctoral supervisor. I was ready to be led by the community and my brother who was selected by the family and myself to be the guide for this research on the home front.

1.7 The Research Begins...

Upon the grueling 18 hour flight home to Aōtearoa, I began to envision my research, the gathering of Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe, the people of whom I will be interviewing and the places of where I will be researching. I kept reminding myself that the research must benefit my people and the people with whom I have worked for many years. There were moments when I questioned myself asking “What if my knowledge is something of the past” or

“Should I be looking for new knowledge”? and “What exactly am I researching for”? These questions played on my mind throughout my flight. I began to re-read Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. I thought about Smith’s view on what research was about and writing that, what community research relies upon and validates is that the community itself makes its own definitions. She proceeds with examples of research projects carried out at a local community level (p. 127). My only focus was the community and their validation of my research.

The long trip home was emotionally, physically and mentally draining. I was thankful to the Creator for a safe journey home. Once I got through New Zealand customs and into the lounge where my family was waiting, a sigh of relief came upon me. After a greeting of welcome, the real agenda for the research started to look positive.

The following day, we traveled back to my birth community to meet up with the rest of the performing arts group to rehearse for Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe. Upon arrival at the mārae in Waiohau, I was informed by my brother to position myself and to observe the practice. I would present my research proposal to the community here at the gathering.

Looking forward from that beginning point, I was, and am still, struck by the necessity of ensuring that the legacy of knowledge of Tūhoe is passed on. For me, I was able to travel back to Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe and feel my culture and heritage again. My children, grandchildren, and future generations must also have this privilege; it is their birthright and history.

1.8 Research Approach

According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), the researcher, regardless of origin, must be ethical and respectful, as well as reflective and critical. She continues on to say that

everything surrounding the research must be humble. Even if the researcher belongs to the community, he/she comes to the community as a person with a different set of roles and relationships, status and position (p. 139).

In this research, relationships with whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) play a key role. They are the guides that help control knowledge synthesis, knowledge exchange and knowledge dissemination. The community must inform the researcher how to tell and write stories, and often the community will only provide a glimpse of what the researcher should know: how knowledge should be exchanged and how it should flow back into the community. This relationship can only be validated by the people in the community with whom you are researching, and it is important to keep in mind that the research is done by and for the community. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) also cautions the researchers that not all Indigenous communities are averse to such projects; they tend to be persuaded not by the technical design, however, but by the open and 'good' intentions of the researchers (p. 140).

In this research, I utilize two critical Māori approaches. The first is a Māori-centred qualitative research approach, which borrows from two disciplines – the practices that people are committed to, and the appropriate subject matters surrounding the writing of a certain topic. Qualitative research is an opportunity for me to explore an in-depth understanding of human behavior and the reasons which govern this behavior while seeking the support of documentation and scholarly writings. A Māori-centred research approach focuses on Māori values and experiences with the intent of developing Māori aspirations.

The second approach I utilize is Kaupapa Māori Research Approach; this approach shares a common thread with a Māori-centred research approach, though with some important distinctions. Graham Smith (1997), also a Māori scholar, articulates that Kaupapa

Māori is focused on the validity and legitimacy of Kaupapa Māori theory. It engages structural politics aimed at creating space for our own cultural knowledge, cultural practices and language that are otherwise susceptible to being captured by non-Māori thought. According to Smith, such thoughts rely too much on scientific positivism, technology and rationality.

The beginnings of this research started with a small conversation that I had with my father; it then grew to something of whanau (family) interest and from there to hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribal group) interest.

In this thesis, I situate my research within a Māori paradigm net that I created in order to conceptualize the positioning of worldviews. The purpose of this approach is to identify three main points: Māori potential, or self-determination and self-governance within Te Aō Māori (The Māori world); Māori influence regarding “How we can inform or be informed by other Indigenous peoples within Te Aō Taketake” (The Indigenous world); and Māori position (adapted aspects and concepts) within Te Aō Pakeha (The Western world). These three perspectives all contribute to strengthening the Māori position, and will be elaborated further in Chapter 3. An obvious parallel, then, in the development and strengthening of the Māori position is the Kapa Haka. Kapa Haka might also be a site of resistance for maintaining tribal identity and gives community members the opportunity to develop self awareness and a platform to initiate change.

1.9 In the “Mist” of Theory

“Hokia ki nga maunga, kia puhea koe e nga hau o Tawhirimatea.” When translated into English, this means, “return to the mountains that you may be caressed by Tawhirimatea.” An old Māori proverb suggests that in order for our people to be cleansed,

protected or nurtured, they must first return to their roots. If you are to be educated in things pertaining to Māori, or your identity as a Māori, then it is more appropriate to be taught by your own people, for who else knows more about Māori people than the Māori people themselves (cited in Holloway and Hubbard, 2001, p.7).

I am reminded daily as an academic, and as one living in a western-dominant cultural context, that since colonization, we (Indigenous peoples) have been educated in ways that often are totally foreign to us. We become seduced/colonized by hegemonies that reify western forms of culture and thinking, and we struggle to preserve our own knowledge(s) and our cultural identities because we are convinced that there is only one way to think.

Researchers such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), Marie Battiste, and James Henderson (2000) have all argued that culture has to be viewed as a domain of struggle where the production and transmission of knowledge is always a contested process. Marie Battiste (2000), in *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: A Global Challenge*, affirms that “most Indigenous scholars choose to view every way of life from two different but complementary perspectives: first as a manifestation of human knowledge, heritage, and consciousness, and second as a mode of ecological order” (p. 35). An example that comes to mind is how we (as Indigenous people) view the connection between land and language. “Kei roto i te whenua te reo Māori”: the language is embedded in the land. It is our human responsibility to be cognizant of the strong connections which exist between land and language. It is through these connections that we maintain cultural knowledge and cultural identity. Dominant cultures employ differing systems of meaning based on the forms of knowledge produced in their cultural domain (Giroux, 1983). Previously, I had introduced my questions in hopes of examining Māori-Tūhoe epistemology. More specifically, I am

looking at the role of tribal identity sustained through Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe (The Unique Gathering of Tūhoe).

Graham Smith (2005) in his presentation, “The Problematic of ‘Indigenous Theorizing’: Critical Reflections” noted “Theory’ is a generic gloss and that it is probably more appropriate and accurate to recognize Indigenous ‘theories. Smith also makes the point that there should be more emphasis on the term ‘Indigenous theorizing’ rather than ‘theory.’ His point is that ‘theorizing’ is the active notion of the noun ‘theory.’ When linked to praxis, it is theorizing that becomes important. I accept this idea being developed and I use the word ‘theory’ in quotation marks because its popular usage needs to be critically interrogated.⁸ Smith offers a minimal set of conditions that ought to inform a claim to ‘Indigenous theorizing’ (Indigenous Theories). These conditions (following Smith) are highlighted below: Indigenous theorizing

- I. is connected to a specific cultural location and site (contextual); it is tested in practice;
- II. is organically connected (made with the people, not just in the academy – is reflected on and grown through praxis);
- III. would expect that the person proposing the claim to ‘theory’ has some cultural skills and is able to connect with the epistemological foundations of the knowledge, language and culture related to the people to whom the theory is applicable; (cultural skill)
- IV. is transformative (status quo is not working – must focus on change)
- V. is portable (rather than universal)
- VI. has the flexibility to critique and renew itself (praxis)

⁸ AERA Annual Conference 2005, Montreal, Canada. Footnote, page 2

- VII. is engaging of other theory, able to justify its existence (movement toward theory not away)
- VIII. is Critical (able to critically engage new and traditional formations of colonization – colonization from external forces and internal colonization already working within and through ourselves)
- IX. is responsive to multiple sites of struggle and engagement (flexible)
- X. is easy for the people to understand (speaks to people)

1.10 Defining Epistemology

Theory gives us the tools of exploring knowledge(s); epistemology is the philosophical study of knowledge(s) and beliefs; it is, essentially, a branch of philosophy that investigates the origin, nature, methods, and limits of human knowledge and can be seen as the study of knowledge and justification.

Because I am both a member of the Tūhoe community and the Western world, my understanding of epistemology has been fueled by two worlds. For this reason, I believe it necessary for me to begin my exploration of epistemologies with an historical account of the roots of Western epistemology, before going further into depth on Māori-Tūhoe epistemology.

Attempts at defining knowledge can be traced as far back as the Greek philosophers Socrates (469 BC – 399 BC), Plato (429 BC – 347 BC), and Aristotle⁹ (384 BC – 322 BC) who can be identified as the founding fathers of Western philosophy. Regarding the Greek Philosophers Plato and Aristotle, Heylighen (2000) writes that Plato's view of knowledge is that knowledge is merely an awareness of absolute, universal Ideas or Forms, existing independent of any subject trying to apprehend them. Heylighen continues on to say that

⁹ Plato was a student of Socrates and Aristotle was a student of Plato.

Aristotle placed more emphasis on logical and empirical methods for gathering knowledge, however Aristotle still accepted the view that such knowledge is an apprehension of necessary and universal principles. From Aristotle's view we can conclude that there are two main epistemological positions that dominate philosophy: Empiricism, which sees knowledge as the product of sensory perception, and Rationalism which sees it as the product of rational reflection.

If we fast-forward two thousand years, we are shown another, slightly different view of knowledge acquisition and understanding. René Descartes (1596-1650), as cited by Newman (2005), supplies a definition of knowledge with an emphasis on doubt. While Descartes admits to the necessity of rigorous knowledge (*scientia*) and, to a lesser extent, conviction (*persuasio*), he also states:

as soon as we think that we correctly perceive something, we are spontaneously convinced that it is true. Now if this conviction is so firm that it is impossible for us ever to have any reason for doubting what we are convinced of, then there are no further questions for us to ask: we have everything that we could reasonably want...the supposition which we are making here is of a conviction so firm that it is quite incapable of being destroyed; and such a conviction is clearly the same as the most perfect certainty. (Newman, 2005)

Newman (2005) further goes on to explain that Descartes understands doubt as the contrast of certainty and that if certainty increases then doubt decreases and vice versa. In order to base knowledge in complete or perfect certainty, it requires a complete absence of doubt. Where doubt is evident, Descartes proposes the methodic approach referred to as 'method of doubt' where he asserts the need to discard all knowledge processes and return to the foundations to begin rebuilding.

In terms of Aboriginal epistemology, James Youngblood Henderson (2000) states:

Aboriginal knowledge is not a description of reality but an understanding of the processes of ecological change and ever-changing insights about diverse patterns or styles of flux. Concepts about ‘what is’ define human awareness of the changes but add little to the actual processes of change. To see things as permanent is to be confused about everything: an alternative to that understanding is the need to create temporary harmonies through alliances and relationships among all forms and forces. This web of interdependence is a never-ending source of wonder to the Aboriginal mind and to the forces that contribute to the harmony (p. 265)

1.11 Māori-Tūhoe Epistemology

The challenge of answering, “What is Indigenous knowledge(s)” is complex. There is no short answer for this question. I can only reveal my truth and the stories told to me by my Elders, and communities; stories that they have experienced, or have heard, and those which they validate as their ‘truths.’

In chapter four, I acknowledge the positioning of my grandmothers and great-grandmothers through visual arts. I use their pictures to position my own knowledge(s) which I learned and gained from their teachings. When posed with the question, “What is Indigenous knowledge?” I reflect upon what knowledge(s) means with regards to Māori knowledge(s) (Mātauranga Māori). In his book *Ka Whāwhāi Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*, the Māori scholar Ranginui Walker (1990) highlights the mythological origins of Māori society. These mythological perspectives are an integral component of Māori Enlightenment, and will be discussed in later chapters.

Royal (2004) explains that confusion arises when deciding whether Mātauranga Māori is used to indicate a body of knowledge or a type of knowledge, and lists two categories which various approaches fall into when using the term Mātauranga Māori:

1. Sociological – the use of the term as a tool in everyday discussion to refer to a body of knowledge

2. Epistemological – the use of the term to denote a type or view of knowledge and its place in our experience of the world. (Royal, 2004).

Expounding further on the epistemological approach, Royal states:

an epistemological approach to Mātauranga Māori requires a desire to explore the heart of human experience out of which knowledge and its applications flow. It is not beholden to any one field of Mātauranga Māori, although it requires the testimony of the tohunga-experts of the various fields for evidence, guidance and mana (Royal, 2004, p. 15)

It is my view that the confusion comes from the attempt at trying to understand Mātauranga Māori from a Western perspective. For example, if I was to write this thesis in Māori, the preceding or following sentences would determine the context in which the words Mātauranga Māori are being used. I asked my father what the meaning of a particular word was and he would tell me to put the word in a sentence so that he could accurately determine its meaning.

Not wanting to confuse the reader, I must explain that Tūhoe understand that the word Māori refers to all native tribes of Aōtearoa but the words Mātauranga Māori (Māori epistemology) refers to Māori knowledge that is expected to be influenced by things such as principles, values and beliefs. This is the point at which some Tūhoe ask the question, “When a person says Mātauranga Māori, knowing that Māori refers to a combination of various tribes with equally various principles, values and beliefs...which principles, values and beliefs are they referring to?” I pondered this question for many nights, allowing my thoughts to scour every corner of my mind; what finally came to light was that the words Mātauranga Māori should be governed by the principles, values and beliefs of the people who are at the heart of the research. So, for example, when conducting research among Tūhoe, if I use the words Mātauranga Māori ethically, I should be governed by Tūhoe

principles, values and beliefs. If I was to conduct research among the East Coast people (Ngāti Porou) then ethically my research should be governed by Ngāti Porou principles, values and beliefs.

Mātauranga Māori should, therefore, exhibit two qualities:

1. Māori is an accepted term that refers to all native tribes of Aotearoa who, in some cases, have different principles, values and beliefs from each other.
2. Mātauranga Māori (Māori epistemology) is determined by the principles, values and beliefs of the Māori people who are at the heart of the research.

Cheryl Waerea-i-te-rangi Smith (2000), noted that “Māori language and knowledge were re-framed as knowledge knowable from Western epistemologies” (p. 45). Smith continues on to discuss “three beliefs that are implicit in Māori epistemologies, but were too challenging to be considered part of the overt Māori curriculum” (p. 45). She lists these beliefs as:

1. The view that everything in existence is connected and related.
2. The belief that all things are living.
3. The belief that unseen worlds can be mediated by the human.

Smith further adds that these beliefs are called ‘unseen’ in English yet they are ‘seen’ worlds in Māori (p. 45).

1.12 Defining Ontology

While epistemology (as the study of the philosophy of knowledge) explores the origins and limits of human knowledge, ontology explores the nature and reality regarding human knowledge; it is the study of what exists and the nature of what exists. Clearly there is overlap between ontology and epistemology, but there are important distinctions which

must be considered. This thesis explores how the laws of nature and language are integral components of Tūhoe identity. If we, therefore, are to make an attempt at determining which ‘laws of nature’ exist (and consequently what they consist of), then we are practicing ontology; we seek to know what exists and why.

Gruber (1995) introduces the term ontology to mean a specification of a conceptualization. That is, ontology is a description like a formal specification of a program, of the concepts and relationships that can exist for an agent or a community of agents. (p. 915). Allison and Heath (2002) report Immanuel Kant’s (the German philosopher) definition of ontology as “that science (as part of metaphysics) which consists in a system of all concepts of the understanding, and principles, but only so far as they refer to objects that can be given to the senses, and thus confirmed by experience” (p. 354).

Davidson and Tolich (1999) define ontology as “an inventory of the kinds of things that do exist in the world” (p. 24). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) note that ontology raises basic questions about the nature of reality and the nature of human beings in the world and is concerned with questions such as “What kind of being is a human being? What is the nature of reality?” (p. 19).

Ontology, in this thesis, refers to the underlying principles of sustaining tribal identity which, as shown in the theoretical framework, are listed as ‘tikanga’ (principles), ‘kawa’ (protocols), ‘Whanaungatanga’ (family practice), ‘whakapapa’ (genealogy), ‘te taiāo’ (environment), ‘nga kōrero pūrākau’ (mythology), and ‘te reo ā iwi’ (tribal language). Each of these principles will be discussed and reviewed in Chapter Two.

1.13 Defining Tikanga Māori (Māori Ontology)

Māori ontology seeks to make people aware of culturally sensitive information for Māori (Deng, Foukia, & Savarimuthu, 2007). Memoirs recorded in the book *Education for the XXI (2007) century* state that “Māori ontology can be claimed to be a present and living reality of particular ancestors and gods, an unfolding revelation of future order generated within that reality” (p. 328).

Māori ontology is created by acknowledging the interconnectedness of both the ‘physical world’ and the ‘spiritual world’: all knowledge(s) are created through a myriad of myths, beliefs, genealogy, and experiences which in turn have been fundamental to the establishment of Māori principles.

Attending Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe allowed me to witness the nature of Māori being in its entirety. To watch the people at the festival and experience the interconnectedness of the generations and community, gave me the opportunity to experience the ontology of Tūhoe.

1.14 Defining Pedagogy

Watching Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe filled me with the desire both to learn from Community members and to transmit this knowledge to others. This act of teaching is integral to pedagogy, which is the art/method of teaching about knowledge(s). Freire (1970), in his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, exposes the faults of capitalist forms (and, consequently, the colonialist) of education. Freire continues on to criticize the ‘banking concept’ of education which, according to Freire, “maintains and even stimulates” the contradictions of “oppressive society as a whole” (p. 59). In the banking concept of education, knowledge is seen as a gift which is bestowed by ‘the knowledgeable elites’ upon

those are 'ignorant.' According to Freire, this does nothing more than “serve the interest of the oppressors who care neither to have the world revealed nor to see it transformed” (p. 48). In this sense, capitalist education can be identified by Indigenous peoples as colonization. As an example, the British position in New Zealand during colonization was that they (the British) were educated, who had to educate the Māori savages with proper British practices, beliefs and virtues. This education was forced upon Māori, and may have been viewed as a favour bestowed by the British.

1.15 Defining Ako Māori (Māori Pedagogy)

The British style of education was markedly different from traditional Māori ways of transmitting knowledge(s). The word 'teach' is translated in Māori as 'ako'; however, the context of ako relates to a wider definition of pedagogy within a Māori context whereby ako refers to both teaching and learning. Ako is a traditional Māori concept that can be translated as Māori pedagogy (Pihama, Smith, Taki & Lee, 2004). The Māori view of ako suggests that “to teach is to learn and to learn is to teach.”

According to Pihama et al (2004) “ako, in tradition-based Māori society, [is] an educative process that was integral in the creation, conceptualization, transmission and articulation of Māori knowledge” continuing on to state that “ako was determined by and dependent on Māori epistemologies, values, knowledge and constructions of the world” (p. 13).

To discuss the concept of ako is to discuss many other concepts that surround ako because teaching and learning is inclusive of people (Whanau, hapū, iwi) as well as places for teaching and learning (wānanga, mārae, Hui). One of the interviewees (Yvonne) who is the tutor for Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu, explains that the relationship between tutor and

performer (teacher and student) is an integrated one where both rely on each other through the shared understanding: a tutor cannot be a teacher if he has no one to teach, and a performer cannot be a student if they have no one to teach them. Chapter seven further discusses this idea; in it, speakers articulate that the actual place of learning ('Whare wānanga,' 'mārae,' and 'Hui') are equally important to knowledge transmission. Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe is one of these places. Because Māori think across both physical and spiritual plains, it is ultimately their history, their ancestors, and their relationships with one another which create an appropriate place to learn and teach.

1.16 Performative Praxis

Closely related to these systems of knowledge (epistemology, ontology, and pedagogy) is the need to make decisions about these knowledge(s). This aspect of knowledge transmission is termed 'Performative Praxis.' Performative Praxis is concerned with theory through decision-making, both rational and organizational. Cabantous and Gond (2006) view 'decision-analysis' as rational and 'decision-making' as organizational, but believe that there is a bridge that connects the two decision strategies and name this as 'Performative Praxis' (pp 5-6). Praxis can be defined as practice, as distinguished from theory and refers to the application or use of knowledge or skills. Cabantous and Gond (2006) continue on to describe Performative Praxis as "a social practice informed by and maintained through a theoretical knowledge about decisions mainly inspired by a rational approach to decisions" (p. 6). In an attempt at differentiating praxis from practice, Cabantous and Gond make the statement "praxis is 'the doing' of decision-making and practices are the tools that support decision-making" (p. 20). Smith, G (1997) discusses relationships between theory and practice and asserts that theory and practice should stand

in dialectical (the art or practice of arriving at the truth by the exchange of logical arguments) relation to each other. He continues on to say that “praxis connects theory to the people...theory is developed out of the actions and reflections constituted by the people” (p. 4). For this reason, it is essential that I return my findings to the community so that my theories can be validated by those from the community.

1.17 Participating in the Mārae – the Foundations of Knowledge(s)

This idea of connecting theory to the people is an integral component of my research. As I was attempting to make these connections, I knew it was imperative that I situate myself in the context of the theory – both Western and Māori. Essentially, what I needed to do was engage with the scholarly work of Indigenous, and non-Indigenous philosophers: how to look, learn, and listen so that I could dialogue with the various worldviews which affect my research. I created a ‘play-like’ scenario through which I delivered my comprehensive exams. I imagined inviting the actual scholars onto traditional tribal land, our mārae, to dialogue with my grandparents, where all would discuss their concepts, philosophies and worldviews. It is from here – this imagined dialogue – which I am able to draw upon the writings of the scholars who came before me; through this engagement, I can see their philosophical writings and concepts.

Even now, as I write, I still picture this room in the mārae, sitting as an intent listener, and learning from their words.



Preparing for Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe (*photographed by H Tamehana 2005*)

CHAPTER TWO

Setting the Stage: a Narrative Perspective

Opening

“There is too much historical information for one man to hold” my father would say. He would further go on to explain that community knowledge is divided; each family, sub-tribe or tribe would hold a portion of historical events. As an example, if a man lived in Ruatoki for many years and then relocated to Waiohau; the people in Ruatoki would have the knowledge of what that man did in their community until his departure. The Waiohau people would then be able to pick up the story from when that man entered their community and what he did while he lived amongst them. So if a researcher was to investigate the life of that person he would first go to Ruatoki and collect that information and then on to Waiohau to complete the story. When I inquired about a Tūhoe ancestor, my father took me to the homes of that ancestor’s descendants, introduced me, and then directed me to present my questions. When asking about a certain event that took place in history regarding that ancestor; his descendants told me stories of several events leading up to the one in question. In most cases I would have to sit and listen for hours before I got my answers. “People are like books” my dad would say. Sometimes you open a page and immediately find what you're looking for; other times, you will have to read the entire book before you find it.

Introduction

This chapter contains two interrelated parts. The first part discusses the concepts and variables displayed within the theoretical framework. The concepts and variables to which Māori-Tūhoe ascribe enable the development of knowledge(s) and tribal identity. These ideas, therefore, are linked with the need to substantiate or justify knowledge(s), which is the purpose of Part two.

2.1 PART ONE: Ko au ko koe – ko koe ko ahau (I am you – and you are me)

We are all part of each other. The above proverb suggests interrelationships with one another and can be viewed as linking a person with the land, environment, ancestors, language, Whānau, hapū, iwi and waka. It also relates to how we (as family, tribe, or Indigenous members) are responsible to and for each other. This is how we will explore family structure; relationships are the foundation of our knowledge(s) and identity

2.1.1 Whānau (family/extended family)

The concept of Whānau, although meaning family, can extend further to include close friends, distant relatives, in-laws, and those tribal members unknown to us. Whānau is not only a social grouping belonging to Maori society, but an aspect of cultural identity central to the future development of Maori (Penetito, 2006). Penetito further goes on to state that

whānau is a concept belonging to Te Ao Māori (the Māori world), and the development of this concept has been challenged through the history of Aōtearoa by external cultural influences and internal responses to these influences. These influences include Western paradigms and societal norms introduced through colonization and leading to the modern perception that whānau is a mirror image of the concept of family...whānau remains central to strategies for development as a people notwithstanding this experience. The practice of whānau as a cultural grouping was significant to retaining a cultural identity...which strengthens the position that there are specific contributing aspects towards a secure whānau identity that provides the foundations as well as the vehicle to progress the development of Maori. The proposition...is that whānau identity and whānau development are interdependent. (p. viii)

The earliest example of whānau is shown in the mythological story of Ranginui (the sky father) and Papatuanuku (the earth mother) and their children such as Tāne Māhuta (god

of the forest), Tangaroa (god of the sea), and Tāwhirimātea (god of the winds). What should also be noted is that the dynamics of whānau and hui were first displayed through the legends of this family of gods and creators. As the story goes, Ranginui and Papatuanuku were in an eternal embrace with their children situated between them. The embrace was such that no light could enter between the entangled bodies of Ranginui and Papatuanuku. A hui was called by the brothers who were tired of being enshrouded by darkness and longed to see the light. Some of the brothers (Tāne Māhuta) were for the separation and others were against (Tāwhirimātea). Heated debates were held between the brothers and eventuated in Tāne Māhuta successfully rendering his parents apart, which allowed light to enter the world. Legends such as the one of the Earth mother and Sky father introduced the dynamics of sibling rivalry, parent-child interaction, discussion, and the need for development.

For the purpose of this study, whānau refers to the performers of Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu Kapa Haka who are either not Māori, Māori but not Tūhoe, or Tūhoe but not Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu. Some of the speakers whom I interviewed fall under at least one of the aforementioned groups. For example, one Speaker was Samoan but married into the tribe and is a current performer; one was Tūhoe but from Ruatāhuna; a few were Tūhoe but from Ruatoki; and one was from Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu but had not been raised amongst the tribe and had never performed in a Kapa Haka or at a Tūhoe festival.

Understanding the meaning of whānau, which includes people who are not necessarily genealogically linked to a tribe or sub-tribe, allows me to view their opinions and statements as important and relevant. The purpose of whānau is to identify their roles and responsibilities among the sub-tribe and generally to present their needs to the hapū.

Identifying leaders in whānau is mostly done through the concept of tuakana/teina. Tuakana/teina refers to the relationship between an older (tuakana) person and a younger (teina) person and is specific to teaching and learning in the Māori context. Within teaching and learning contexts, tuakana/teina can take a variety of forms:

- a) Peer to peer – teina teaches teina, tuakana teaches tuakana.
- b) Younger to older – the teina has some skills in an area that the tuakana does not and is able to teach the tuakana.
- c) Older to younger – the tuakana has the knowledge and content to pass on to the teina.
- d) Able to less able – the learner may not be as able in an area, and someone more skilled can teach what is required. (Te Kete Ipurangi, 2007).

For Māori, the role of a whānau leader is given as a birthright: the eldest of the family (male or female) inherited certain roles and responsibilities. As an example, only the eldest male in a family is able to stand on a marae and deliver speeches and only the eldest female in a family could perform the karanga (call of welcome).

2.1.2 Hapū (sub-tribe)

“The hapū is a constant relationship which brings together a slice of the iwi and provides...members...a place in the organization of the iwi” (Mead, 2003). Raerino (2007) states that “a traditional Māori iwi identity...was almost exclusively dependent on hapū members” (p. 16) and further goes on to explain that “each hapū had their own ancient repositories, including repositories of history, oral traditions, battle histories, and an understanding of their ancestral ties and descent lines” (pp. 16-17). Durie (1997) explains that it was within the kinship groups of hapū and whānau in the traditional Māori communities that identity formation was effectively facilitated. Salmond (1976) suggests that

the concept of hapū is a developed one, explaining that upon arrival in Aotearoa, the crew members of each canoe became “of” their canoe.

As time went by and populations multiplied, people were forced to relocate in order to find and cultivate new lands within Aotearoa. At first there was plenty of land for everyone, but after an initial period of expansion the best lands were taken, and boundary disputes became a common cause of fighting. By now the population was organized into descent-groups of different scale-tribes (īwi), sub-tribes (hapū), and extended families (whānau) (p. 12). Ballara (1998) also supports Salmond’s comment by stating, “hapū formation has often been described as the result of the natural increase of extended families or whānau” (p. 164); however, Ballara expounds further, noting that “the division of his or her lands among their various heirs by some powerful chief (male or female) was often the starting point of new hapū.” (p. 176). Walker (1990) informs us that “the conditions under which identity as a hapū (sub-tribe) was recognized included the emergence of a leader with mana (prestige) derived from founding ancestors through his or her whakapapa (genealogy), skill in diplomacy, ability to strengthen the identity of the hapū (sub-tribe) by political marriages, and fighting prowess” (p. 64). When members from two separate tribes married, a child could claim descent from both tribes but in practice, identification with the hapū (sub-tribe) of residence was much stronger (Walker, 1990).

The use of the word hapū refers to those performers of Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu who are genealogically descended from the ancestors of these sub-tribes, who have been raised amongst the community, and who are seen as contributors to the tribe. Generally these people are the tutors, composers, supporters, organizers, and Elders of the group. During the focus group interviews, these people were the main contributors of ideas, views,

and questions. Hapū groups are responsible for the care of whānau groups and are respectively responsible to the main tribe.

2.1.3 Īwi (tribe)

Tribal traditions and practices are integral to Īwi identity (Raerino, 2007). Raerino affirms that “the foundation of an Īwi identity is still heavily reliant on strong Īwi-based whānau” (p. ii). While researching the importance of Īwi members living in an urban setting or away from tribal lands, Raerino concluded that “the sustainability of Īwi is reliant on Īwi members supporting their Īwi regardless of the location of their upbringing” (p. ii). Walker (1990) describes an Īwi as “the largest effective political grouping” (p. 65) and explains that:

The Īwi was composed of related hapū from a common ancestor. Canoe ancestors, or one of their descendants who had great mana, were used as points of reference for the definition of Īwi identity...the Īwi was at its most, effective in defending tribal territory against enemy tribes (p. 65)

Belich (1996) defines an Īwi as “neighboring clusters of related hapū whose clustering had some internal and external recognition” (p. 84). Walker (1990) discusses three stratified classes of people that were found within the folds of tribes and sub-tribes. He defines these as rangatira (chiefs), tutua (commoners) and taurekareka (slaves), and continues on to state that “rank and leadership were based on seniority of descent from founding ancestors” (p. 65).

The use of the word Īwi in the thesis refers to the tribal members of Tūhoe who regularly attend Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe, who have been raised within the boundaries of their respective sub-tribes, and who are committed and dedicated to maintaining, retaining, and sustaining the practices and development of the tribe in order that Tūhoetanga (Tūhoe identity) can exist. Although these people can be performers and supporters, they actively

take on roles as advisors, adjudicators, and organizers but more importantly they are recognized for the roles they play by the whānau, hapū and iwi.

2.1.4 Waka (canoe)

The largest social grouping of Māori society is the waka, comprised of a loose confederation of tribes based on the ancestral canoes of the fourteenth century (Walker, 1990). The early Māori settlers arrived in Aotearoa aboard many canoes seven of which were identified as being main canoes or waka. One of these main waka was called Matātua and is the canoe from which the Tūhoe tribe originates. The dynamics of a society were also apparent on these waka whereby each canoe had a Rangatira (captain), a tohunga (expert), and the crew. The waka of Matātua is also said to have had two spiritual guides in the form of birds who were named Mumuhou and Takeretou. While it was the duty of the Rangatira to ensure that the people arrived at their destination safely, the duty of the tohunga was to ensure that the people were spiritually protected by seeking favor from the gods through prayer and incantation. In order for tribes such as Tūhoe to claim their ancestry through the founder of their tribe (Tūhoe Pōtiki), they must be open to acknowledging the descent of Tūhoe Pōtiki from the Rangatira (captain) of the Matātua canoe. Tūhoe Pōtiki was a great-grandson of the Matātua captain (Toroa).

Traditional Matātua narratives (such as traditional chants) give historical information that pertains to all descendants of the Matātua canoe. Such narratives are able to inform Tūhoe about how and why their tribe was founded and how and why their leader was identified as a leader. Every two years, regional kapa haka competitions are held throughout New Zealand and most regional competitions call upon the descendants of the regional waka to attend or compete. These competitions bring together not only the people, but the

historical knowledge(s) that each iwi holds regarding their development or history as told to them by their ancestors and which can be traced back to the original crew of the waka. Te Whakataetae ā Rohe o Matātua (Matātua regional competitions) serve the purpose of allowing tribes to present their views of historical narratives or events much the same way as Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe. Generally, points of view can be challenged but they are not necessarily enforced. An example is the story of Wairaka. As legend has it, women were not permitted to paddle a canoe. Upon the landing of Matātua canoe to Aotearoa, the men went ashore to scour the place while the women remained aboard the canoe. The canoe began to drift out to sea and the women, knowing that they were not permitted to row the canoe back, became fearful. One of the women, Wairaka (the captain Toroa's daughter) stood up and chanted, "kia whakatāne au I ahau" (let me be as a man) and rowed the women safely back to the shoreline. The people of the Te Whakatōhea tribe do not believe that it was Wairaka that chanted; rather, Te Whakatōhea believe that it was Muriwai (the captain Toroa's sister), who was also aboard the canoe. The Te Whakatōhea claim is based on the knowledge that Wairaka was a young girl at the time the canoe arrived and Muriwai was older; they believe the older girl would have been more likely to row the canoe. In most cases, tribes simply beg to differ and respect each other's beliefs.

In this thesis, waka refers to the Elders or those generations that have had ancient knowledge(s) imparted upon them. Iwi members are pivotal to the sustainability and development of tribal identity through acknowledging ecological demands, while the people in the waka are those who use the knowledge(s) of the old ways to challenge certain events.

2.1.5 Whare Wānanga (house of learning or house of teaching)

Hoāni Te Whatahoro (1913), a Ngāti Kahungunu scholar, noted that the whare-wānanga was the place where man was first taught the doctrines that were contained in the three baskets of knowledge that were brought down from the heavens by Tānenuiārangi.

According to Māori, they contained the following knowledge(s):

1. Te Kete Aronui

This concept suggests that the knowledge of the natural world around us as explored by the senses. For example, we live in a physical realm that can be seen, heard, felt, touched, and tasted.

2. Te Kete Tuauri

This concept explores the knowledge of things that are beyond our senses. For example, we understand that a spiritual realm exists and can be experienced through intuition, visions, and dreams.

3. Te Kete Tuatea

This concept communicates knowledge that is beyond space and time and can be encountered through ritual practices. For example, through the practice of ritual, a person can experience a spiritual realm while still being in a physical form.

Whatahoro continues on to explain that

the whare-wānanga was a place where all important histories were collected...it dealt with the gods, the heavens, the stars, the sun, the moon, the winds, the clouds, and extending down to Papatuānuku (the Earth), and all things pertaining thereto, as also to man, and of all subjects that were considered as appropriate to be taught in the whare-wānanga, in order that such knowledge might be correctly transmitted to the descendants of the tribes (p. 264).

Not much has changed in today's use of the word wānanga whereby the term wānanga refers to a gathering where higher learning is either being learned or taught.

For the purpose of this study, wānanga refers to the weekend live-ins and weekly practices that Kapa Haka groups hold while training for Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe. The teaching of historical and recent knowledge(s) are taught through chant and song and displayed through actions, movement, expression, and choreography. Yvonne (tutor and composer for Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu Kapa Haka) states that tutors/composers are expected to remain up to date with historical knowledge(s) and events, as well as current knowledge(s) and events. Much of what Yvonne articulates through his compositions discusses situations that have affected the sub-tribe (Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu) or the tribe (Tūhoe) in one way or another. More often than not, the songs of his group reflect the stance or position they (the group) take regarding a situation, whether past or present.

The tutors then become responsible for passing those knowledge(s) on to the performers, ensuring that the performers understand the knowledge(s) located within the songs.

2.1.6 Marae (Traditional meeting places)

The marae is recognized as a place of learning and teaching where the majority of Māori ceremonies take place – from weddings to funerals, birthdays and most other celebrated ceremonies. The marae is also where tribal tradition, protocol and custom take precedence over any other. The main meeting houses have a carved head at the top with arms that stretch out symbolic of a warm open armed greeting. The inside has carvings or adorned wood that stretch down from the center beam, representing the rib cage. Carvings are also found on the inner walls which are adorned with photos of tribal members that have passed on. Each marae has its own poignant history and is the repository of restorative history and the rituals of encounter.

The name of my marae is Waiohau which is situated in the Waiohau Valley on the western border of the Tūhoe boundary, Bay of Plenty, Aotearoa. The sacred whareniui or meeting house is called Tama-ki-Hikurangi named after the tohunga or spiritual leader of the matātua canoe and is used for teaching, learning and sharing stories, songs, speeches, gatherings and dances. This particular marae is where a lot of my early learning took place. It is where I was introduced to unfamiliar family members upon their return home for celebratory occasions, where I bade farewell to many of my Elders and kin and also where I learned my extended roles and responsibilities as a tribal member.

I have already established that the marae is a place for learning and teaching. The fact that Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu Kapa Haka chooses to conduct all their weekend live-ins and weekly practices on their marae enforces the view that Māori deem the marae a sacred place and pivotal for tribal teaching and learning. Yvonne explained to me that when he first returned home to tutor his hapū after many years of tutoring outside of the region, he suggested to the group that they hold one of their weekend live-ins at another marae in a neighboring town (a practice common to another group he tutored). His aunties disagreed and told him that their (Ngāti Haka - Patuheuheu) history, stories, and ancestors were enfolded in their own marae and it would be hard to draw mauri (life aspect) while in the presence of another tribes' history, stories, and ancestors.

2.1.7 Hui (Gathering)

If wānanga is seen as a gathering for learning and teaching then hui can be seen as a gathering for planning and addressing; however, both still follow rules of custom and protocol with procedures that need to also be adhered to. Hui can be called to discuss any form of meeting: to settle a dispute, plan an event, or simply to come together. It should be

noted that, as with any gathering, formal or informal (within Māoridom), the role of the Elder takes precedence over the role of the professional. Salmond (1976) in her book titled *Hui* writes:

Māori gatherings have apparently long been called hui...although the rituals of encounter have changed in detail, they are not so very different from the ceremonies practiced on modern marae. The hui included a wide range of gatherings, from life crises to policy meetings.” (p. 17)

She continues on to note that in early literature, the different types of hui were mostly referred to by their specific names: rūnanga (policy meeting), tangi (funeral) or hahunga (exhumation) (p. 18). The hui that this research is centered on is Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe, as elaborated on in Chapter one.

2.1.8 Tikanga (Principles)

Tikanga can be described as general behavior guidelines for daily life and interaction in Māori culture and is commonly based on experience and learning that has been handed down through generations. Tikanga is based on the logic and common sense associated with a Māori worldview (Kōrero Māori, 2008). Tikanga can be described as a set of rules, plans, methods, approaches, customs, habits, rights, authority, and control (Pere, 1982). For example, when a visitor enters a marae for the first time, he/she must adhere to the protocols of that marae which determine how a person should enter. Tikanga then refers to the processes or procedures that the visitor is expected to follow in order to be accepted or approved as friend and not foe. If we can identify that processes or procedures exist in a situation, then we can assume that tikanga is present. Malcolm (1995) while explaining tikanga stated, “ko tēnei mea te tikanga, nā tāua noa iho I hanga, arā, nā tāua, nā te tangata” (this thing tikanga, we created it, that is we as in mankind).

Tikanga refers to processes that a performer must go through in order to capture the essence of the songs they are learning. The processes of a performer include group responsibilities (cleaning, cooking), timing, hand-eye coordination, synchronization, facial expression, vocal ability, understanding the meanings of the songs, committing to memory the lyrics of the songs, and finally mastering the ability to combine all these skills while performing an item.

2.1.9 Kawa (Procedures)

There is a definite overlap between tikanga and kawa: both have procedural expectations but where tikanga determines an open process (rules are laid out but how a person completes them can be open), kawa holds firm and generally shows no flexibility – it is absolute. In contrast to tikanga, explained by Joe Malcolm as rules set by man, kawa are rules set by god:

he mea I ahu kē mai I Te Atua...I ahu mai ia mā roto mai I ngā karakia. Ka kīia ko tēnei mea te kawa, he tapu – e kore e tāea e te tangata te takahuri, te whakarerekē rānei. (p. 66)

(it [kawa] was fashioned by god...it was founded through the prayers/incantations. It can be said that this thing, kawa, is sacred – man cannot change it or make it different).

Malcolm continues on to say that the rules of Tikanga sit under the rules of kawa (p. 66).

Kawa refers to the processes within kapa haka that are unchangeable or inflexible, in other words they are fixed processes. These processes include karakia (as prayer is an integral part of practices), marae protocols (as practices are always held on the marae), whaikōrero (speeches), karanga (call of welcome), commitment to learning, and dedication to practices.

2.1.10 Whānaungatanga (Kinship)

The word whānaungatanga is an extension of the word whānau. Where whānau refers to family or extended families, the word whānaungatanga refers to the practice of family values or the relationships that exist between people deemed family or extended family. Rangihau (1992) associates the concepts within whānaungatanga as being fundamental components of identity for Māori.

It could be said that the concept of whānaungatanga is one which has developed, as it was not a word that was commonly used by Māori ancestors. Perhaps through Māori identifying the need to build and strengthen alliances with each other in order to take on authorities such as the government, the term whānau was extended to whānaungatanga (kinship) and whakawhānaungatanga (family practices).

Whānaungatanga in the thesis refers to the importance of including all performers, regardless of descent, into the group by way of peer support, assistance, mentorship, hospitality, and approachability.

2.1.11 Whakapapa (Genealogy)

A European view of whakapapa denotes genealogy, lines of descent, kinship, and blood-ties; in Māoridom, however, as with most things, whakapapa flows much deeper. Being able to affiliate with a tribe requires a person to know their whakapapa, for without it, no rights can be claimed. Although whānaungatanga (kinship) can be inclusive of people other than blood members, decisions for the immediate whānau cannot be made by those who cannot genealogically link to the whānau.

In 1992, while back in New Zealand, I attended the Tamehana family reunion which was held at Tātāhoata Marae in Ruatāhuna. My father, being a Tamehana, was regular in his

attendance to these family gatherings and urged me to attend. During the three day gathering, I was introduced to family members that were also descendants of the ancestor Tamehana but whom I had never met. The expectation for the gathering was that each family brought with them their whakapapa of their immediate family; and during a night session, these whakapapa were placed upon a wall. I assumed that the whakapapa would begin with the ancestor Tamehana and then work its way down to the recent the present generations; this was not the case. The whakapapa that was placed on the wall started twenty three generations prior to Māori arriving in Aotearoa, and continued to the ancestor Tamehana. Once each family placed their whakapapa on the wall in its respective place, we were all able to see how we were connected to each other. I was amazed that people would want to know how they were related, even if the link happened generations before. My father explained to me that we owe our existence to these ancestors, in particular, the ancestor Tamehana.

Once the whakapapa lines were established, the Elders talked extensively on the stories of our ancestors. In most cases these were stories that their grandparents told them; inevitably, their grandparents learned the stories from their grandparents, further linking history and genealogy. The Elders laughed and cried as they relived these stories and the younger generations laughed and cried as if they were present in that time.

Every living and non-living organism has a whakapapa and according to Māori mythology which originates from the Supreme Being, 'Io.' Many times one will find that the genealogies of humankind and deities interconnect with each other which strengthen Māori view that we are one with the land. As an example, the Tūhoe people are referred to as 'the children of the Mist.' Hinepūkohurangi is identified as the mist maiden or the mist personified and, therefore, Tūhoe are deemed descendants of Hinepūkohurangi.

Whakapapa enables a whānau to claim descent from a hapū who, in turn, can claim descent from an iwi, who, in turn, can claim descent from a waka. Within the confines of each organization (whānau, hapū, iwi), through whakapapa, people can claim their place or rights as a member of each. Whakapapa in the thesis not only refers to the genealogical links of the person (performer) to the tribe, but also the genealogical links of the person to the environment, the demi-gods or guardians, the spirits of the ancestors, and matemateāone (respect for each other).

2.1.12 Te Taiāo (Environment)

Maori identity emanates from the land. It is the place where self-awareness, mana and importance originate (Bennett, 1979). Indigenous people share a common belief that the land and/or environment play a major role in regards to knowledge. John Rangihau (1992) briefly addresses the spiritual and emotional connection of the people to the land stating that “it is central to their ways of being” (p. 158). Durie (2004), a Māori scholar, states that “most Indigenous peoples believe that the fundamental starting point is a strong sense of unity with the environment”; he asserts that “this appears to be the most significant characteristic, at least as defined by Indigenous writers” (pp. 1138-1139). As an example, Durie (2004) makes the statement, “people are the land and the land is the people, we are the river and the river is us” (p. 1139). Cohen (2001), when speaking from an Okanagan place of knowing, states that “it is worthwhile noting that Indigenous knowledge flows from the connection between the world, ecology, the land, and animals” (p. 143).

Kawagley (1995) a Yupiaq scholar, also acknowledges this interrelationship between humans, nature, the natural and spiritual worlds and describes this relationship as ‘tetrahedral’ (i.e. having four lateral plains in addition to the top and bottom) – the force

flows all ways between the human, spiritual and natural worlds that support and are supported by the worldviews of our people, culture, knowing and living. Cajete's (1994) approach to accumulated knowledge within Indigenous groups around the world represents a body of ancient thought, experience, and action as a vital storehouse of environmental wisdom (p. 78).

Exploring the fundamentals of Aboriginal knowledge, Ermine¹⁰, a Cree philosopher, imparts, "those who seek to understand the reality of existence and harmony with the environment by turning inward have a different, incorporeal knowledge paradigm that might be termed Aboriginal epistemology" (p. 28). Ermine (1995) also discusses the interrelationships within the spiritual and physical (or natural) spaces but extends this further in support of inward learning or self-actualization. He explains that Aboriginal epistemology is grounded in the self, the spirit and the unknown and is explored through introspection and self-actualization and that Aboriginal holy people and philosophers rely on processes of self-actualization to find the wholeness that extends both inward and outward. Battiste and Henderson (2000) refer to the word 'unity' when describing relationships that create (and are simultaneously infused) by energy. Elaborating further on the power of this energy, Kawagley (1995) states,

the creative force, as manifested in nature, is more profound and powerful than anything the human being can do, because in it is the very essence of all things. Yet within this profound and powerful force are efficiency, economy, and purpose, the expression of which is dependent on the human being. (p. 11)

Ermine (1995) examines Indigenous identity by ways of acquiring knowledge, suggesting that Aboriginal people have a tendency to go inward in their search for meaning and knowledge,

¹⁰ as cited in Brant-Castellano, 2000

further stating that “their (Indigenous people) fundamental insight is that all existence [is] connected and that the whole enmeshed the being in its inclusiveness” (p. 113).

In this thesis, the environment refers to the importance of a person acknowledging that connections and relationships exist between all things. Within the Kapa Haka group people are taught to understand their affiliation to things such as mountains, rivers, waterfalls, birds, and trees, and being able to connect to such things by citing pēpeha (a person’s affiliation to an ancestral mountain, a river, and marae).

2.1.13 Ngā Kōrero Pūrākau (Tribal narratives)

Narratives are handed down from generation to generation. There are many Indigenous peoples worldwide who, like Māori, have primarily an oral language, not a written one. In most Aboriginal narratives, there is a message revealed at the forefront but its deeper meaning is sometimes concealed within. This is most evident in proverbial sayings amongst the Māori which they term as whakatauki or pēpeha. Mead (2001) terms this as ‘sayings of the ancestors’ (p. 9). For example, there is a Tūhoe proverb that says, Iti rearea, teitei kahikatea, ka tāea (a small bird, a tall tree, attainability). Its primary meaning refers to the smallest of birds and how they are able to ascend the tallest of trees. Its secondary meaning implies that a person who is subdued by a situation in life, will be able to surmount whatever the trial or tribulation may be. However, this secondary meaning holds differently according to the person to whom the proverb is relayed. Each person is made to go away to reflect on the proverb, and discover its hidden meaning, basing relevancy on their own self. Once the person discovers the deeper message, they are then assumed to be enlightened.

These are not dissimilar to ‘metaphors,’ such as the one used in the title of this thesis; both hold a primary as well as a secondary meaning. Indigenous people in general are

renowned for employing the use of metaphors, idioms and imagery when creating or (re)telling stories.

Traditional stories are not created without reason; they have a purpose, whether that purpose is to entertain, inform or enlighten the listener. The most ancient of stories will give an insight into the way the ancestors related to or translated their surroundings, allowing them to conceptualize their being. Mead (2001) remarks,

for the Māori, the pēpeha (sayings of the ancestors) are not merely historical relics. Rather they constitute a communication with the ancestors. Through the medium of the words it is possible to discover how they thought about life and its problems...it is a rare privilege to be able to reach out to the ancestors and touch their minds. (p.9)

Mead goes on to explain that these ancestral sayings are reflections of thought on many aspects of Māori culture: history, religious life, conduct, ethics, warfare, marriage, death, and weather; ancestral sayings are featured in the whaikōrero (formal speeches) heard on the marae even today and in the oral literature handed down from past generations.

Mythology also plays a major part in what is contained within stories. It is an indispensable contributor to operant or classical conditioning i.e. the way we react, behave or respond according to what we have been conditioned to believe. Cajete (1999) when speaking regarding the Pueblo peoples and their ways of knowing and being says,

myths explain what it means to live in community with one another. They explain human dependence on the natural world and essential relationships that must be maintained therein. Further to that, we explore the life and death matters of human existence and relate such matters to basic origins, causes, or relationships. They reflect on the concerns that are basic and crucial to humans' understanding of themselves. (p. 117)

Māori mythology is no different to any other Indigenous peoples; we have stories of creation, life, death and all occurrences in between. These myths tell tales of gods in a time

before time; when man could take the form of an animal simply by reciting a prayer or chant. Mythology, arguably, can be seen as the oldest form of knowledge transmission used for setting foundations of ancient social structure.

The importance of getting stories right was stressed by Parr (2006) during a storytelling workshop where he made the comment:

When your history is an oral one, you can't afford to have people out there who don't get the information right...if you don't get it right, you are going to distort our history. (Script to Screen, 2006)

Ngā kōrero pūrākau refers not only to the mythological narratives, but also the stories regarding ancestors and events that have been handed down through generations. The legends of Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu, or even of Tūhoe, are relived through the mediums of chant, song, whaikōrero (speech), karanga (call of welcome), rau rākau (welcome performed with leaves), haka (war dance), and poi which are all disciplines that are performed within a bracket at Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe.

2.1.14 Te Reo ā Īwi (Tribal dialect)

Te reo ā īwi is not merely the language; more specifically, it is the way the language is used by separate tribes. Māori existence relies heavily on the ability to communicate through their language. The practice of karakia (prayer/incantation) is one such example where the need to attain higher levels of the language is necessary in order to gain spiritual protection. Karakia can be described as the pathways between the realm of man and that of the gods. From a Western perspective, we would state that the power of prayer draws its mauri or life aspect from the faith and belief of the one who is praying. Māori view tells us that, instead, the mauri lies in the spoken word, that is, the mere utterance of these words is enough to

give life to its intended purpose. If you were to listen to a tohunga (expert) praying you would not be able to mimic his words as they will often mumble their prayers to ensure that the words of these incantations do not fall into the wrong hands. Māori culture has traditionally given great emphasis to the power of words (Adams et al., 2003). Adams et al. (2003) cite a story published in a magazine (Tu Tangata) of a grandfather addressing his grandson:

Silly [Pakehas] (white people). Knowing nothing 'bout words. Need the books to remember. And actions stronger than words, they reckon. [Tito!] (lies) Words got the power. So, [e moko] (my grandchild), [kia tupato] (be careful). [Kia tupato]. Careful, ay boy. Power of the word. Strong stuff. (p. 6)

Craig (1964) recounts a story where his uncle, Elsdon Best, questioned a man (Tutakangahau) about Iō the supreme god. Best was reprimanded for mentioning the name of Io while they were in the presence of food, as Iō was a sacred name or tapu and food was related to noa¹¹, which is the opposite of tapu. Village Elders had heard that Best was inquiring about Iō, so one day after a violent storm had hit their village the Elders blamed Tutakangahau for the storm, arguing that the storm had been so violent because he had made mention of Iō (supreme god) to Best. The Elders insisted that Tutakangahau refrain from further discussing Iō with Best.

Indigenous language is pivotal to the deeper understanding of Indigenous knowledge(s). A person who speaks the language has a deeper understanding of concepts contained within transmitted messages than a person who is not fluent. This notion is contested by Euro-centric scholars such as Saussure (as cited in Merleau-Ponty, 1973) who views language as a system of pure values with only two elements involved in its functioning: ideas and sounds (p. 5). Saussure further explains that psychologically our thought is only a

¹¹ The introduction of noa in a tapu arena cancels out sacredness deeming it common or general.

shapeless and indistinct mass apart from its expression in words. This suggests that language is only used to convey messages or ideas accompanied by sound and that it does not matter which language it is done in. This view is rebutted by Weber-Pillwax (2001) who states, “it is impossible to ‘translate’ the lived cultural effects of philosophies and beliefs that are embedded within and associated with the words and terms themselves” (p. 159).

Gardner (2004), referring to a meeting held by the Assembly of First Nations in 1992, reported the following:

our language embodies a value system about how we live and relate to each other. It gives a name to relationships among kin, to roles and responsibilities among family members, to ties with broader groups. There are no English words for these relationships because, in general, social and family lives are different from ours. If our language is destroyed, these relationships break down and will inevitably destroy other aspects of our way of life and culture, especially those that describe (human’s) connection with nature, the Great Spirit, and the order of things. Without our language, we will cease to exist as a unique people. (p. 130)

Kawagley (1995) regards language as intimate, connecting one with the ancestors and their thought world. Language is, therefore, not only a way of conveying messages as suggested by Saussure (Merleau-Ponty, 1973); it also connects the listener to the time and space that the message either relates to or was created in.

Te reo ā iwi, however, can be seen as an extension of language whereby it refers to a style of language that is used by a certain tribe. This is commonly referred to as dialectal difference. Tribes in many instances use words that no other tribe has such as the Tūhoe word *matemateāone*, which refers to the recognition of one’s own value in the character of another and its reciprocal process. *Matemateāone* follows the concept of ‘treat others the way you would like to be treated’ and encompasses traits such as *aroha*, *manākitanga*, *hūmārie*, and *āwhina*.

The way a person structures their sentences enforces their identity as being from their tribe. My father once told me that if you spoke and a person could tell what tribe you were from without you having to mention the tribe, then you have used your tribal dialect successfully. Thus, *te reo ā iwi* refers to tribal dialect. As stated many times throughout this thesis, there are words that only Tūhoe use and there are words which other tribes use that Tūhoe do not. Tūhoe also have their own way of pronouncing words (such as the word *tangata* which Tūhoe pronounce as *tanata*). Sentence structures are varied when comparing Tūhoe with other tribes; often what is seen as grammatical in Māori language curriculums, makes no sense to Tūhoe. The tense marker *kua* suggests that something has already happened; however, it is common for Tūhoe to use the phrase *kua hoki koe?* When translated, this statement asks a person if they are leaving but since *kua* is past tense, the sentence, in other dialects, means, “have you already left?” which is not logical. The conventions of modern Māori language would deem this use ungrammatical or incorrect and one could state once again that it is pointless to attempt to understand tribes such as Tūhoe through Western processes.

2.2 PART TWO: Mā te kōrero ka mōhio, mā te mōhio ka mātau, mā te mātau ka mārama (when we communicate, we know; when we know, we understand; when we understand, we are enlightened)

It is evident that in order to understand and become enlightened, Māori-Tūhoe relies on language and history. To further clarify this point, I include the following reviews to relate to human perception – how we deduce knowledge(s), and how we form conclusions. Although these topics relate mostly to epistemology, I have chosen to write about these topics in this chapter, as opposed to Chapter One (theory) in order to keep some kind of order given that the progress of this thesis is being ordered in the way of a Kapa Haka

training for an event. In section 2.3.3, I discuss how space and time relate to the analytical framework that was used to justify the information given to me by those I interviewed.

2.2.1 Empiricism versus Rationalism

In the Western tradition, knowledge(s) are often thought to be measurable and quantifiable. For example, the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384 BC – 322 BC) believed that all cognitions were empirical – that they were based on the first principles of experience. Aristotle’s main proposition was that nothing is in the intellect that was not first in the senses; in other words, a person is born with a blank mind much like a blank sheet of paper which is then filled with experiences had by the senses. However, Aristotle’s deduction of events through the experiences of the senses was proven wrong many times, such as his belief that the sun revolved around the earth. He used his eyes to observe the sun rising at dawn and setting at dusk. Since he was not able to feel the earth rotating, Aristotle’s sense of sight led him to believe that it was instead the sun that was revolving and not the earth.

Rationalism is a point of view that claims that ‘reason’ plays the main role in understanding the world and obtaining knowledge. The concept of rationalism has existed throughout the history of philosophy with the general view of rationalists suggesting that we can best understand the world through logic and reasoning. Rationalists commonly believe in ‘innate knowledge’ (knowledge that exists in a person at birth), which means that a person is born with ready-made tools to assist a person to employ reasoning when understanding experiences. An empiricist’s argument could be that something like colors can not be explained to a blind person; instead, colors are something that must be experienced by the sense of sight. A rationalist’s argument would be, for example that a newborn baby will readily suckle at a mother’s breast without first being taught how to suckle.

The foundation of rationalism is the use of one's logic. Aristotle was famed for his method of deductive reasoning, which is termed syllogism. Syllogism refers to a logical argument whose conclusion is supported by two premises: a major premise and a minor premise. An example of syllogism is:

Major premise: Native people of Aotearoa are referred to as tangata whenua

Minor premise: Tūhoe are native people of Aotearoa

Conclusion: Tūhoe are tangata whenua

During the Western "Enlightenment," Immanuel Kant (1781), the German philosopher, used a blend of empiricism and rationalism to articulate how knowledge is attained. Kant discusses the terms *a priori* and *a posteriori*. According to Kant, *a priori* knowledge is transcendental, or based on the form of all possible experience, while *a posteriori* knowledge is empirical, based on the content of experience. Kant suggests that "it is quite possible that our empirical knowledge is a compound of that which we receive through impressions, and that which the faculty of cognition supplies from itself (sensuous impressions giving merely the occasion)." In more understandable words, *a priori* is knowledge that is internal and does not rely on the senses in order to draw a conclusion. As an example, the statement "all herbivores are plant eaters" can be held true without a person having to actually witness herbivores eating plants or having to study herbivores to ensure that they do not eat meat; if they do eat meat, then cannot be herbivores. While discussing *a posteriori* Kant articulates that a *a posteriori* is dependant and/or determined by the experience held. As an example, the statement "wearing shoes can be comfortable" requires one to actually wear shoes in order to experience whether the statement is true.

2.2.2 Truth, Belief and Justification

Along similar lines to Kant's theory on a posteriori knowledge, Lehrer (2000) discusses three Western conditions of epistemology in his traditional definition of knowledge, which are truth, belief, and justification. Lehrer combined these three conditions, and coined the phrase "justified true beliefs."¹²

As an example, if a person has an unsafe vehicle but believes that his vehicle will get him safely from point A to point B; his belief is not justified until he arrives safely at point B. Should the vehicle break down before point B then the person's belief is discredited and therefore cannot be held true. Prior to the person leaving Point A, he believes his car will get him to Point B. Once he arrives at Point B, he is in a position to conclude that he knew his car would get him to Point B and his belief would be justified and perceived as true.

In the world of Māori, and only as an example, mākutu (curses) can be measured by the conditions of truth, belief and justification; if a person or a family is constantly plagued by ill fortune then it is not uncommon for that person or family to assume that they have been cursed. My own mother told me of how her brother, while attending a Māori boarding school, became deathly ill. Upon returning home my uncle was taken to a local tohunga (medicine man) who told my grandfather that there was a curse placed on my uncle. Apparently the curse was placed on my uncle by a girl who was smitten with my uncle but my uncle had no feelings towards her. As the tohunga (medicine man) explained it, the girl supposedly had in her possession an item of clothing that belonged to my uncle and in order for the curse to be broken the item must be retrieved, if not then my uncle would die. The item was not retrieved and my uncle died at the age of 18. The belief was that my uncle had

¹² 'Justified true beliefs' is also a phrase recorded in Plato's dialogue 'Theaetetus'.

a curse on him and unless the curse was lifted he would die. The 'belief' became a 'justified truth' when my uncle died.

A medical examiner could most likely prove that my uncle in fact had a rare disease; however, even this statement begs the question, "what caused the rare disease?" Knowing my grandfather, he would have believed it was the curse. Western theory would have a tendency to try and dispel such theories (especially when dealing with māku). I believe that this is due to the fact that in general, Western theory sees empirical knowledge as experiences held by five sensory perceptions (sight, sound, taste, touch, smell) as opposed to Māori theory which sees empirical knowledge as experiences held by eight sensory perceptions (sight, sound, taste, touch, smell, visions, dreams, intuition). When a person lacks the ability to employ all eight sensory perceptions, they will seek the aid of those that can and in most cases these people are regarded as tohunga (experts).

2.2.3 Place: Space and Time

Space and place are frequently underprivileged concepts in contemporary analyses of cultural phenomena (Ganser, Pühringer and Rheindorf, 2006). Leroy Little Bear (2000) states that "interrelationships between all entities are of paramount importance and space is more important a referent than time" (p. 77). Space can be seen as three dimensional; that is, having the dimension of depth as well as width and height and can be described as the unlimited realm or expanse in which all material objects are located and all events occur. Learning happens when it happens and events will occur when they occur; there are no time constraints. From the day a child takes its first breath, to the day it takes its last; it is in a space of learning.

Cheryl Waerea-i-te-rangi Smith (2000) echoes these ideas when she states that “the idea of place is critical to Māori narrative.” She emphasizes the Māori-Tūhoe believe that “identity and place are linked.” Smith also notes that Māori often assess knowledge on a person’s experience of that knowledge (pp. 49-50). Sadler (2008) describes mātauranga Māori as a “knowledge tradition that had its genesis in ancient Polynesia” and adds that it has been refined and developed by Māori over a period of a thousand years.

To illustrate how mātauranga Māori may have been developed through the concepts of space and time, I will make reference to a particular deity, Tangaroa, god of the sea. Tangaroa, to Māori, is seen as a provider (as Aotearoa waters are plentiful in fish, shellfish and other delicacies such as edible seaweed). Tangaroa is also seen as a protector (ancient stories tell us that the Māori of Aotearoa crossed the Pacific ocean over a thousand years ago in search of land, natural resources and food and eventually landed in Aotearoa). The entire time that these seafaring people were on the water they were in the domain of Tangaroa. Crossing the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean safely possibly led the people to believe that this was only made possible by the support and protection of Tangaroa. In Hawai’i, Tangaroa is known by the name ‘Kanaloa’¹³ and in the Marquesas Islands he is referred to by the name ‘Tanaoa.’ Kanaloa (hawai’i) is often depicted as an evil god or god of death and is associated with the squid while Tanaoa (Marquesas) is seen as the god of primeval darkness who is confined to the depths of the ocean where darkness and silence still reign. Both islands are known to have a high rate of storms and tidal waves with hawai’i registering 13 significant Tsunami that have impacted on the Hawaiian Islands in the 20th century alone (Pacific Tsunami Museum 1996); therefore, it is not surprising that these smaller islands see Tangaroa in a negative light. I believe that this is what Sadler refers to in his statement of

¹³ The letter ‘T’ in the Māori language is replaced by a ‘K’ in the Hawaiian language, ‘NG’ is written as ‘N’ and the ‘R’ is written as an ‘L’ therefore ‘Kanaloa’ becomes ‘Tangaroa’.

Māori epistemology being developed and refined over a thousand year span. Let us say, for arguments' sake, that Māori originally came from Hawai'i¹⁴. The table below illustrates a possible “developing view” of Tangaroa:

State of Consciousness (Space and Time)	Experience	Theory
Hawai'i - 1000 AD	Tsunami prone area with many lives lost.	Kanaloa is an evil and angry god
Aotearoa - 2000 AD	Crossed the Pacific safely to Aotearoa which is abundant in seafood.	Tangaroa is a provider and protector.

Table 1. The developing view of Tangaroa

The developing view of Tangaroa could be referred to as ‘cultural ecology’ which is the study of the adaptation of human societies or populations to their environments, emphasizing the arrangements of technique, economy, and social organization through which culture mediates the experience of the natural world (Winthrop, 1991). This mediation of experiences is something which the Western world does not traditionally participate in. Western theory demands that Māori be able to validate, justify or legitimize their beliefs; this, however, is impossible given that Māori and Western Theory sit in a different place, space and time.

¹⁴ The original homeland of the Māori is a place called Hawaiki. It should also be noted that where Māori use the letter *k* Hawaiians use a glottal stop which is represented by an apostrophe. As an example the Māori word *mokopuna* (grandchild) is written as *mō'opuna* (grandchild) in the Hawaiian language. Therefore the Māori word *Hawaiki* would be written in the Hawaiian language as *Hawai'i* however archaeologists and scientists dispute that Hawaiki and Hawai'i are one in the same.

2.3 Phases of individual decision making

Just like the Māori and Western worlds view knowledge and understanding differently, differences also exist within the Māori community. For the purpose of this thesis, I will discuss “three stages of knowledge” within the Māori world.

1. Stage one The non-fluent
2. Stage two The not-so-fluent
3. Stage three The fluent

These stages refer to where a person is located in terms of understanding the Māori language and ways of knowing/being, and in what environment they were raised/currently live. Tied into these stages are three phases of knowledge: reflection, revision, and reclamation. In the first Stage, the individual has very little background or knowledge of their culture; at this time, it is essential to reflect on how to gain access to understanding. During the second Stage, individuals must revise the positions that they held as non-fluent Māori, and continually analyze and revise the knowledge(s) they have acquired. Finally, the third Stage requires the reclamation of knowledge(s) – it is the phase where Tūhoe people who live surrounded in Tūhoe culture and tradition can fine tune and discuss the knowledge(s) of their tribe. They reclaim the knowledge of what it means to “be Tūhoe.”

1. Reflection

The best way to describe reflection (for the purpose of this study) is to refer to a description given by Wikipedia, (2008) regarding computer science. In computer science, reflection is the process by which a computer program can observe and modify its own structure and behavior. The distinction between instruction and data is merely a matter of how the information is treated by the computer and programming language. Normally instructions are executed and data is processed,

however, programs can also treat instructions as data and therefore make reflective modifications (Wikipedia, 2008). A document published by Florida Atlantic University states that “reflection is integral to the concept of continuous improvement and further belief that this is true for individuals, groups, and organizations” (Florida Atlantic University, 2008).

Reflection in the identity framework

Reflection in the framework refers to how a person analyzes practices that they observe occurring within the tribe. Tribal practices will, in most cases, differ from the practices with which a Stage one person has been raised. Stage one refers to an individual who was born and raised, and is otherwise disconnected from the tribe. While this disconnect translates into a break in understanding, tribal members attempt to encourage understanding and personal engagement by employing practices which are familiar (or relatable) to the Stage one person. It, however, is also essential for the Stage one person to participate in order to affirm what they suspect is tribal identity.

2. Revision

When writing regarding ‘revision in writing’ Fitzgerald (1987) states that revision has been conceptualized primarily as a problem solving process activated by the identification of discrepancies between what is intended and what is instantiated. The pervasiveness of this perception is evidenced by the fact that expressions like problem detection, problem diagnosis, and problem resolution have often been treated as synonymous with revision.

Revision in the identity framework

For people in Stage two, the need to revise is important due to the desire to understand what it is that they have experienced in earlier stages of attaining tribal identity. This necessity is further exemplified by the knowledge that tribal identity is in a constant stream of change. Stage two people are likely more comfortable in knowing who they are as a Tūhoe; therefore, they are more likely to make inquiries in order to substantiate their beliefs or to prove their theories by experiment or ‘testing the waters’ so to speak.

3. Reclamation

Cabral discusses the influence of a strong cultural identity as being a factor of resistance to domination and that resistance itself encourages further reclamation of a cultural identity to both consolidate the cultural identity, and to negate the dominating cultures oppression. When speaking on the development of Māori art by Māori artists, Adsett, Whiting & Ihimaera (1996) record that Artists in the 1970s engaged in forums to support and voice their vision for Māori art, formally establishing the Māori Artists and Writers Society in 1973, which organized annual meetings, exhibitions, workshops and performance of contemporary Māori arts. While other organizations have developed to continue in supporting Māori artists, the Māori Artists and Writers Society was exceptional because it formally initiated reclamation of Māori art and pioneered new creative expression and direction that removed the paralysis of the primitive mode. A central feature in this reclamation is that the artists concerned resisted the accepted view of Māori art as traditional or primitive and developed new forms, used new materials and introduced new ‘non-traditional’ modes of creative expression, which still acknowledged the past but also

moved into the future. Effectively, these Māori artists liberated the Māori art discourse from a paralysis with the traditional to also incorporate artistic freedom to create (and thus open) new intellectual horizons (Adsett et al., 1996; Mataira, 1984).

Reclamation in the identity framework

Reclamation in this thesis refers to accepted forms of change or development by the Tūhoe people that is influenced by place, space and time but can still be claimed as belonging to the tribe. Changes in tribal identity can be viewed as a paradigm shift where people transform the way they perceive events, each other, the environment, and life altogether which in turn influences the way people live their lives today and in the future. Changes in tribal identity (in this study) are validated, credited or legitimized when those changes are decided upon as a collective either in a wānanga forum or in arenas such as Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe.

2.4 Stages of collective decision making:

Irwin (2007) identifies three stages of knowing and lists these as mōhiotanga (knowing 'how to do') which she states can be described as shallow learning, mātauranga (an extension of 'how to do') which relates to wisdom that comes from in-depth knowledge, and māramatanga (enlightenment) described as the intuitive intelligence (p. 33). Irwin views these states (in Figure 2) of knowing in an ascending order with māramatanga or enlightenment as the pinnacle:

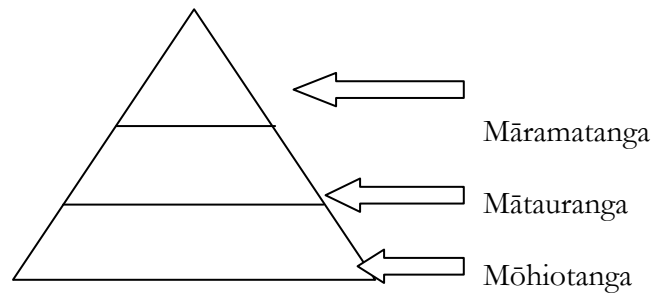


Fig. 2 Irwin's model

The range of concepts which Irwin discusses is also elaborated on by Charles Royal (2004). However, while these two theorists use the same terms to define the stages, the parameters surrounding each stage are significantly different. Royal describes mōhioatanga, mātauranga, and māramatanga as,

1. Mōhioatanga

Mōhioatanga can be viewed as 'internalized or embodied knowing', one that does not require an exchange (of knowledge) to be present in one's consciousness. An example of this kind of 'knowing' is the knowledge of the new-born child to suckle at his/her mother's breast. In most cases, a child is not taught to suckle, but rather and somehow the child knows what to do. (p. 39)

2. Mātauranga

Firstly, we can say that mātauranga is often used to refer to that type of knowledge that is passed, exchanged and transferred between people. For example, the words that one utters to explain something, is a type of knowledge passed from one person (the speaker) to another (the listener). We would refer to this type of knowledge as mātauranga. (p. 29).

3. Māramatanga

Our usual experience of māramatanga occurs on an everyday basis in such activities as conversation. Here we speak with one another and thereby pass mātauranga between each other. However, with respect to māramatanga, it is up to the person who is receiving the knowledge as to whether they understand or not. Hence, māramatanga is that quality and experience of understanding that takes place inside a person when they have received certain knowledge. (p. 37).

There is a Māori proverb that best defines the contexts of mōhio(tanga), mātau(ranga) and mārama(tanga) which has also been stated at the beginning of Part Two of this Chapter:

“Mā te kōrero ka mōhio, mā te mōhio ka mātau, mā te mātau ka mārama, mā te mārama ka ora.”

(From communication comes learning, from learning comes understanding, from understanding comes enlightenment, and from enlightenment comes well-being). Reflecting upon this proverb I identify that understanding first comes from communication therefore this is where I position my use of mōhiotanga, mātauranga, and māramatanga while referring to the practice of collective decision making, it is by communicating with each other that we learn, we understand, and therefore become enlightened and if we are enlightened then we are well, we are alive, we are flourishing. In order for tribal identity to be sustained we must communicate on all levels of whānau, hapū, iwi, and waka through forums of wānanga, marae, and hui.

1. Mōhiotanga in the identity framework

Being raised in immediate whānau (family) and marae environments, it is a lot easier to distinguish accepted practices due to the fact that Māori encounter these two environments on a more regular basis. Generally one can understand family practices by what one observes and in childhood years, one will generally mimic what one sees. The marae is also an area that one would observe what is happening and know what is the ‘norm’ and what is not. For the purpose of this study, mōhiotanga refers to knowledge that transpires between people we encounter on a regular basis or people that are familiar to us.

I also need to mention that Māori normally refer to contexts of whānau, hapū and iwi but I have chosen to include marae as I am aware that many hapū (sub tribes) have more than one marae, therefore, the use of the word marae in the identity framework refers to sub-tribal areas that have more than one marae. An example would be the marae of Otenuku and Papakainga, found in Ruatoki. Both marae belong to the sub tribe Ngāti Koura but both marae are separate to each other. Families from within Ngāti Koura affiliate more to one marae and therefore will attend marae hui for that particular marae. Decisions through a marae hui will normally relate to the benefit of the families that affiliate to that marae and not for the benefit of the other Ngāti Koura marae.

2. Mātauranga in the identity framework

Mātauranga, for the purpose of this research, refers to knowledge that is decided on in forums that may include people we do not see on a regular basis or people that are unfamiliar to us. In most cases hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (main tribe) forums are inclusive of all sub-tribal or tribal members. Decisions are therefore made towards the benefit of the greater Whānau (family) or marae contingents.

3. Māramatanga in the identity framework

Māramatanga in the framework refers to decision making based on a greater level of understanding or enlightenment. Decision making is weighed against place, space and time and levels of attaining, maintaining, and sustaining tribal identity are challenged in the hope of further developing the tribe.

Wānanga (educational forums) are held with the specific purpose of learning or teaching and hui are held with the intent of planning and executing Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe.

2.5 Reflection

What resonates the most for me in this chapter is the importance of the language. Although this does not come as a surprise, given that our history is a spoken one, I did not fully understand the extent of the importance that the language has on the entire existence of Māori. Forums such as wānanga, marae and hui rely on a person's ability to communicate, and a person's ability to communicate relies on a person's knowledge of the language. Such is the nature of Māori.

While communication can be executed through the English language, comprehension of Māori principles, values and beliefs cannot be achieved by attempting to understand them from a Western perspective. In order to understand Māori, one has to be immersed in a Māori world, physically, spiritually, mentally, and emotionally.

The Maori world differs significantly from the Western world, particularly in the Maori concepts and experience of causation, and in the pervasiveness of spiritual components of enlightenment and understanding. It is not unexpected, then, for researchers to require a non-Westernized way of exploring Māori-Tūhoe knowledge(s) and culture. The emphasis that Tūhoe scholars and knowledge holders place on the significance of language and what is imbedded in the oral tradition creates a need to approach research with an understanding and respect for tribal identity, language and culture.



Fig. 4 – Dress rehearsal for the 2007 Tūhoe Festival. (*photographed by H Tamehana 2007*)

CHAPTER THREE

Stage Rehearsal: Methodology

Opening

“Being Māori is not only about where you are from...it’s also about where you are at” my father would say. Expounding further, my father would explain that many Māori who are raised out of the region or away from their people return home with a pen and paper, hoping to research who they are. These people are informed that they will never learn who they are by simply listening to someone talk; they must ‘live’ who they are. They are encouraged to come home and cry with the people during a funeral or to celebrate with the people during a wedding or birthday. Telling people how our ancestors were slain or made homeless during government land confiscations does not have the same impact as taking them to the actual place where the event occurred, where the blood was spilled, where the bones of those ancestors lie. It is not enough to simply tell a person what happened in the past...they must feel it; only then will we ensure that it never happens again.

Introduction

According to Babbie (2001), “if epistemology is the science of knowing then methodology is regarded as a sub-field of epistemology, it may be regarded as the science of finding out” (p. 18). When I started my research, I wanted it to reflect and maintain Māori-Tūhoe worldviews, philosophies, and ways of knowing and being, and apply those to teaching in a contemporary context; however, I still wanted to maintain cultural pedagogies. I also want to note that I teach First Nations Studies, Nursing, Indigenous Women’s Studies and Education at the University of Northern British Columbia in Canada; as such, I do not use worldviews, philosophies and methodologies that are problematic for any Indigenous people or community, regardless of their geographical and genealogical position. I want my research to reflect upon how ‘knowledge(s)’ can contribute to sustaining tribal identity through performing arts. I carefully chose communities that are familiar to me – communities whose work is exemplary or emerging.

In my search for a research methodology and after many months of dialoguing back and forth with my whanau, hapu and iwi, the collective decided that I create a Māori Research Paradigm Net that would position Māori to its fullest potential. The methodology for further learning and teaching had to be reflective upon the two components for approaching research: Kaupapa Māori Qualitative Research Approach and a Māori Centred Research Approach. These will be elaborated further throughout this chapter. Through these approaches, I knew that a very relevant way to approach my fieldwork was through a case study. This approach allows the research to function within the parameters of the Māori paradigm net. The Māori paradigm net focuses on and with the intent of identifying Māori potential.

As I develop my understanding of these different approaches, the methodology seemed to evolve as a natural part of strengthening the Māori position. Within this chapter, the term methodology is used to refer to how the data was collected and how the data was analyzed which include the following:

1. Research approaches that were used
2. Māori paradigms
3. Case study versus auto-ethnography and ethnography
4. Selection of research participants and research location
5. Values and ethical guidelines in the research
6. How the data was analyzed
7. Reflection

The key factors attached to my research responsibilities included acquiring informed consents from the participants and community members; respecting and maintaining privacy and confidentiality; and, above all, ensuring cultural respect, cultural safety and cultural

accountability to the community. The importance of these facets directly led me to the research approaches that I employed: the Māori-centred, and Kaupapa Māori research approaches.

3.1 A Māori – Centred Qualitative Research Approach

According to Boulton (2005), the term “Māori centred” was coined by Mason Durie (1996), a Māori scholar and researcher at a Hui Whakapiripiri (collective meeting). The purpose for the ‘term’ was to distinguish a particular approach to health research that differed from Western medical models. At that time, Durie noted that Māori health research differed from medical research and other health research as it was primarily concerned with the health of Māori people and in that respect took “full cognizance of Māori culture, Māori knowledge and contemporary Māori realities” (p. 79).

Durie (1996) contends that worldwide efforts by Indigenous peoples towards self-determination have resulted in debates about intellectual ownership, community control, participation and partnership in research. As Māori have struggled to assert their rights to determine their own future in their own ways, other Indigenous nations have also struggled with the same issues. In the area of health research, Māori have voiced their demands for greater partnerships. It is from these struggles and debates that new ways of approaching health research have emerged (Boulton, 2005, p. 79).

Māori-centred research deliberately places Māori people and the Māori experience at the centre of the research activity (Durie, 1996). Cunningham (2000) identifies the term ‘Māori-centred’ as one which further develops into taxonomy of Māori research; specifically, taxonomy based primarily on the degree of Māori involvement and control in a specific research project. Cunningham points out that Māori research has several defining

characteristics: namely, that Māori are more likely to be involved at all levels of the research (for example, as participants, researchers and analysts); that Māori data will be collected; that Māori analysis is applied; and, as a result that Māori knowledge is produced (cited by Boulton, 2005, p. 80). The ultimate goal of such an approach is to further the Māori position in the world.

3.2 Kaupapa Māori Research Approach

As discussed in the previous section, a Māori-centred approach to research can be viewed as the “practice” of research – the physical manifestations of the research. While a Kaupapa Māori research approach shares commonalities with a Māori-centred research approach, distinctions do exist. Kaupapa Māori expands on Māori-centred ideas, and goes beyond the focus of a purely Māori-centred approach to research; essentially, a Kaupapa Māori approach to research is the theory behind the research.

In order to understand what Kaupapa Māori research approach is comprised of, I want to briefly explore a few of the various perspectives from other scholars/researcher(s) who might have a clear definition on its interpretation and how they have used this approach in their research.

Graham H. Smith (1997) articulates Kaupapa Māori as the focal point that engages validity and legitimacy of Kaupapa Māori theory. This approach engages structural politics; furthermore, as Smith articulates, “it aims to make space for the valid presence of studying our own cultural practices, knowledge and language in a research environment that is often captured by non-Māori thought reification of scientific interpretations of research, positivism, technological and rationality” (p. 45). Amohia Boulton (2005) a Māori scholar and researcher cited Irwin (1994) as saying, Kaupapa Māori research must contain elements

of cultural safety, mentorship, relevance and rigour and it is research that can only be undertaken by Māori. She continues on to say that Irwin defines Kaupapa Māori research as being:

research which is ‘culturally safe’, which involves mentorship of kaumatua (Elders) which is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of the research, and which is undertaken by a Māori researcher, not a researcher that happens to be Māori. (Irwin, 1994, p. 9)

I reflect back again to the opening of this chapter, reiterating my father’s words, “being Māori is not only about where you are from...it is also about where you are at.” I understand the term “happening to be Māori” as reference to those researchers who are researching for personal gain – not for the benefit of the people being researched, or who are asking Pakeha questions of their research. These researchers ‘happen to be Māori.’ As Graham H. Smith (1997) points out, Kaupapa Māori has key elements,

1. The validity and legitimacy of Māori worldviews;
2. The survival of Māori language and culture are imperative;
3. The importance of autonomy over our own cultural well-being and over our own lives is vital to Māori existence.

These elements – tribal identity, language and customs – are critical to any discussion of Kaupapa Māori, which is in line with the assertions that Māori language must be viewed as essential in the reproduction of Kaupapa Māori (Graham Smith, 1997, p. 45). This grounding in a community is, according to Ranginui Walker (2004), a necessity of the Kaupapa Māori research approach, and it is the embodiment of the principal of reciprocity (cited by Amohia Boulton, 2005, p.78). Kaupapa Māori research is built upon mutual respect, mutual benefit and integrity. In research this requires maintaining direct, clear and

respectful intentions with all parties involved thereby ensuring that the benefit is experienced by the community and participants. Rather than Māori being merely the uninformed subjects of research, Smith (1995) articulates that Kaupapa Māori is done by Māori, for Māori and with Māori.

Thus to approach the research using a Kaupapa Māori model, researchers favor an initial Hui (traditional meeting) forum to discuss and negotiate the terms of a place for research and much as possible, to seek full involvement of a group or community. The goal of this is to ensure that all participants' aspirations are reflected in the research. The Kaupapa approach also encourages face-to-face or one-on-one interviews, which Linda Smith (1999) indicates in her seven keystones to research approach outlined in my ethical and values guidelines. And, naturally, it is important for a researcher to ask themselves if they are really the most suitable person for the study. Until research capability is available within each tribe, it is incumbent on the Kaupapa Māori researcher to employ the least intrusive approaches, for example, open-ended questions, and to apply methods that are empowering and affirming for those who participate in sharing stories of a similar nature. Only then can a Kaupapa approach be successful.

In order to ensure full involvement of the community, it is critical to arrange times for initial visits and introductions to take place and to access the guidance of a local reference person or a key influence associated with the interest of the community. As part of this process, a Kaupapa Māori researcher should become familiar with the context in which the research is to be undertaken, including the tribal demographic of whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe), and the iwi (tribal group).

There are multiple methods and approaches to research but for the purpose of this research, I have clearly drawn from the community's knowledge and expertise. This is

important for me to clarify in that this research approach is not a process distinct from the community, but will inform, support and maintain whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribal group) relationships even long after the research.

3.3 Paradigms and Paradigm Shifts

After living away from my Tūhoe community for nearly forty years, I noticed, upon my return, that certain paradigm shifts that had occurred during my absence. I desired to understand what triggered these paradigm shifts and to identify if these paradigm shifts were going to be influential to my analysis of the data.

The concept of ‘paradigm shift’ was made popular by Thomas Kuhn who in 1962 wrote the book *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* where he fathered, defined and popularized the concept of “paradigm shift” (p.10). Kuhn argues that scientific advancement is not evolutionary, but rather is a “series of peaceful interludes punctuated by intellectually violent revolutions”; in those revolutions, “one conceptual worldview is replaced by another” (p. 10).

Many paradigm shifts within today’s Māori society can be seen as an act of reinstating or reclaiming Māori worldviews, values and beliefs which I will refer to as “Paradigm Reversal.” This apparent reversal in ways of viewing Tūhoe in the world is illustrated in Table 2:

The time of our grandparents	The time of our parents	The time of our children
Māori are tangata whenua	Māori are New Zealanders	Māori are tangata whenua
Māori language is vital to our existence	English language is necessary in order to survive the new world	Māori language is vital to our existence.
We are responsible for each other	We are responsible for ourselves	We are responsible for each other

Table 2. Paradigm Reversal

Paradigm reversals such as these are largely due to the knowledge that the Western way of thinking is actually exclusive of Māori, that is that they do not acknowledge or identify Māori beliefs and values as credible or valid. Therefore the paradigm shift of Māori (where Māori exist as Māori) to Pākehā (where Māori exist as New Zealanders) has been reversed to ‘Māori exist as Māori.’

What can be said about Māori paradigm shifts is that they are generally done with the people’s interests at heart. My younger brother, who was raised without the Māori language, once told me that he asked our father why he was never taught the language. My father replied, “because I thought that Pākehā culture was successfully dominating the Māori world and I didn’t want you to have to struggle to survive in the world.” So in the best interests of my younger siblings, my parents spoke little Māori to them.

Milestones in Māori achievement towards reversing paradigm shifts can be attributed to people such as Dame Whina Cooper who led the 1975 march in protest of lost tribal lands; Eva Rickard, who was a dedicated land campaigner; Dr Pita Sharples who was

instrumental in the establishment of Māori total immersion school, and all our parents and grandparents who retained the language through the time of the national ban¹⁵.

3.4 Māori Research Paradigm Net

Situating my research within a Māori paradigm is done with the intent of identifying the following:

1. Māori Potential in the Māori World (Te Ao Māori)
Developing strategies for sustaining tribal identity based on Māori principles, values, and beliefs in order to increase Māori self-determination and self-governance.
2. Māori Influence in an Indigenous World (Te Ao Taketake)
Exchanging strategies with other Indigenous peoples who are also at risk of losing their tribal identity.
3. Māori Stance in a Western World (Te Ao Pākeha)
Utilizing Western tools that can be appropriated or adapted to assist Māori in developing strategies for sustaining tribal identity.
4. Māori Position Worldwide
Sustained tribal identity which ultimately strengthens the Māori position.

These four identifying factors exist within a state of constant flux and change. Each factor contributes to and receives from the others; Māori/Tūhoe knowledge(s), therefore, emerges from this knowledge acquisition from others (communities, countries, worldviews) in relation to its own, developing worldview. Metge (1995) explains that Māori have grasped many aspects of the social and cultural concepts that were brought to Aotearoa by early European settlers, adapted them to fit into Māori contexts, re-orienting them to serve Māori

¹⁵ The Native Schools Act 1867 saw a complete ban on the Māori language in schools.

goals thus creating a style that Māori can call their own. According to Metge, cultural borrowing and cross-fertilization is both legitimate and creatively exciting. Metge argues that Pākeha law and policy makers give their approval for the adaptation of the various social and cultural arrangements and Māori were often encouraged to access and adapt to it. As Māori, we are influenced by worldviews other than our own and all forms of adaptation are made with the intent to enhance the Māori position. In saying this Māori remain intrinsically connected to their ways of knowing and being.

Adaptation is not new to Māori people; in fact, it is evidenced from before the time Māori arrived in Aotearoa (e.g. developing the view of Tangaroa) and then again when Pākeha arrived (colonization). The difference between the two is that one was a conscious choice towards a natural process of development and the other was forced – uninvited. It could be assumed that the Pākeha intended for Māori to adapt to the Pākeha ways but instead Māori adapted the Pākeha ways to fit in with their (Māori) ways of knowing and being.

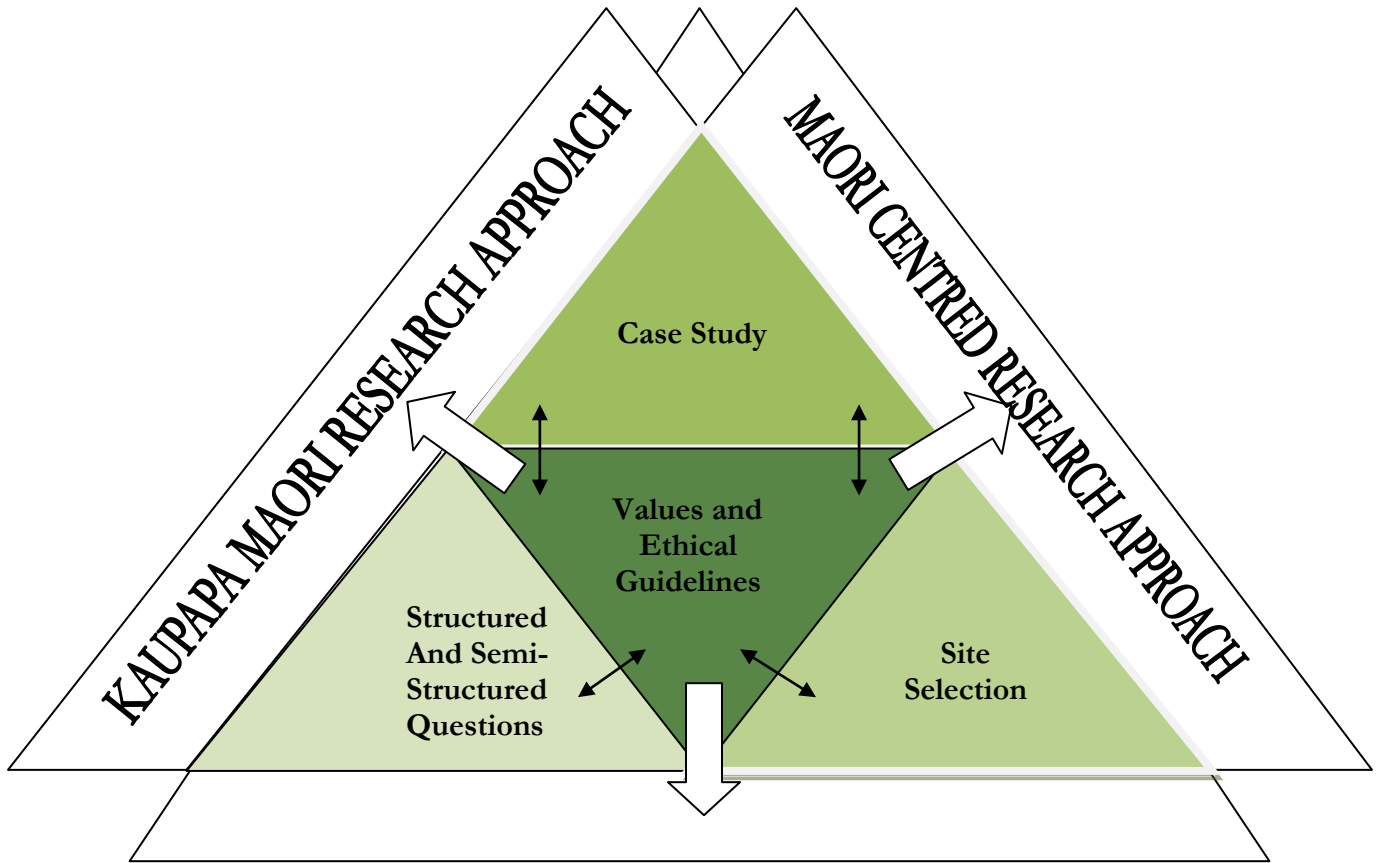


Fig. 3 Māori Research Paradigm Net (Fraser T, 2007)

3.5 Case Study versus Ethnography and Auto-Ethnography

The Māori paradigm illustrates how Māori potential is acquired and strengthened. To understand the paradigm, one must understand where they are positioned. Because this thesis focuses on the Māori paradigm, it is essential to explore the positioning of the community – to focus on what the community knows and what the participants think. Through the interactions of case-study research, relationships and positions are acknowledged, and, most importantly, unity is created. Below I give a brief outline on ethnography and auto-ethnography (the approaches I did not use) before I elaborate on the case study approach.

1. Ethnography

Fetterman (1998) defines ethnography as the “art and science of describing a group or culture” and further explains that ethnographers are noted for the ability to enter into research with an open mind (p. 1). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) inform us that ethnographic research involves “the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time” (p. 1) which is also supported by Penn-Handwerker’s (2001) suggestion that “ethnography requires distinctive methods” such as extended periods of fieldwork, suggesting that a minimum of one year is necessary; two or more is preferable (p. 4). Goodall (2000) makes the comment that ethnography is “the result of a lot of reading, a disciplined imagination, hard work in the field and in front of a computer, and solid research skills, all of which are crafted into compelling stories, narratives or accounts” (p. 10).

2. Auto-Ethnography

Auto-ethnography is a genre of writing and research that connects the personal to the cultural, placing the self within a social context (Reed-Danahay, 1997). Auto-ethnographic texts are usually written in the ‘first person’ context and feature dialogue, emotion, and self-consciousness as relational and institutional stories affected by history, social structure, and culture (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Holt (2003) explains that auto-ethnographers generally use their own experiences in a culture reflexively to look more deeply at self-other interactions and notes that by writing themselves into their own work as major characters, auto-ethnographers have challenged accepted views about silent authorship, where the researcher’s voice is not included in the presentation of findings. However, auto-ethnographies have been criticized for being too self-indulgent and narcissistic (Coffey, 1999).

3. Case Study

The essence of the Māori paradigm is to create unity between all aspects of life. It is this unity – the “one-ness” – of the Māori paradigm, which encouraged me to explore the case study approach. Stake (1995) informs us that “case study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances” (p. xi).

For this research, it is important for me to first of all identify the case. The term ‘case’ is applied to the tribe (Tūhoe) and although there were many participants (ten individual speakers and two focus groups), they are viewed as a ‘single case’ by being Tūhoe. The reason I view these people, and indeed myself, as a single case supports my view that we (Tūhoe) can only be seen as a whole (in a singular sense) when we acknowledge the validity, value, and legitimacy of each other’s whakapapa (genealogy), hītori (histories), and kōrero (narratives).

Although I am subjective in my involvement in this thesis, for me, the word auto places me as the main focus and the word auto-ethnography suggests that I am attempting to find or understand myself within the constructs of the tribe (Tūhoe). I do not deny that in part I am informing myself through my research but it is my intent to be informed as a part of the collective and not as an individual.

While I was raised Tūhoe, I must reiterate that I have lived away from my people, culture, and lands for almost four decades. During my absence, many changes had occurred such as paradigmatic shifts in thought: for example, the introduction of total immersion schools, and even Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe (which is the focal point of my research). I do not believe that my experiences as a child growing up Tūhoe in the 50s, 60s, and 70s are the same as those of a child that has grown up Tūhoe through the 80s, 90s, and today. So,

although I was raised Tūhoe and have attended the Tūhoe festival, I believe that I am researching Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe as a ‘new’ concept to me and that attending two Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe gatherings, totaling six days, cannot be classed as an extensive period of fieldwork.

3.6 Selection of Research Participants and Interview Locations

3.6.1 Difficulties Surrounding the Research

Apart from the time limitations surrounding the festival, I also experienced challenges directly related to the control of what could and could not go into this dissertation. Given the nature of the research, the knowledge(s), memories, practices and guidance by community Elders and the Māori-Tūhoe world from which I come, ultimately create my own sense of self-actualization. Not recognizing these people visually (whether in photos, graphs, or stories) would have contradicted what a Maori approach to research actually entails.

Other difficulties I encountered included the distance from the research site, and the difficulty of travel; the lack of proximity to the Whare-Wananga (place of higher learning); the juggling of full time teaching, working, travelling, writing and familial responsibilities; the need to create a relationship between the community and committee, and the relationships within the committee in terms of how best to guide me, as their student; the financial responsibility; and the interruption of the October 2007 Tūhoe raid, which delayed the delivery of the transcripts in a timely manner, as was promised to the community.

3.6.2 Engaging the Participants

Although I was not able to spend a great length of time conducting my research by living in my Tuhoe community once again, I knew that I must time the research to coincide

with Te Hui Ahurei. Not only would this afford me the opportunity to research the festival, but it would provide the perfect contextual setting; the participants would already be situated within a Te Hui Ahurei perspective and context. Thus my approach was to gather the participants together in a traditional setting, where I delivered a speech, relating to each person present, in an attempt to engage them in the process.

During the speech I told stories I have from growing up in Waiohau from the Elders I remember, and the teachings I received as a child. I made mention of every Elder I remembered so that a connection could hopefully be established between myself and those in the room. I regurgitated the hilarious stories from my childhood to bring humor into the room which is a trait familiar to Māori. I then moved into stories of working and living in a country far from home, my family in Canada, my work amongst the First Nations people from various clans and bands throughout Canada and the struggles that they face through colonization which led me into explaining the reason I was home; to offer my people the opportunity to learn from their combined knowledge(s) and, in turn, allowing these knowledge(s) to assist other Indigenous peoples.

With this goal in mind, I needed to choose participants who would speak to the role of Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe in sustaining tribal identity. It seemed to me that the performers, tutors, and supporters of Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu group were the most obvious choice given that they were from the sub-tribes of my mother and therefore kin; this is why I chose to address the Tuhoe people at the gathering. The need for me to choose participants who were also familiar to me was important as I have resided for almost four decades, not only outside of the community but also in another country. Knowing that the term whānau is inclusive of extended family members, I also felt it necessary to include participants who are of Tūhoe descent (but not of Ngāti Haka-Patuheuheu descent), as well as one who is neither

Tūhoe nor Ngāti Haka-Patuheuheu but has been involved in Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe as a performer and equally involved in the tribe through his union with a Tūhoe woman. The participants were included in hopes of affording me a wider view of how and who Tūhoe people are. The focus groups were separated into two groups (males and females). The reason why I separated the focus groups into males and females is due to my understanding that the roles of the female and the roles of the male differed suggesting that each other's views would perhaps be similar to those of the same gender, but may differ from those of the opposite gender.

There were ten individual Speakers and two focus groups in total. The Focus Groups followed the guide of the Elders in their groups because of the different roles of each gender. The Focus Group interviews were held during Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe, with each person positioned on mattresses, casually talking back and forth. During the interview, two transcribers took down all questions and comments; it was a very casual, unstructured environment. Right after the festival, the Focus Group discussions and questions were immediately transcribed by the two experienced notetakers (who were fluent in both languages).

For the individual Speakers, the interviews always took place over a meal or a cup of tea – either at their place of employment, or at the Speaker's own home. I used a tape recorder during these interviews, rather than notetake. I played back the recording at the end of each interview (while the Speaker was present) to make sure that I had accurately recorded what the Speaker was saying. After the interview, I immediately returned home and transcribed the contents of the tape.

1. Focus Group One

Focus Group One refers to the first focus group which was made up of the male performers of Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu Kapa Haka as well as their male Elders.

Their ages varied with the youngest being 14 years of age and the oldest being 60 years of age.

2. Focus Group Two

Focus Group Two refers to the second focus group which was made up of the female performers of Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu Kapa Haka as well as their female Elders. Their ages varied with the youngest being 14 years of age and the oldest being 69 years of age.

3. Speaker One - Tāne¹⁶

Tāne is Tūhoe and has genealogical links to the people of Waiohau (Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu) but has been raised on his Ruatāhuna side. He is a first time performer for Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu but has performed at the Tūhoe festival for Ruatāhuna.

4. Speaker Two - Tame Iti

Tame Iti is a well known Tūhoe activist who was raised within the Tūhoe hapū of Te Māhurehure, a sub-tribe located in Ruatoki.

5. Speaker Three - Daphne

Daphne is a member of the Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu but has been raised for most of her life, outside of the Tūhoe region. She is a first time performer for Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu.

6. Speaker Four - Rita

Rita is a tutor and advisor of Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu Kapa Haka who has been raised within the confines of the tribe. She also practices traditional Māori medicine and has varied roles within the hapū of Waiohau.

¹⁶ All Speakers (except TR) granted permission to use their full name, which was submitted to Ethics and approved.

7. Speaker Five - George

George is of Sāmoan descent with no Māori genealogical links. He is a performer for Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu and is able to claim whānau status through his partner who is a tribal member of Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu.

8. Speaker Six- Hera

Hera is a member of the Tūhoe tribe who can claim descent from the hapū of Ngāti Koura and Ngāti Rongo of the Ruatoki region. She is an experienced performer of Māori performing arts and is also an assistant tutor for the Kapa Haka group. Hera is also a teacher of Māori performing arts in a total immersion school.

9. Speaker Seven - Ameria

Ameria is a Tūhoe tribal member but not of Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu descent. She is a facilitator for the Tūhoe Education Authority and is responsible for collating and deciphering research that is aimed at creating a Tūhoe curriculum for Tūhoe schools.

10. Speaker Eight - Hōhepa

Hōhepa is a descendant of Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu and is also a current tutor for Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu Kapa Haka. Although he has been raised most of his life outside of the tribal areas, his experience in Kapa Haka is vast.

11. Speaker Nine - TR¹⁷

TR has affiliations to both Tūhoe and Te Arawa. He is a lecturer in Māori studies and is also a tutor for another Tūhoe group that attends Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe.

12. Speaker Ten - Yvonne

Yvonne is probably the most experienced of those I interviewed. Her knowledge(s) and experiences are immeasurable. Yvonne's experiences include those of a performer, judge, supporter, and advisor. She is currently a project coordinator for the Tūhoe Education Authority.

¹⁷ This Speaker's consent form was not available at the time of Ethics submission; therefore, it could not be used in the final version of this dissertation.

The research uses multiple methods to collect information, including observation and historical analysis. In order to encourage a high level of participation, I asked open-ended questions, identified appropriate times and situations to present questions, and adhered to semi-structured interviews.

3.6.3 The Research Site

The locations where interviews were conducted varied. For the most part, the main location was Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe, located in Ruatoki. Additional locations such as work places were used to accommodate some workers (speakers six and seven) and individual homes were used to accommodate kaumātua (Elders) who always felt more relaxed in the familiarity of their own homes (such as speaker two). Figure 4 summarizes the number of male/female participants, and how the groups were divided.

<u>Female Focus Group</u>	<u>Male Focus Group</u>
20 – Performers	20 – Performers
5 – Elders	4 – Elders
<u>Knowledge Holders</u>	<u>Knowledge Holders</u>
4 – Key Knowledge Holders	6 – Key Knowledge Holders
29	30

Figure 4: Selected Participants

3.7 Values and Ethics Guidelines

Because I am and was raised Māori, I understood how to identify the ‘do’s and don’ts of cultural processes, which ensured that the respect factor remained intact. In line

with maintaining respect, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) suggests a seven stage ethical framework that one could follow when researching amongst communities:

1. Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)
Allowing the participants to define their own space and to meet on their own terms.
2. Kanohi Kitea (present yourself to people face to face)
The importance of fronting up to the community in which your research is being conducted.
3. Titiro, whakarongo...kōrero (look, listen...then speak)
The need to observe and listen to what is being said so as to develop an understanding before speaking.
4. Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)
The giving of information and time should be a two way process.
5. Kia tūpato (be cautious)
Nothing will be reported that is going to cause issues of concern or that hasn't been agreed to by the key informants.
6. Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of the people)
Allow the community to sound out their ideas.
7. Kaua e mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge)
The focus needs to be on community's values and beliefs and recognition must be made accordingly.

(p. 120)

These views are articulated throughout other Indigenous scholarships and practice. They can be seen, for example, in the Stó:lō Nation, shown symbolically through their Longhouse. Jo-ann Archibald notes that because the Longhouse holds “a strong spiritual practice that encompasses teachings about respect for all beings and living a healthy lifestyle...there are

strict cultural protocols and rules about behaviours, whether one is a guest, a hosting family/community, or a speaker” (p. 71).

3.7.1 Personal and Tribal Accountability

Furthermore, I realize that I am accountable to every participant for the information that each one gave and, ultimately, I am accountable to Tūhoe. The people have entrusted me with their stories, their memories, and their lives and I knew that I must make good on every promise I made. One such promise was that this thesis would be returned to the people as a resource for future generations. Accountability can be made easy by regular consultation and feedback to ensure that I interpret information correctly, that I present my thesis in parts that satisfy the academics, namely my committee, but that the pivotal points are written in a language that can be understood by the participants.

Given that the tribal gathering contributes positively to the language, customs, traditions, and the values imbedded in Māori identity it was my responsibility to ensure not only as a researcher, but as a Tūhoe tribal member to promote cultural preservation and sustainability but more importantly, to protect the safety and well being of the participants and communities involved. I used the following values framework to guide me through my research, using birds (manu) as the metaphor. This framework is adapted from one which was suggested by Linda Smith. This metaphor is symbolic of Tūhoe being forest dwellers as well as terms commonly found in waiata (songs):

1. Matemateāone

A term used solely by Tūhoe that refers to the recognition of one’s own value in the character of another and its reciprocal process. The term follows the concept of ‘treat others the way you would like to be treated’ and encompasses many common Māori values such as aroha (love), manaakitanga (kindness), hūmārie (peace), āwhina (assistance), awhi (embrace), and respect.

2. Manu Hakahaka

This term refers to a person who is actively involved in their community. I have attempted to do this by returning to Aotearoa yearly and sometimes twice a year as well as attending the Tūhoe festival since 2005, rekindling ties and by offering a koha (donation) to the Tūhoe festival committee before I began my research. This also addresses the concept of kanohi ki te kanohi or ‘face to face’ that I present myself in person so that they know who I am.

3. Manu kai i te Miro¹⁸

A bird will only partake of the miro berry within the confines of the forest.

This is the guideline I used to ensure that I broke bread with the people; that I took the time to sit and partake with them, listening attentively, while in the surroundings and environment comfortable and familiar to those I interviewed.

4. Manu kai i te Mātauranga

This guideline ensures that I reflect on what is being told to me, to ensure that I understand its full meaning and to search deeper for any hidden messages, only then would I be able to show my worthiness of receiving sacred teachings. The guideline also suggests It was also a time for me to share resources and knowledge(s) I have attained outside of the region.

5. Manu Ngangahu

The role of the manu ngangahu was performed by the women of old and is explained by Timoti Karetu (1993) as women who have two roles; to protect the flank of the haka troupe and to lift the flagging spirits of the troupe (p.32). I used this guideline to ensure that I correctly record and protect the knowledge(s) given to me and where I plan to present to the people, a document that will be of benefit to them.

¹⁸ This guideline is taken from the first part of a proverb “ko te manu e kai ana i te miro, nōna te ngahere – ko te manu e kai ana i te mātauranga, nōna te ao” (the bird who partakes of the miro berry, to him belongs the forest – the bird that partakes of knowledge, to him belongs the world). The second part of the proverb makes up the next guideline (manu kai i te mātauranga).

6. Manu Kōrero

This term refers to a person who is identified as a speaker. I use this guideline to remind me that I am in a sense, being granted the permission to speak on behalf of my people and that I must therefore adhere to the protocols, customs and traditions that determine the process of being a speaker. As an example; women are in most cases allowed to make an address in the confines of a building; my speech will be delivered in the confines of this thesis.

7. Manu Tukutuku

This term is used in reference to a kite that is let loose to fly but maintains connection to the holder through the string or line. It is a guideline I use to remind me that wherever I take these knowledge(s), I am still under the control of the giver/s of these knowledge(s) and should they let go of the string, I will struggle to stay airborne. This guideline ensures that I stay accountable to all those who I have interviewed and learned from.

3.7.2 Informed Consent

The ethical process prior to asking questions is for the researcher to present an Informed Consent sheet to each person participating in an interview, and review the informed consent sheet with the participants (See Appendix D). Informed consent is one of the ethical foundations to conducting research. Wilkinson (2001) notes that informed consent is required because it best respects the autonomy of the subjects. In respect of the people and participant(s), both oral and written consent were obtained from the participant(s) wherever possible and appropriate. Informed consent requires that in consenting; participant(s) are aware of the purpose of the research, their role, the reason for their selection, that any information they (the participant(s)) provide must be on a voluntarily basis and at any time, the participant(s) may withdraw from the research if they so choose.

The process of obtaining consent can be problematic if there are language barriers; fortunately for me this was not an issue, as I have retained most of the language I learned from my grandparents. During the gathering, I was respectful and invited people who were not comfortable or found it difficult to ask for clarification to speak with me at any time, at their convenience. Once the participant(s) were fully aware of how the informed consent worked (most of those who participated had been involved in research in one form or another), they were anxious to participate in the continuance of the research.

3.7.3 Maintaining Privacy and Confidentiality

Accompanying the informed consent process was a written guarantee of confidentiality. Confidentiality was clarified during both focus groups, as all participants were informed that if they felt uncomfortable sharing anything, they could choose not to disclose it to the group. All participants were made aware that there were two sections of consent which needed to be signed: the first indicated their consent to be part of the research; the second indicated their consent to have their comments attributed to them. I also informed the participants of who would have access to the data (my supervising committee, for example).

The data collected was immediately transcribed and organized as a whole group in two bound copies that would only be available to my research supervisor, and myself as the co-investigator and PhD candidate. All data was securely stored under lock and key. Individual transcripts were not bound but carefully color coded and securely stored. During the interviews and gatherings, I reinforced that the participating individuals would have access to their own transcripts at anytime; furthermore, if any individual wished for their transcript to remain stored or be destroyed, that it would be at their request.

In October 2007, I flew back to Aotearoa to deliver the transcripts face-to-face and to discuss any additions, deletions or concerns the Speakers may have had.

In more recent years, there has been great concern expressed by community members, particularly in Indigenous communities, about how researchers conduct their research. Indeed, there are many things that we as researchers will have to consider. The fact that there are colliding worldviews of institutional ethics and tribal processes can be problematic especially when traditional protocols or kawa is involved. The underlying ethical objective of the research undertaken within Tūhoe is to ensure that the people were also not exploited or harmed in any form.

In theory, we come to a place of understanding the research; in practice we perform the research by way of rehearsing inquiries and articulating our questions before we perform. There is also a spiritual connection through the appropriate use of language. Finally, and most importantly, for research that is carried out in Māori communities, researchers must have an understanding of cultural awareness, cultural sensitivity, cultural safety, and intellectual property rights. The first three are explained by Dr Irihāpeti Ramsden (2002) as:

1. Cultural Awareness
A beginning step towards understanding that there is a difference.
2. Cultural Sensitivity
Alerts students to the legitimacy of difference and begins a process of self exploration as the powerful bearers of their own life experience and realities and the impact this may have on others.
3. Cultural Safety
Cultural safety is an outcome that enables safe service to be defined by those that receive the service (p. 117).

The final one is explained by Anderson and Gallini (1998):

4. Intellectual Property Rights

Intellectual Property Rights prevents the widespread copying of new inventions or creative works (p. 1).

The status that a researcher may achieve as a result of the research is perceived in Māori communities as shared by all members. Similarly, should any member of the community fall into disrepute, the whole community experiences collective shame. Therefore, accountability is determined by whanaungatanga (kinship) and as such is an integral feature of the interrelationship between researchers and their communities. The intricacies of the relationship are manifested in many ways. Many Māori who live in urban cities manage to maintain meaningful relationships with their tribal and particularly with hapu (sub-tribe) connections as witnessed at Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe.

Bishop and Glynn (1992) argue that the researcher needs to enter into a relationship with the Māori community which respects and acknowledge(s) the dignity of all research participants and whereby the community works with the researcher for the benefit of the community.

3.8 Analyzing the data

In order for me to understand the information that was given to me by the participants, I needed to create an analytical framework that would assist me in determining what information was relevant, what information was credible, and what information was legitimate for the purpose of my thesis: how tribal identity is sustained through Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe. While I felt that all information given would be important, I knew that I must adhere to the reality that not all the information could be used; I therefore needed to identify the information that should or must be used. As a researcher I feel that it is almost

impossible to create an analytical framework prior to gathering information as the researcher is unaware of what information will be given and is, therefore, constantly in a state of adaptation and change.

When the interviews were complete, I began analysis of the transcriptions – the notes and the tape recordings. I split the groups into Focus Groups 1 and 2, and individual key knowledge holders. From each, I extracted the key themes regarding language, education, and ways of knowing and understanding our Tūhoe-ness. I determined in which stage of learning each participant was with the help of a whanau member. Then I used different colour felt pens to delineate the different stages: red for group/stage one; green for group/stage two; and black for group/stage three.

As stated above, three stages were developed using the analytical framework:

1. Group one The non-fluent
4. Group two The not-so-fluent
5. Group three The fluent

The identity of each group is not only based on their level of language but also where or how each participant was raised (i.e. in the community, away from the community, away from the community but maintains connection), whether the lessons they discussed were learned as children, adults, or as Elders; and whether the knowledge(s) or experiences that people had were accessible from outside of the community (e.g. researching whakapapa through the internet) or whether they could only be accessed from within the tribe (e.g. Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe). I also took into consideration a person's level of participation (e.g. performer or supporter), commitment (e.g. audience or judges), and involvement (e.g. organizer or onlooker). Within these groupings I was able to identify principles in each group that were deemed important by the participants. Gathering knowledge(s), for me, was

easier than prioritizing those knowledge(s) because in a sense, to prioritize people's knowledge(s) is to also prioritize the person. As footnoted earlier in this chapter (footnote 8), I do not make the attempt of de-valuing a person's knowledge from knowledge(s) held by another, instead I reaffirm that knowledge(s) from each participant is equally valuable, credible, and legitimate. I acknowledge that a difference in views is largely due to the environment a person was raised (e.g. in or out of the community) and to place little or no importance on views held by someone who was raised away from their community is to practically exclude them from the tribe.

This level of analysis was necessary because the importance of sustaining tribal identity is crucial to the Maori stance, the Maori potential, and the Maori influence. It is the essence of the Maori paradigm. I have developed Figure 5, shown below, which illustrates the flow of analysis with regards to sustaining tribal identity:

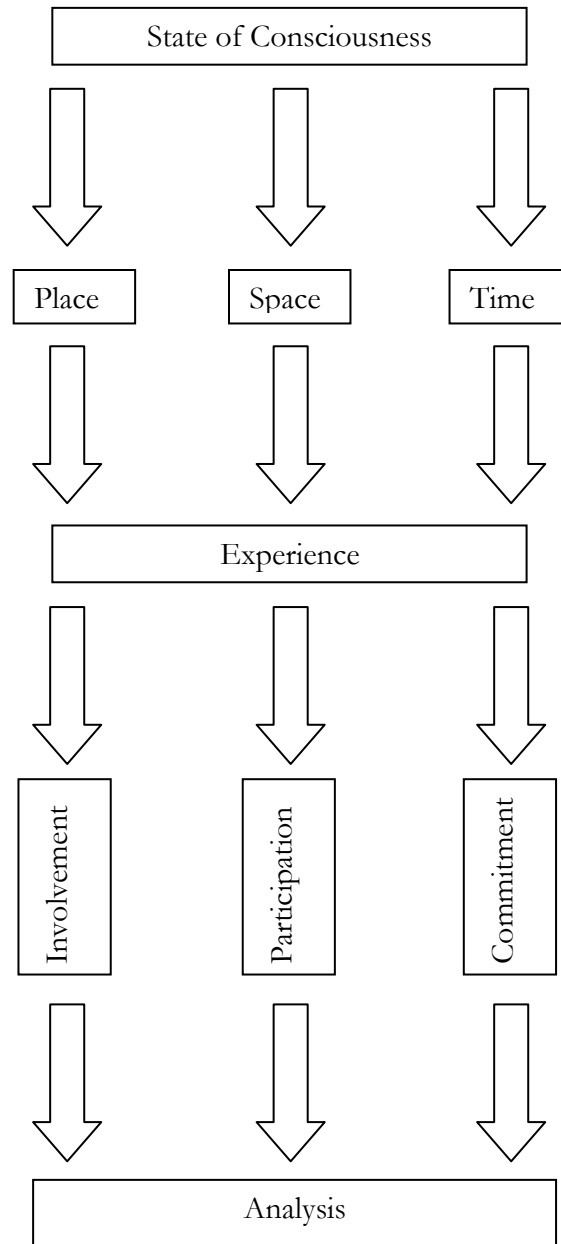


Fig. 5 Analytical Framework

The first step in using the analytical framework was to identify where or how each speaker was raised (space and time) which in turn painted a clearer picture of the depth¹⁹ of that person’s knowledge and understanding of Tūhoe identity. Experience was then measured by

¹⁹ This is not to say that the knowledge and understanding of a person who was raised out of a community lacks depth, instead it alludes to the notion that those raised within the community have had greater opportunities to learn and understand more.

a person’s level of involvement, participation and commitment within the group, on the marae, or within the tribe. The greater the level the more likely it was that their knowledge(s) and experiences were accepted by the group, on the marae, or within the tribe. Table 3 is an example of how the analytical framework was used (the analytical process is more fully discussed in Chapter eight):

State of Consciousness (Space and Time)	Experience (Involvement, participation, commitment)	Theory (Analysis)
Born and raised disconnected from the tribe.	A performer who observes tribal practices without becoming actively involved.	Being Tūhoe is determined by genealogy.
Born or raised away from the tribe but maintains regular contact with the tribe.	A leader who participates in tribal practices but does not generally question processes.	Being Tūhoe is determined by acknowledgement.
Born and raised within the tribe.	An activist who challenges tribal practices with the intention of tribal development.	Being Tūhoe is determined by input.

Table 3 - Using the Analytical Framework

3.9 Reflection

It is my belief that there are things that we can learn from each other, those raised within the community and those raised away from the community. The three worldviews that are illustrated through the Māori paradigm net are an integral component in realizing Māori potential. I am an embodiment of the synthesis of these worldviews and how the paradigm net functions. For example, I have three personal relationships with the “self”: one with an Indigenous worldview (Aboriginal people); another with academia (the university, provincial, national, and international); and the final with my genealogy: I am Māori-Tūhoe living away from the community. The relationship and connections between

these three positions directly correlate with the three worldviews which comprise the Māori paradigm net. It is my belief that understanding the paradigm, and experiencing the relationships that exist within it, help strengthen Māori potential. The key to understanding Maori stance, potential and influence is making the connection between the ways of knowing (Kaupapa Maori, and Maori Centred) and adhering to the ethical guidelines and values which are intrinsically linked to the Māori-Tūhoe world.

These connections bring back the memories from a trip through the Rockies one summer day. I knelt down to take a drink from a glacier stream when I envisioned the face of a Chief in the water. He told me that the water was made from the tears of the Māori-Tūhoe people, and it represented both the beauty within the land, and the coldness of those who want to destroy the land – the essence of who we are. He then told me that the lesson would fill me up for now, but that I would become thirsty again, at which time I would have to look elsewhere.

The need to sustain tribal identity is a vital function which will never be satiated. In order to truly articulate and understand the knowledge(s) of Māori-Tūhoe, individuals (including scholars and researchers) must approach their experiences with the tribes with the understanding that tribal identity, language, and culture and so embedded in every aspect of knowledge – of life – that they cannot be minimized. The methodology of the researcher is essential to knowledge transmission and preservation – in short, to tribal development.



Fig. 8 - Mountains of my people (*photographed by H Tamehana 2007*)

CHAPTER FOUR

Personal Stages of Development: (Introducing the Author)

Opening

The year is 1957, the setting...a small two bedroom shack; no electricity, no running water, no convenience stores within a 10 mile radius and no mode of transport other than a faithful brown horse called Pikorangi. It is the twenty third day in the month of March and it is nearing the end of summer. This was the day my life's journey began...it was the day I was born.

My first breath was an indication to my parents that I accepted my appointed roles...those of a daughter, of a grand-daughter, of a great grand-daughter. Over the years these roles were taught to me by my mother, my aunts, my grandmothers and my great grandmothers...‘go fetch the water from the stream, dig the kumara (sweet potato) from the gardens, feed the horse, milk the cows and then tend to your grand-parents’. As time passed, my roles were elevated to that of a wife, a mother and a grandmother. The setting changed to a place far from my family, my tribe and my homeland; still to this day, however, stands the little shack where I was born.

The first three chapters focus on situating Tūhoe knowledge(s) based on theory and concept. This chapter reflects on my experiences as a Tūhoe; it is designed to provide a background on how I came to ‘know what I know’ about ‘being Tūhoe.’ Below are photos of my Tūhoe grandmothers and great-grandmothers with myself in the centre. The top left is Te Uria Aratema, top center is Ngāpera Black (my great grandmother), top right is Pare Thrupp. The second row on the left is Rangiwaitatao Noema, myself in the center, on the right side of me is Teao Petera. From the bottom left is Tiria Tuhoro, bottom centre is Mira Haumata Mika, and bottom right is Rotira Wirangi.



Pic. 2 - Female faces of Tūhoe. (As painted by Harry Sangl)
(The Blue Privilege, Auckland: Richards Publishing/Collins, 1980)

I have purposefully situated my Elders in this chapter for a number of reasons. Firstly my Elders, especially the women, played a significant role in my learning and teachings, preparing me for my roles as a mother and grandmother. Secondly, their teachings and understandings are what brought me into education in the first place. And finally, it is my goal to share the vision of my Elders with the many students that I have worked with as a supporter, instructor and mentor.

The Elders and their stern look remains true to my memory. They were the knowledge holders to our ways of knowing and being Tūhoe. The essence of existence was based on the mountain 'Maungapōhatu', the rivers, our sacred Marae, our tribal affiliations and tribal leaders, and our canoes. These elderly women were the traditional child caregivers who made sure that the stories told to us were to be passed down to the next generation. Their vision was for us to live a good life, never forgetting the importance of language, or of who we are, where we came from and our purpose in life; essentially, to maintain balance, harmony and sustainability for the future. I have inserted my photo in the centre as this is where I positioned myself during the many late nights of writing; lost amongst the memories of my ancestors.

4.1 Growing up Tūhoe

I was born into the Mataatua tribe called Tūhoe, a tribe that is geographically located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, in Aotearoa. The main land mass of Tūhoe is known as Te Urewera which is a forested region that is enshrouded with mist, magic, mystery, myths and legends, surrounding its proud inhabitants, 'The Children of The Mist.' Mixed in this environment are the varieties of native trees, prolific bird life, surrounding hills, raging rivers, and flowing streams both hot and cold. When you walk through the mist and listen with your heart you will often hear the chants and the evocative resounding lyrical call of the ancestors. The Tūhoe people are fiercely proud of their language, dialect, protocols, proverbial sayings, customs and traditions. All members of my natal surroundings are related to each other by blood descent and a record of a common thread that is preserved in family genealogies.

It is not enough to describe, speak of and catalogue events in my childhood since much of my childhood experiences and encounters occurred around my grandparents and great grandparents. They were the people who played a significant role in traditional childrearing, who taught me the fundamental principles of life, cultural survival, and sustainability. Their guiding principles focused on having respect for all things, people, and places. It was about manaakitanga (caring)

They taught me how to balance two world views and how to access the necessary tools which would guide me through the pathway of knowledge. The transition between home, school and the marae was not an easy one but for some reason, as a child, I managed quite well. I enjoyed observing the Elders and learning from them. I enjoyed sharing the mainstream day-to-day education and debriefing the teachings of the day: my mother used to say, “behave and learn as much as you can and remember the classroom is not a playground.”

My mother belongs to the Ngāti Haka and Patuheuheu sub-tribes and her main tribe is Tūhoe. She also has tribal affiliations with Ngāti Ranginui of the Tauranga region but she was raised in Waiohau amongst her Tūhoe people. Her formal education took place at a native school located on the Tāwera side of Ruatoki. The distance between Waiohau and Ruatoki back in those days was made up of trails that were more suitable for horses and carts. My mother was an avid sports player, particularly of grass hockey. During one of these sports events, in 1952, my parents met: my dad was eighteen; my mom was sixteen.

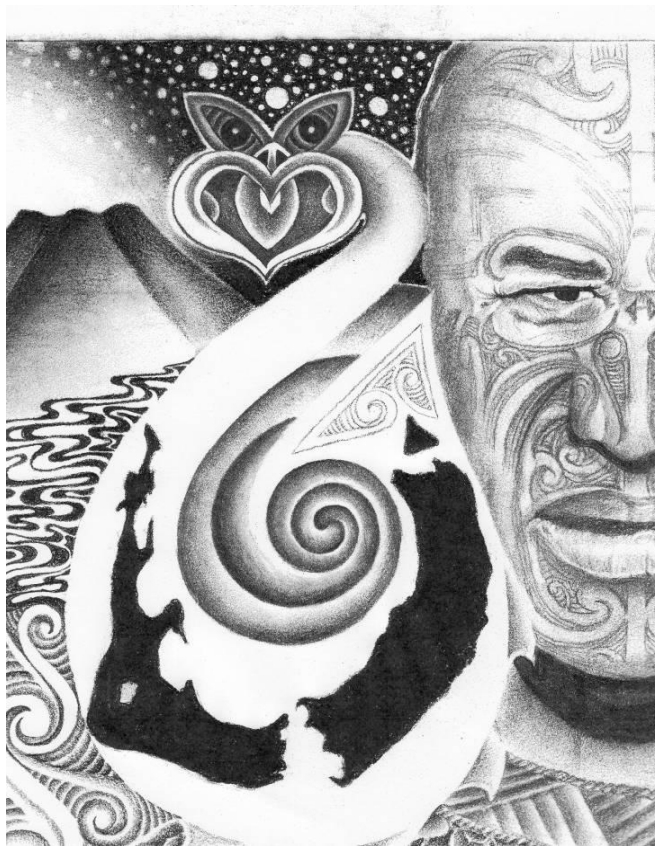
My father belongs to Ngāti Koura, sub-tribe of Tūhoe and Ngāti Ranginui. He was born in Tauranga and raised in Ruatoki, on his Tūhoe side, by his grandparents. Unlike my mother, my father had no interest in attending any school unlike. My dad and I spent many hours traveling around visiting all the Elders whom he adored so much. My father loved to

hunt in the bush with his grandfather which is where he spent most of his learning years. He spoke of his experiences in the bush and the many attempts he made to catch his boar all in an effort to please his grandparents. One of my favorite stories that my dad told was the time when he and his younger brother decided to go hunting. So eager to hunt, dad was up at the crack of dawn rounding up their horses and dogs to head out to the bush. Once they had reached their destination, suddenly, the dogs sensed the presence of a boar. The dogs tracked and cornered the boar allowing my dad and his brother to easily slay the beast. During the commotion of chasing the boar on foot, the horses fled unbeknownst to my dad and his brother. Upon realizing that their horses were gone, my dad and uncle knew that they would have to carry the boar out of the forest on their backs through rugged terrain. Carrying a boar on one's back is not done willingly as some boar can weigh the same as a grown adult. However, not wanting to get into trouble for losing the horses, they knew the only way to appease their grandparents was to present them with their catch.

Shortly thereafter, their grandfather decided it was time for his grandsons to return to school. Dad attended for a very short time and dropped out again feeling he could not learn the Pākehā education: "I learn more in the bush than I do going to school" my father would tell his grandparents.

My parents were married in 1954 and had twelve children in between their sheering days. I was the fourth oldest child. At birth I weighed in at 1 ½ lbs, and had to spend almost a year in Whakatane hospital which was two hours away back in those days. According to my mother and grandparents, Nurse Brown (a European nurse) delayed my discharge and had become quite attached to me. She had asked my mother if she could adopt me since she was not able to have children. Nurse Brown spent much of her time caring for me as a patient as she believed that the odds of my surviving were not good. That

information wasn't too far from the truth; while some of my brothers and sisters survived, others, due to pneumonia and other respiratory illnesses, unfortunately did not. My dad sheered sheep and mom worked at fleecing. They moved around to different parts of the region working while my grandparents, great grandparents, and the rest of us remained on the family farm. Often my parents would return home to carry out their parental responsibilities, but by that time, our grandparents found it difficult to part from us grandchildren, so we were fortunate enough to stay with our grandparents and great grandparents to learn traditional ways being so close to the Marae.



Pic 3 – A portrait of my father.²⁰

²⁰ This portrait is of my father Richard Vincent Ranapia Thompson and was drawn by Rocky Masters, a local Kawerau artist. The mountain to the upper left is Pūtauaki, an ancestral mountain located in the small Tuwharetoa township of Kawerau where my dad lived for many years of his life.

Below the mountain is the ancestral river called Tarawera. The hook design is called 'Te Matau a Maui' or 'The Hook of Maui' representing the hook that the demi-god Maui used to fish up the North Island. Inserted into the bottom part of the hook are the North and South Islands of Aotearoa. Above the head of the hook is

4.2 Heaven or Hawaiki

According to Christianity, the soul of a person returns to heaven upon passing. Spiritually, many Māori believe that their souls return to Hawaiki, the original homeland of the Māori.

In 1958 my parents were both confirmed as Christians; they were also responsible for converting my grandparents and other members of the community. My great grandfather who was a staunch Ringatu²¹ was not interested in Christianity, and he remained a very strong Ringatu up until his death in 1962. Shortly after, my dad returned to school and soon decided to attend Bible School where he became a Pentecostal Minister (a position he held for over forty years). My dad spent most of his childhood and youth growing up as a practicing Ringatu. I once asked my dad, “why are you a Christian when Christianity was responsible for the depletion of Māoridom”? And he answered “Because the God we serve now is not the God the missionaries introduced our ancestors to; the God we serve is a forgiving, loving and caring God.”

My dad was a unique minister and a gentle leader of the church and my mom was a supportive ministers’ wife. They both served God according to his laws and yet both served their Māori community according to custom. Somehow they had managed to find the balance that was acceptable in both arenas.

My great grand-father who played a very religious role in the Ringatu church was most influential to my mother and her siblings. Often I would hear my great grand-father recite his karakia or chanting an ancient song which he believed protected our household.

the constellation ‘Te Pae Mahutonga’ or ‘The Southern Cross’ visible only in the Southern hemisphere. This drawing best depicts the close connection that my father had with the land and his surroundings.

²¹ The Faith of the Upraised Hand – The oldest of the surviving, Indigenous, scripturally bible based religions in New Zealand. Established by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki. Registered in 1929.

His daily lessons were constant reminders for us to attend school to learn and for us to bring home what he would call nga whakaaro a te Pākeha (the European's thoughts). Like most of my teachers (Elders), my parents and, particularly, my grandparents, made sure that the school was not a playground area, as the rules of home still applied to the school grounds.

During my intermediate and high school years, I kept myself busy with extra curricula activities like netball, basketball, tennis, swimming, and Māori cultural haka groups. Sports in my family were quite acceptable; however, my grand father forbade me to participate in haka (dance) groups particularly outside of the school arena. My grandfather was quite religious (Christian) and he did not encourage me to join any of our cultural performing groups for fear that the church would not approve. Thus, my experience with performing arts at school was quite limited and used purely for entertainment and social gathering with peers.

Compared to today, the structure of Māori performing arts was quite different back then. Anyone could join as long as they could sing and get along with their peers. We did not have tutors who were qualified enough to talk about the purpose or philosophies of the songs, chants, or movements. As long as we were working collectively and building rapport with our peers, we could perform; there was no need to understand on a theoretical level; just memorizing the movements and lyrics was sufficient. What I did like about the cultural group was the strength of my peers and the pride they maintained during their performance. Because most of us were fluent speakers and of Tūhoe descent, and the songs were more “Pākeha-fied,” it made it hard for us to really express our traditional ways. When I look back on those growing-up years today, I can assert that no matter what the educational or religious struggles were, growing up as a Tūhoe and as a Māori were worth it; these years

helped form who I am today. I believe the deeds of my ancestors began when I first recognized those strengths and the pride of our cultural group.

4.3 Return to The Mountains

There is an old Māori proverb that says *Hokia ki nga maunga, kia pūrea koe e nga hau a Tāwhirimātea* (Return to the mountains, that you may be caressed by the winds of Tāwhirimātea). This proverb is used to remind people that from time to time they must return home to their ancestral mountains to be caressed once again by the winds of Tawhirimatea (God of the wind), which will help us remember the teachings of old and reground oneself. This is where I envisage myself as I embark on this journey, making the many trips home to my ancestral lands to rekindle ties, to be re-grounded and to bring back the memories of the many teachings of my ancestors.

In 2005 and again in 2007 I put this old proverb into practice by returning to my traditional territories of Waiohau and Ruatoki in Aotearoa. The primary purpose of my trip was to attend the bi-yearly traditional performing arts festival, Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe. Secondary to attending our tribal festivities, I was there to collect data for my doctoral thesis. However, in order for me to successfully research and record my findings, I knew the most important part of my trip was to return to my mountains to reground myself and to reflect upon the memories I have which would prepare me for the next part of this thesis. Collecting data simply allowed me to dialogue and to reflect upon the things that I often take for granted. For example, while interviewing the participants, I was encouraged by our Elders to explore and experience the Ngāwhā, a mystical, mythical, magical, historical and sacred place where one will find a refreshingly cold river beside a cascading thermal waterfall; both set in a wilderness far from civilization. As explained to me by one of my

aunts, the heated waterfall was where the ancestors would bathe when they were ill. I was born a mile or two up the road from the waterfall and had never entered this sacred place before. My personal concept of this particular place is defined as, “my place of belonging, my birthplace, the place of my ancestors.” As I sat beside the stream of clear waters I raised my hands towards the waterfall and allowed its heated waters to run down my arms allowing its ancient properties to traverse, not only my skin, but my spirit as well. My heart cried out to my ancestors...my tears acknowledged their presence.

Having begun my journey through this dissertation, by re-living my childhood, I find myself pining for my Elders long since passed on; I am often left wondering what it might be like to have them alive again to ask the questions that, as a child, I thought unimportant. Perhaps my struggle to discover the knowledge(s) of those long since passed is my first step along the trail to enlightenment, always keeping the goal of sustaining tribal identity in mind through reflection, revision and reclamation.



Fig. 12 – Māori protests in the last three decades. *(Photos taken from various websites 2007)*

CHAPTER FIVE

Māori Stages of Development (Introducing the People)

Opening

“Dad I’m home” I yelled as I walked in the door from school. “What did you learn today my baby?” he replied. “My teacher told me many stories today...did you know that there used to be a soldiers Fort here called Galatea?” “Yes” he said. “Did your teacher also tell you about the people who used to live here before the soldiers came?” he inquired. “Yes I asked her and apparently they all moved away” I replied. A sadness came over my father’s face as he lowered his gaze. Bowing his head slowly, he softly said...“then perhaps you should ask her why.”

Introduction

I must inform the reader that this chapter is not designed to give an in-depth view of Māori; instead, it is but a brief glimpse into the world of the Māori and areas that will lead me into the chapters that follow.

To understand what it means to “be Māori,” it is essential to understand the history of the Māori people. Through history, we gain knowledge of culture and tradition, of language and protocol. These are essential components of Māori-ness and it is for this reason, that this chapter focuses on the writings of various Maori history scholars. Aside from the introduction, this chapter is divided into seven sections.

The first section looks at Māori prior to European contact and their place in Polynesia. It also introduces the reader to the letters that make up the Māori alphabet. Section two discusses the founding document of New Zealand, “The Treaty of Waitangi,” and the controversy that surrounds it. The next section endeavors to describe the connection between Māori and the Land; it begins with a mythical view and then enters into Land contentions created through colonization. Following this discussion of Land is Māori and Education, a section that introduces educational schemes devised by the government

from the early 1800s onwards. The fifth section retells the origins of the Haka and has three sub sections attached. The first sub section looks at Māori performing arts and, in particular, the Aōtearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Society. Then I address The Super 12 Festival, as it appears to be the best example of Contemporary Māori Performing Arts. The final sub section aims to explore attempts at fusing Māori and non-Māori Performing Arts.

5.1 The Māori of New Zealand

According to Williams (1971), the word Māori was used to describe the native people of Aotearoa and was introduced around 1850 and it appears as if the usage originated with the Māori themselves (p. 179). The word Māori is also found amongst other Polynesian peoples, such as the Cook Island Māori and the word ‘Maoli’ used in Hawai’i. Another word that is commonly used to describe the Māori is ‘tangata whenua’ or ‘people of the land.’ The Māori make up one of the many races that are known collectively as Polynesian, located within what is referred to as the ‘The Polynesian Triangle.’ The three points that make up the Polynesian triangle are Hawai’i in the north, Rapa Nui situated in the east and Aotearoa in the south. The islands located within this triangle are deemed to be Polynesian. This includes islands such as Tahiti, Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Niue, Tokelau and the Cook Islands. Aotearoa is the largest of all the Polynesian islands and is made up of two main islands Te Ika ā Māui (North Island) and Te Waipounamu (South Island) with a smaller island located below Te Waipounamu called Rakiura (Stewart Island). According to legend, Māori arrived in Aotearoa from Hawaiki on seven main waka (canoe): Mataatua, Tainui, Te Arawa, Takitimu, Kurahaupo, Aōtea, and Tokomaru; accompanied by many other smaller waka.

According to the 2006 Statistics New Zealand census, 564,329 people registered as being Māori or Māori being one of their ethnic groups as opposed to 434,847 people in

1991. This is an increase by 30%. The 2006 census also showed the ten largest tribes of New Zealand with Ngā Puhi being the largest; numbering 122,211 people, and Ngāti Awa being the smallest of the ten with a population of 15,258 people. Tūhoe sits 9th in this table numbering 32,670 people. In 2006 the majority of Māori (87.0 percent) lived on the North Island and just under one-quarter were in the Auckland Region (24.3 percent). There were 73,230 Māori living on the South Island in 2006, an increase of 13.3 percent, since the 2001 census. In 1956 nearly two-thirds of Māori lived in rural areas. Fifty years later 84.4 percent of Māori living in New Zealand lived in urban areas (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

Currently, Māori people are over-represented in most negative social, educational and economic indices and under-represented in positive indices. The dominance of European knowledge codes and the mono-culturalism²² and mono-lingualism²³ attendant upon a long history of assimilated education resulted in the near death of the Māori language²⁴.

5.2 Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi

In 1839 Captain William Hobson was sent to New Zealand by the British Government with the intent of placing the country under British rule. This was to be done through a Treaty between Māori chiefs and The Crown. Prior to this move, the British Government had noticed an influx of land mongers who were travelling to New Zealand and claiming or purchasing land from the Māori through an organization called the New Zealand Company. The British viewed the Treaty as a means to establish a claim of sovereignty over Māori land, resources and people. The Treaty was divided into three

²² Mono-culturalism

²³ Mono-lingualism

In a personal communication with Professor Graham Smith (Aug 2005) – Smith argues that in his view Mono-culturalism is a narrowing of the human potential. The future for Māori must be to look beyond our mono-cultural and mono-lingual selves and to engage fully with the world at large.

²⁴ The Māori language is made up of ten consonants; *b, k, m, n, p, r, t, w, ng* (as in the word sing), and *wh* (as in the letter f) and the five vowels *a* (as in arch), *e* (as in egg), *i* (as in eat), *o* (as in oar), and *u* (as in too).

articles with a preamble from Queen Victoria. The preamble promised the Māori protection and equitable rights by way of Britain establishing a Civil Government to rule over the country. Article one states that by signing the Treaty, Māori chiefs surrender to the Crown, all powers and rights that they (the chiefs) possess, over their respective Territories. Article two then promises the Māori chiefs that should they agree, that Māori will retain full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, forests, fisheries and other properties which they may own, should they desire so. Article three extends to the Māori all the rights and privileges of British subjects. Archdeacon Henry Williams was drafted to translate and explain to the Māori what the Treaty contained as few Māori spoke English at the time. Discrepancies between the text that was explained to them by Archdeacon Henry Williams and the text that William Hobson presented is the cause of contention between Māori and the Government, even today. While the English text states that Māori will cede sovereignty unto the Crown, the Māori version uses the word *kāwanatanga* – the government which is translated as Governorship. This essentially means then that the Māori agreed to be governed, not owned. The debate today is that if the Māori version of the Treaty used the word *tino rangatiratanga* (meaning rights and independence), then perhaps the Māori would not have signed.

On the 6th day of February, 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in the Bay of Islands in a remote area called Waitangi. So began the rule of the British Empire over the people of Aotearoa.

With regards to the position of Māori at the time of the signing of the Treaty, Boulton (2005) in her doctoral dissertation writes:

At the time the Treaty was signed Māori were predominantly a tribal people, living on ancestral lands, with close spiritual connections to the land, rivers, lakes, seas, mountains, and forests. Māori today are now a diverse group of people as any other,

with mixed views on religion, politics, culture, education, health or other modern life. Contemporary Māori live a host of different lifestyles, from culturally conservative through to thoroughly westernized. (p. 10)

In the years since its signing, the Treaty has become an integral part of New Zealand constitutional framework; recent governments have attempted to implement Treaty principles in order to redress past breaches of the Treaty (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001). These principles of partnership, participation and protection have been established by New Zealand Courts, by the Waitangi Tribunal and by the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988). Since the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, the Treaty has grown steadily in the public's attention. Largely pushed by Māori urban activism to address the social and economic consequences of legislatively induced poverty, the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal was seen as a significant outlet for Māori frustrations (Durie, 1994). Publicity given to the succession of cases and landmark decisions that it made with respect to tribal claims against the Crown enable Treaty issues to assume an importance which had been all but ignored for a century. The Treaty became a focus for race relations' activity, particularly with respect to property rights. Māori attempts to assert their arguments regarding these matters often caused vituperative comment from all levels of New Zealand society ranging from radio broadcasts, to the 1975 Court of Appeal decisions on the role and function of the Waitangi Tribunal.

The Treaty was supposed to be the formulation of a new nation state; however, commitments to the Māori in the Treaty were quickly ignored and it soon became clear to the Māori people that the Treaty and the wider colonial governance of Aotearoa/New Zealand were established primarily to benefit the British, who sought new lands to inhabit due to expanding an expanding population. Maori were denied access to their own lands,

and were seldom consulted about the terms of lease or the distribution of benefits (Durie, 1999, p.139). Durie (1999) also argues that Maori land development schemes were a hallmark of Sir Apirana Ngata's (the first Maori scholar to graduate from a New Zealand University) time as Minister, from 1928-1934. Unlike his predecessor, Gordon Coates, Ngata's aims were not only to assist individual Maori farmers, but also to use development to create a sound economic base for tribes. It was a distinctive Maori viewpoint, which went against the popular Pakeha perception of tribalism as a barrier to efficient agricultural productivity, and it was costly to Ngata in terms of preliminary support (p. 141)

5.3 Māori and the land

The relationship between Māori and the land speaks to the importance of epistemology. This has its mythological roots in the story of Papatuanuku, who was locked in an embrace with her celestial husband, Ranginui, the sky father. After their son Tāne Māhuta (god of the forest) successfully separated his parents from their tight embrace, light entered the world, bringing with it knowledge, creation and growth.

As stated previously Māori use the term *tangata whenua* or 'people of the land'. Common practices amongst Māori show their understanding that they are 'of the land' which suggests that they identify the land as of a higher rank than the people. The reverence with which the land is held is demonstrated through ancient rituals where people would *karakia* (or pray) for permission before they took from the land.

In 1846, the Native Lands Purchase Ordinance was established which prohibited the private selling and leasing of Māori land under customary title. During the colonizing years, Pākeha were illegally selling Māori lands to European settlers. This was done by way of commercial advertising back in England and throughout Europe; they would entice people

to buy lands in New Zealand by promoting New Zealand's beautiful surroundings. People would pay for land they had not seen and make the voyage to New Zealand, unaware that they would be fighting Māori for the right to live on the land. The New Zealand government, therefore, interceded and offered minimal payment to Māori for land so that they could sell the land to settlers for personal profit. The 1846 Native Lands Purchase Ordinance forbade Māori to sell their land to anyone other than the government, which allowed the government a closed market with no competition. Māori complained and demanded the right to sell their own lands to make profit for themselves. The government amended the law to allow Māori the right to sell their lands; however, the amendment made it illegal for anybody to purchase Māori lands, with the exception of the government. With the 1846 Native Lands Purchase Ordinance in place, Governor Grey began massive land purchasing by and on behalf of the Crown.

Finally, in 1865, the Native Lands Act entitled Māori land owners to apply for land titles. Government retained the right to advance money before cases were heard, and Government purchasing continued to dominate the market. The 1867 Native Lands Act allowed owners the right to lease lands but not to sell (Laurie, 2001).

Today, Māori lands are under the 1993 Te Ture Whenua Māori Act which promotes retention of land in Māori ownership. Through a process called aggregation, inherited lands are jointly owned by families or individuals. All the land in an inherited block is owned by all its inherited owners; there are no pieces of land owned by specific owners. Should an owner wish to have a piece of land in a block identified as his particular share then they must de-aggregate that piece of land which is subject to the approval and signature of all joint owners.

5.4 Māori and Education

After the induction of the mainstream school system in the early 1800's, the 1867 Native Schools Act saw the Māori language officially banned from schools. This act therefore made it impossible to practice Māori performing arts which rely entirely on the language. It is common knowledge that the quickest way to induct a person into another culture is to totally immerse them in the language and culture of the community; for example, Kapa Haka. The banning of Indigenous languages colonized countries is a practice that is not unfamiliar to many Indigenous people; Indigenous languages were prohibited in Hawai'i 1746, in Tahiti 1819, and in Canada 1885, to name but a few.

In the early 1900's, one could see the practice of Māori culture in schools mostly in the rural areas where the majority of children were of Māori descent. However, it was not compulsory for teachers to teach any form of Māori language or culture and nothing much has changed in today's mainstream schools. Suspension rates for Māori in schools are three times that of non-Māori; this figure grew exponentially in the 1990s following education reforms that gave much of the control of schooling to parent-elected Boards of Trustees.

5.4.1 Whānau and Language

Whānau is a primary concept – a cultural preference that contains both value (cultural aspirations) and social processes (cultural practices). The implications of this principle are immense for mainstream education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. When imaging or theorizing classroom interactions, Collins (1977) describes how metaphoric whānau relationships in classroom interactions are fundamentally different from those created when teachers talk of method and process using western machine or transmission metaphors to explain their theorizing or imaging. The clear implication for mainstream classroom

relationships is that where the establishment of whānau-type relationships in the classroom is primary, a pattern of interactions would develop where commitment and connectedness becomes paramount. The collectivist philosophy of achieving excellence in both language and culture that make up the world of Māori children is central to Māori-medium schooling. In addition, the experiences of the Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori-medium primary schools) movement demonstrates that students achieve better when there is a close relationship between home and school in terms of aspirations, language and culture²⁵. In 1981 the Kohanga Reo total immersion language nests were established as a response to Māori concern for the continuing survival of the Māori language. Each Kohanga Reo is required, through the foundation policies of the Kohanga Reo movement, to immerse the children attending in the Māori language and in the cultural and spiritual dimensions of Māori traditions. This ensures not only the survival of the Māori language but also of Māori traditional values. This is done through the dynamics of ‘whānaungatanga’ or ‘kinship.’ It promotes the specialness of the child and the importance of the whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) which, in turn, support the child’s ability to learn for the future well being of Te Īwi Māori or the Māori people as a whole (Royal, 2002). It did not take long for families to identify that there needed to be a ‘follow through’ from Te Kohanga Reo as children had no choice but to enter mainstream schools once they reached the age of 5 years.

In 1985, the first Kura Kaupapa Māori was established. The Kura Kaupapa Māori are elementary schools that follow ‘Te Aho Matua’ – a kaupapa (Māori philosophy) based on tikanga (Māori custom). Kura Kaupapa teach the same subjects as other state schools but te reo Māori is the main or only language used by teachers and children. The ‘Te Aho Matua’

²⁵ Collins (1977) argues that these understandings can be extrapolated to mainstream learning environments to suggest the need to develop a common set of goals and principles and practices which seek to ensure that all children will benefit from education.

document that Kura Kaupapa Māori follow is made up of six learning areas which are defined as follows:

1. Te Ira Tangata – Mankind

- a) The whānau practises a holistic approach to children’s development based on Māori cultural and spiritual values and beliefs.
- b) The whānau honors all people and respects the uniqueness of the individual.

2. Te Reo – The Language

- a) The whānau ensures the language of the kura will be, for the most part, exclusively Māori.
- b) The whānau achieves full competency in Māori and English.
- c) The whānau respects all languages.

3. Nga Īwi – Other Races

- a) The whānau nurtures children to be secure in the knowledge of themselves and their own people.
- b) The whānau ensures that children acknowledge and learn about others and their societies.
- c) The whānau ensures that all members play an integral part in children’s learning and in the learning of the wider whānau.
- d) The whānau affirms collective ownership and responsibility for the kura.

4. Te Ao – The World

- a) The whānau ensures that children will be secure in their knowledge about the Māori world and enable them to participate in the wider world.
- b) The whānau ensures that children will explore the physical and natural world while maintaining their link to ancestral knowledge.

5. Āhuatanga Ako – Attitudes to learning

- a) The whānau operates a warm, loving and intellectually stimulating learning environment.
- b) The whānau ensures that the importance of the learning environment will be emphasized.
- c) The whānau includes strong education leadership and capable teachers.

6. Nga Tino Uaratanga – The Most Important Values.

- a) The whānau ensures that each child's abilities are successfully nurtured including their academic skills, bilingualism, natural talents, creativity, enthusiasm for learning and life, ability to retain knowledge, leadership qualities, independence, joy, spirituality balanced with physical pursuits, their links to ancestral domains and their pride of place within their iwi.

(Education Review Office, 2001)

Once the Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori proved themselves to be feasible, it was only right that Māori learning expand to Wharekura (Secondary School) level and on to Wānanga (college) and Whare Wānanga (university). With the introduction of New Zealand Qualifications Authority unit standards for high schools, secondary students could now choose their school subjects which gave them the ability to gain credit towards attaining a certificate or diploma upon leaving school. In order for a school to teach NZQA units it must be accredited by the Qualifications Authority (or an inter-institutional body with delegated authority) for quality assurance before the school can report credits from assessment against unit standards or deliver courses of study leading to the assessment. After the school is accredited, it must then engage with the moderation system that applies to those standards. Teachers from various regions, who teach the same units, meet at moderation meetings where they discuss and assess their respective unit based on what is

working/not working for the students. Each unit of work is assigned a level between 1-5 and offers credits, performance criteria and assessment tools, and sits under the domain title of Māori Performance.

There are seven units of work titled: Māori performance; tāonga puoro (Māori instruments); new Māori music; new Māori dance; mau rākau (the use of weaponry); Māori performing arts creation; and Māori performing arts teaching (Appendix 4). One of the most positive traits of these units is that they allow space for creativity and expansion beyond the norm. Many Māori refer to traditional performing arts by the word Haka; the phrase ‘performing arts’ allows the acceptance of modern or contemporary dance.

5.5 Māori and the Haka

The term most commonly used for Performing Arts groups is Kapa Haka; Kapa meaning group and Haka meaning dance. If one was to deconstruct the word ‘Kapa’ it would read as ‘ka pā’ or to reach out and touch. According to Karetu (1993, p.15), the origin of the Haka derives from the mythological tale of Tinirau and Kae. He states that the women of Tinirau are believed to be the first Kapa Haka (Haka troupe) of Māoridom. Their principal goal was to find and destroy Kae, who had slain and eaten Tutunui, the tame whale of Tinirau. The troupe was comprised of some of the best known figures of Māori tradition: Hine-te-iwaiwa, Rau-kata-uri, Rau-kata-mea, Rūhirūhi, Hine-te-otaota, Hine-mārekareka – and others (all of these names encompass various aspects of dance). In order for them to recognize and identify Kae, they had to make him laugh (as he had a gap in his teeth). During a night of entertaining, the women set about dancing and performed a Haka that the people found hilarious and Kae laughed. Then the Haka used appropriate incantations which hypnotized Kae, thereby allowing the women to take his life.

When Hēnare Teōwai, a Ngāti Porou Elder, was asked on his deathbed, “What is the art of performing Haka?” To which he answered, “Kia kōrero te katoa o te tinana” (The whole body should speak) Kāretu (1993: 22). Kāretu (1993: 24) continues to explain that the origin of the dance is credited to Tāne-rore. “Tāne-rore is the trembling of the air as seen on the hot days of summer, and represented by the quivering of the hands in the dance.” Kāretu (as cited in Dewes, 1972, p. 25) also refers to a comment made by the late Hāmana Mahuika of Ngāti Porou with regards to the importance of Haka. He notes, “It was also a custom of high social importance in the welcoming and entertainment of visitors. Tribal reputation often rose or fell on their ability to perform the Haka.”

Kāretu (1993, p. 25) again cites a description of Haka given by Alan Armstrong in his book *Māori Games and Haka* (as cited in Reed, 1964), deeming this account as the most apt and the most descriptive:

The Haka is a composition played by many instruments. Hands, feet, legs, body, voice, tongue and eyes all play their part in blending together to convey in their fullness the challenge, welcome, exultation, defiance or contempt of the words. It is disciplined, yet emotional. More than any other aspect of Māori culture, this complex dance is an expression of the passion, vigor and identity of the race. It is, at its best, truly a message of the soul expressed by words and posture.

Today the Haka is displayed on an international stage, the most widely recognized form being performed by the New Zealand national rugby team: the All Blacks.

5.5.1 Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Society

This organization began in 1972 as the Polynesian Festival Committee. It included not only Māori but other Polynesian groups as well. In 1996, the Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Society was registered as an incorporation and thereafter commonly

referred to by its acronym ATMPAS. The mission of ATMPAS National Committee is to foster, develop, and protect the traditional Māori performing arts in the pursuit of excellence. Timoti Karetu, a Māori scholar who was also the Chairman of the ATMPAS at the time, stated that since its inception in 1972, the festival has raised the standard of the Haka so much so that “one wonders whether there are further heights still to be scaled.”

A previous performer who participated in the 1998 finals recently told me that “if you are not from one of the *īwi* (tribal) teams then chances are that you won’t win...the judges prefer materials that are more traditional” (personal communication, 2007). By ‘traditional,’ the speaker was referring to those groups where all the members are from a group whose collective identity is derived through a common ancestral genealogy located in a particular region. However, according to Timoti Karetu, a Māori scholar and former language commissioner, there are very few groups competing who are purely tribal in this sense, probably no more than 5 out of 28-30. The split between tribal and non or mixed tribal groups at the competition is often framed in terms of the former being described as having more access to their ‘traditional knowledge,’ and who, therefore, have more ‘authenticity’ and being rewarded for that by the judges. While there is much more to be said on this, for the scope of this dissertation, it is worth noting that research on the history of the Festival indicates that for over 30 years executive adjudication committees have wrestled with this problem (Yvonne). Alschuler (1980) argues that although the importance of maintaining tribal traditions is defended there is an equal concern with recognizing and respecting innovation and originality from teams who do not necessarily have a singular tribal composition or affiliation.

In 2003, ATMPAS changed its name to ‘Te Matatini,’ loosely translated as ‘The Many Faces’; it was launched at Parliament in March 2004. While Traditional Performing

Arts continues to be the primary focus of Te Matatini, the role of Te Matatini is expanded to include other important objectives:

1. Te Matatini National Festival

- To organize and produce Te Matatini National Festival
- To be artistic and competitively successful
- To be a financial success

2. Regional Development

- To continue to develop and promote events and activities at regional level which showcase performing arts; to develop and encourage creative composition and performance from a uniquely regional perspective; to increase regional organization and administrative capability; and to engage a wider community participation and appreciation of Māori performing arts.

3. Advocacy

- To gain an international Profile
- To enhance Māori Performing Arts in Education
- To encourage Taikura (elderly section)
- To create Māori Music Awards

4. Te Matatini Exhibition

- To implement strategies that will produce an initial offering of Te Matatini Exhibition at Te Matatini Festival.

(Te Matatini, 2007)

5.5.2 Fusing Māori and Non-Māori Performing Arts

Most New Zealand Europeans claim descent from European countries such as Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales. While many of them continue to practice the cultures of these places, for me, there is no identifiable New Zealand European Performing Arts style that allows me to identify it as specific to European New Zealanders. The performing of dances such as ballet, drama, opera, highland dancing, tap dancing and many other Western

forms of dance continue to be practiced and performed in New Zealand, but do not appear to have been influenced by the culture of the land. The Māori, on the other hand, have adopted the use of Western instruments, such as the guitar, and Western materials, such as wool for the making of bodices, dye in replacement of paru (mud), and permanent markers in replacement of traditional tattoos.

If there is any form of European dance that has been influenced by Māori, it is the modern lyrical dance style which is found in many dance companies throughout the country. These dancers use some Māori movements such as the wiri or hand movements and have been known to adorn their faces with Māori moko. However, it is rare to find a dance troupe that does this without the appearance or inclusion of a Māori. This is not to say that attempts at fusing Māori and non-Māori performing arts have not been made. There have been, from time to time, successful attempts at combining the two cultures but it was still identifiable as two cultures performing together as opposed to one New Zealand cultural dance.

In 2001 the New Zealand Royal Ballet and a Te Arawa Kapa Haka group by the name of Te Matare I o Rehu came together to stage a production titled 'Thi Frenzy.' It was the mastermind of Māori tutor, Wētini Mītai-Ngātai, and choreographer Mark Baldwin. The show toured the country in the months of June and July of that year (Royal New Zealand Ballet, 2007), to much acclaim.

In 2003, Adrian Murphy's modern Irish dance show combined with a Waipapa Kapa Haka group and presented a stage production entitled 'Fire Dance, The Show.' The show fused modern Irish dance with Māori Haka, Cook Island dance, hip hop, ballet, jazz and gospel. Murphy, who has danced, choreographed and produced in Ireland, United Kingdom, USA, and throughout Australasia stated, "I believe the dance talent in New

Zealand is as good as anywhere in the world...New Zealand has the talent in this country to produce a first class home grown product” (Scoop Media Group, 2003).

Māori have also succeeded in displaying their myths, legends and culture through forms of European dance and drama. In May 2005, Artistic Director Tānemāhuta Gray and Creative Producer Andre Anderson combined their talents to create the stage production ‘Māui’ which depicts the life and times of the famed demi-god. It was a combination of Māori culture, contemporary dance, acting and aerial displays (Needham, 2004). Today Māori theatrical pieces are continually performed on stages such as Takirua Theatre in Wellington but the fusing of Māori culture with another are few and far between.

5.5.3 Contemporary Māori Performing Arts – The Super 12 Festival

The Super 12 festival was established in 2001 by an organization called Kapa Haka International which is an entirely Māori owned company specializing in producing quality Kapa Haka services. Their services include the provision of teams of 5 to 100 seasoned Kapa Haka performers and the event management of Kapa Haka forums. Their teams have performed internationally in the USA, Brazil and Korea (including the 2002 Soccer World Cup cultural festival).

In 2003, my brother (Hōhepa) had invited me to attend a Super 12 Kapa Haka Festival held in Gisborne, a festival I had never heard of nor seen before. I did not really ask what a Super 12 was all about but happily went along for the ride. Most times I try not ask questions of any activities, so, naturally, I thought that we were off to some race course (I should have known that my brother is not really into anything else but cultural events). We arrived at the festival on a very hot and stifling day; we paid our entry fee and mingled with the participants and organizers of the festival as we tried searching for a cool and visible area

before the performance. The opening address by the Minister of Education, Parekura Horomia, was remarkable and refreshing to hear. Once the first group entered the stage it did not take long for me to recognize this was to be a performance of Māori culture. I noticed that the contemporary elements of this festival were far different from the traditional styles I had been used to. For example, some of the groups wore westernized clothing, not traditional costumes. One group had an Asian influence, another group performed in an operatic fashion, which left me with many questions. I turned to my brother for answers and he willingly obliged. He explained that it was called Super twelve because there are 12 performers, 12 groups with 12 minutes performing time for each. The groups perform traditional items such as Poi, Action Song and Haka, any way they like. The words are Māori, but the floor is open to innovation and creativity when it comes to music and movement. This style of contemporary performance works well with the youth. Unlike the ATMPAS, which sees each section judged individually, the Super 12 is judged as a whole piece. It is judged on how well you perform together, how well you entertain the crowd and how creative you are. This is what they call ‘The X Factor.’ Judges at an ATMPAS critique each performer and scrutinize any mistakes made. Judges at a Super 12 festival will overlook personal mistakes and wait to feel that ‘X Factor.’ With a first prize of \$20,000, the Super 12 is a highly contested competition. My brother competed in this festival in 2002 with a group of friends in a group called Te Iti Kahurangi (The Small Treasures) and they were fortunate to be the winners that year.

5.6 Reflection

This chapter provides a glimpse of Māori ways of knowing and being prior to colonization, and gives a brief history of the Māori peoples of New Zealand before the signing of the

Treaty of Waitangi. It is essentially a comparison of what traditional Māori life was like prior to the Treaty, to what it was like after. Through the changes, we are shown how the Māori worldview was compromised and destroyed. This set in motion a need to preserve culture, language, traditions, and protocols, which is embodied today, for example, in the language nest programs and the Super 12 Festival.



Fig. 13 - Tūhoe protest against the New Zealand Police Terrorist Raids, 2007. (Photos taken from various websites 2007)

CHAPTER SIX

Tūhoe Stages of Development (Introducing the Tribe)

Opening

I never really knew what it meant to be Tūhoe. I had never really thought about it. It wasn't really a topic that was discussed when I was growing up. The one time I remember telling a friend that I was Tūhoe, which was straight after winning my first spelling bee, my grandmother reprimanded me and told me that we never tell people we are Tūhoe in those situations. When I asked her why, she told me that we are never to be seen blowing our own trumpets and that if we are truly good, people will know who we are without us telling them. I didn't really understand her comment at first. Years later, while I was watching one of the Tūhoe Elders speak on a marae in Wellington, I heard the local Elders whispering amongst themselves after he spoke saying, "nō Tūhoe tēnei" (this one is from Tūhoe). I asked my father how they knew the speaker was from Tūhoe when he hadn't even mentioned it. My father explained to me that it was because of the way the Tūhoe Elder had spoken, the language he used, the way he moved, the historical knowledges he quoted and the support song he sang. It had taken me forty years to learn a lesson that was given to me as a child. I know there are many lessons that have been taught to me over the years, I endeavor to ensure that I understand them before I depart from this world.

Introduction

There are three reasons why I have chosen to write about Tūhoe culture and history in a chapter that is separate from Māori culture and history: firstly, I am Tūhoe; secondly, my research is based on Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe; and finally, Tūhoe are a very complex tribal group who identify and acknowledge their differences from Māori in general. Tūhoe fiercely guard and protect their tribal knowledges and are very tactical in their approach to understanding external knowledges.

To illustrate Tūhoe uniqueness, I begin this section with the history of the Tūhoe nation which also includes an explanation of the boundaries that define the Tūhoe region. Within this first section is also an account of the genealogical table that shows the ancestral

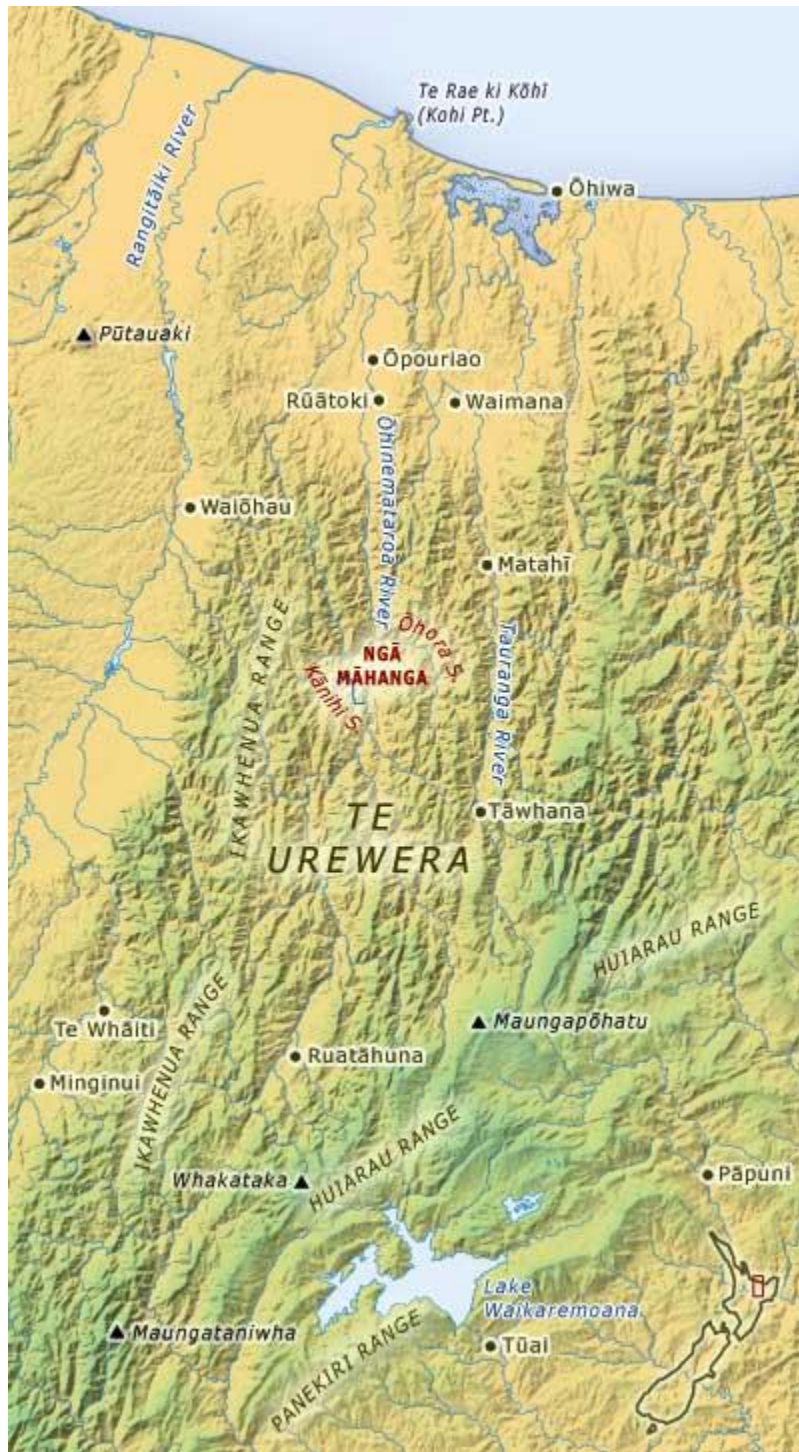
line of Tūhoe Pōtiki, the person. The chapter then moves into the hapū of Tūhoe as found in the literature of Elsdon Best (1972). The next section looks at the Tūhoe sub-tribes Ngāti Haka and Patuheuheu and explains their beginnings. Section three discusses Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe – how it came to be and where it is today. In this chapter, I also decided to include a section regarding the 2007 Terrorist Raids that were primarily conducted within the Tūhoe region during the time I was returning my community transcripts; I have also included a subsection which briefly discusses the New Zealand Terrorism Suppression Act (NZTSA) 2002. I feel that it is important to include the NZTSA so that people gain an understanding of the Act that allowed the New Zealand Police to undertake the raids. Finally, the chapter will end with a commentary reflection.

In concluding this introduction to chapter six, a point must be made that I by no means speak on behalf of all Tūhoe. I acknowledge that versions of historical references vary not only from sub-tribe to sub-tribe, but also between families. This chapter, like the previous one devoted to Māori culture and history, is not intended to be an in-depth report of Tūhoe; it simply takes us through the mist and affords us but a small glimpse into the world of Tūhoe as seen by the participants of this research.

6.1 History of the Tūhoe Nation

The Tūhoe people originate from the Mataatua region, a region which was named after one of the founding canoes that landed in Aotearoa some 1000 years ago. The name Tūhoe is derived from the eponymous ancestor Tūhoe Pōtiki who is a direct descendant of Toroa, the captain of the Mataatua canoe. Commonly referred to as ‘Te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe,’ the Tūhoe tribe is located geographically in the Eastern Bay of Plenty with the Te Arawa people to the west of them, Ngāti Awa to the north, Te Whakatōhea to the east, and

Kahungunu to the south. The boundaries of Tūhoe are Waimana and Matahi on the east boundary; Tāneatua and Ruatoki on the north boundary; Waiohau on the west boundary; Ruatāhuna and Waikaremoana on the south boundary; Te Urewera is situated in between.



Map 1 - A map of the Tūhoe boundaries. (McGarvey, R. 'Ngāi Tūhoe', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 28-Oct-2008.)

Traditional genealogical accounts suggest that the Tūhoe people are descendants of the mist maiden Hinepūkohurangi. As stated in previous chapters, the Tūhoe people are referred to as 'Nga Tamariki o Te Kohu' or 'The Children of The Mist.' This name befits them given that their dense valleys and mountains are often enshrouded in mist. As legend tells it, the mist maiden Hinepūkohurangi married Te Maunga. This union is described in Elsdon Best's book titled Tūhoe – Children of the Mist.

Te Maunga was a person; he came from Hawaiki, though some state that he descended from the heavens, alighting at Ōnini. In times long past away, when men held strange powers and god-like beings dwelt on earth, there lived 1 Hinepūkohurangi. She was the personification of mist and fog, while her younger sister, Hine-wai, was the personification of the light, misty rain, which descends to earth in foggy weather. Hinepūkohurangi is said to have lured Te Maunga (the mountain) to earth at a place called Ōnini, which is on the line of road from Galatea to Waikaremōana, at Ruatāhuna.

(p. 23)

What follows is the genealogical table from Toroa, the captain of the Mataatua canoe, to the founding chief of the Mataatua people, and eventually, down to me:

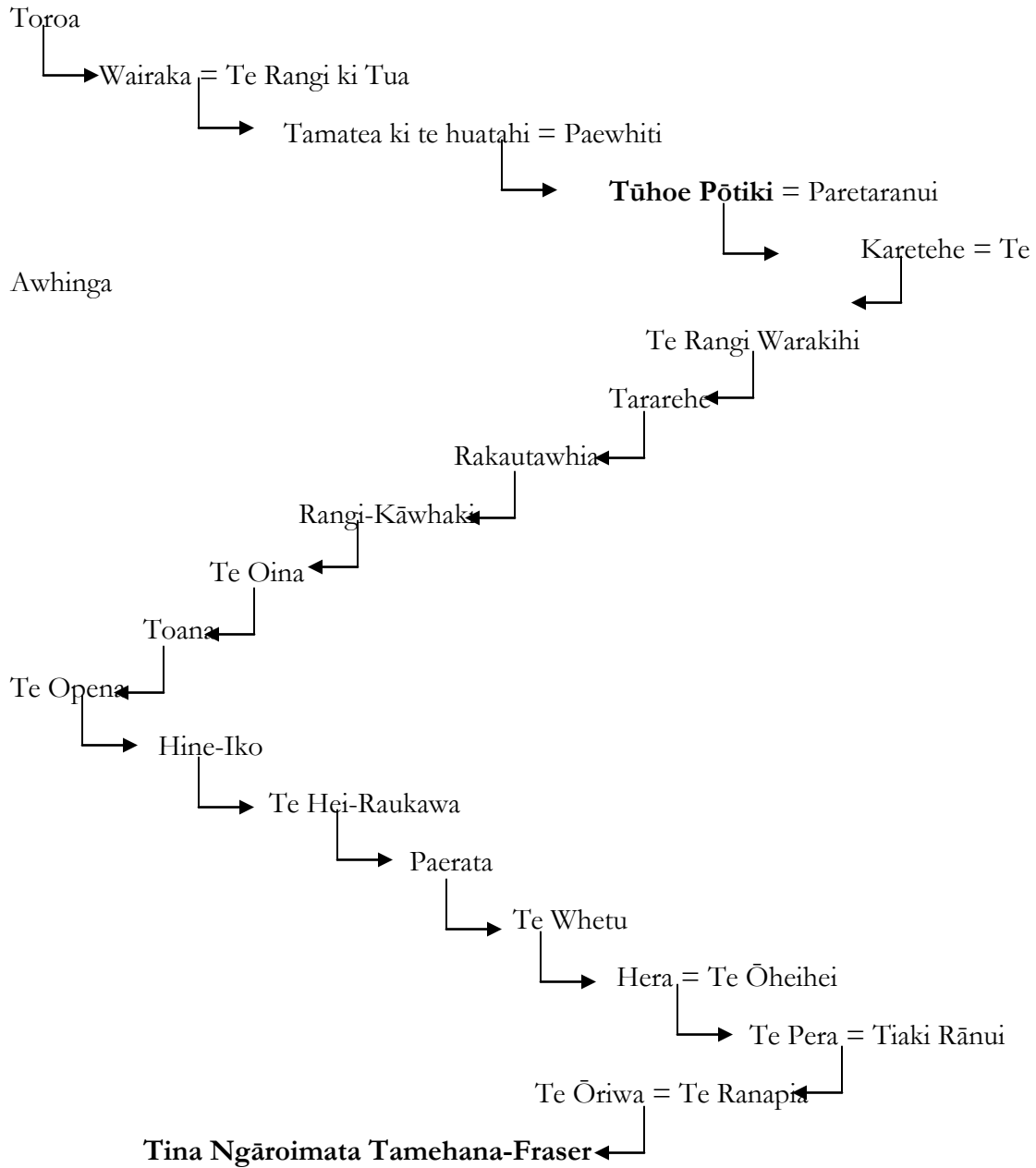


Table 4 – Adapted from Genealogical table No.7 (Tūhoe: Children of The Mist, Vol. 2 Best, E. 1973)

In the 1890's, the most contact Tūhoe had with a European was through contact with a writer named Elsdon Best. Best was famed for penning oral literature and genealogies including those of the Tūhoe people. Much of the following information was recorded by Elsdon Craig (a grand-nephew of Elsdon Best), in his book *Man of The Mist – A biography of Elsdon Best*. In 1891, Best was invited by other scholars such as Percy Smith, Rev T.G. Hammond (a historian), and the Right Rev W.L. Williams to join them in forming an ethnological society which would eventually produce for the 'Journal of the Polynesian Society' (pp 46-47). In 1895, Best, along with Percy Smith, was offered the opportunity to enter into the Urewera country, the densely-forested domain of the defiant Tūhoe tribe. The purpose of their journey was to encourage Tūhoe to allow the government to build a road through their region to connect the eastern towns of Waikaremoana and Wairoa, and Fort Galatea, north of Waikaremoana. Smith had recognized Tūhoe as being the last primitive Māori, and who had thus remained 'untouched' by Pakeha ways; he realized that the coming of the road would see the rapid disappearance of their traditional way of life (p. 54). For the next nine years, Best sat amongst many Tūhoe chiefs and penned their stories of old. In 1904, Best was appointed to the newly created Māori Council in the Urewera Country, as well as being named Health Inspector for the Māori Health Service in the Mataatua district. These positions saw him relocated from the dense Urewera forest, to the Ruatoki area of Tūhoe (p. 116). Best continued to write until his return to Wellington six years later, where he worked as an ethnologist in the museum (p. 137). Best would visit the Tūhoe people a few more times until his timely death on September 9, 1931. During his life he recorded and wrote many articles regarding the ways of Tūhoe most of which were published in his books, *Tūhoe – The Children of The Mist Vol. 1* and *Tūhoe – 'The Children of The Mist' Vol. 2 – Genealogical Tables and Maps*. Although some of his recordings are debated today

according to the variations told to Tūhoe descendants by their various ancestors, for the most part, much of Best's recordings are seen as informative and useful.

Volume one of Best's books is broken up into two parts: part one speaks on Tūhoeland and its story, and part two talks about traditions, myths, folklore, religious beliefs and practices of the Mataatua tribes. For the purposes of this part of the Chapter, I predominately use the literature of Best. As shown in figure 15, the genealogical descent of Tūhoe Potiki comes down from Te Rangi-ki-tua. Best describes Te Rangi-ki-tua (Tūhoe's grandmother) as Aboriginal. He then goes on to describe Paewhiti as an Aboriginal and goes on to regard Tūhoe's parents as half-breeds (half Aboriginee from Australia, and half Māori). While some say that the Aboriginal people whom Best describes are the Aboriginal people of Australia, Best himself indicated that he was in fact referring to the original inhabitants of Aōtearoa, namely the Moriori²⁶ people (Best, 1972, p.210). If the latter is true, then Tūhoe are indeed tangata whenua, or people of the land.

Best lists the Hapū or sub-tribes of Tūhoe as the following,

THE HAPŪ OF TŪHOE	INTERNAL TRIBES OF HAPŪ
Ngāti Tāwhaki	Ngāti-Tama-kere, Ngāti-koro-kai-whenua, Ngāti-Tao-kaki, Ngāti-Tuheia or Ngāti-tuhaere-ao.
Ngāti Rongo	
Te Māhurehure	
Tama-kai-mōana or Ngāti Huri	Ngāi-tātua, Ngāi-tu-mata-wha, Ngāi-te-au
Tūhoe Pōtiki	
Te Urewera	
Ngāti Koura	
Ngāti Manunui	
Ngāti Te Umu Iti	
Ngāi Tūranga	
Patuheuheu	Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Hiki, Ngāti Rākei, Ngāti Ruatore, Ngāti Whakapuru
THE HAPŪ OF TŪHOE	INTERNAL TRIBES OF HAPŪ

²⁶ The original inhabitants of New Zealand who are also said to be of Polynesian descent.

Ngai Tama	
Nga Maihi	
Ngāti Kuri	
Hāmua	
Ngāti Hāmua	
Warahoe	
Ngāti Muriwai	
Ngāti Kākahu-tāpiki	
Ngai Te Riu or Ngāti Hinekura	Ngāti Hora Aruhe, Ngāti Rohe, Ngāi Te Ua, Ngāi Te Rūrehe, Ngāi Taumata, Ngāti Whakairi, Ngāti Rawa.
Ngāti Hinekura of Waikaremōana	
Ngāti Maru	
Ngai Te Kapo	
Nga Pōtiki	
Ngāti Hā	
Ngai Tara-pa-roa	
Ngāti Kai-ra	
Ngāti Rere-kahika	
Te Whakatāne	
Ngāti Karetehe	
Ngāti Kumara	
Ngai Tumatawhero	
Ngāti Mura	
Ngāti Rua-tahuna	
Te Whānau-pani	
Ngāti Takoto-repo	
Ngai Toko-tu-wai	
Ngāti Whakateke	
Ngāti Manu-tohi-kura	

Table 5 – Hapū of Tūhoe (Best: 1972: 214-215)

In contrast to Best’s lists of hapu, the Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe 2008 website states that only 33 of these hapu are registered today and reside in seven Tūhoe regions: Waiohau, Ruatoki, Ruatāhuna, Maungapōhatu, Waikaremōana, Te Whaiti and Waimana. Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe also state that “the number of Tūhoe hapū is not fixed, so the number of hapū can increase or decrease depending upon the fortunes and ambitions of the iwi” (Best, pp. 214-215). Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe also acknowledge the existence of older hapū that have not registered and

state that “rather than say that some of these hapū are extinct we prefer the view that they are inactive” (Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe, 2008).

As stated previously, Tūhoe are renowned for being seen as the defiant ones, the last to be colonized, a tribe who fiercely protects its language, culture, customs, beliefs and traditions. Tūhoe were also one of the tribes who did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi and, therefore, did not relinquish any rights unto the Crown. This stance did not, however, discourage the Crown in their efforts for land control. Between March 31st and April 2nd 1864, the Tūhoe contingent took part in the battle of Orākau alongside Rewi Maniapoto of the Waikato region. Although this fight was specifically between the Waikato people and the British, Tūhoe acknowledged the struggle of their Waikato counterparts and joined them in battle in which 60% of the Tūhoe contingents were slain.

In March 1865, Reverend Carl Volkner, an Anglican priest suspected by his Te Whakatōhea (Opōtiki region) parishners of being a government spy, was killed at Opōtiki. At the instigation of Kereopa Te Rau (a Pai Marire missionary sent from Taranaki to enlist followers in the Bay of Plenty – East Coast area) Volkner was hanged not far from his church. Kereopa then fled into Te Urewera, Tūhoe territory. Despite Tūhoe’s claim that they were not present at the killing and a lack of evidence to suggest otherwise, Tūhoe was accused of taking part in the killing. This ultimately led to the confiscation of Tūhoe land which was acquired by way of a Scorched Earth Policy whereby the government ordered the destruction of Tūhoe’s forested areas by way of fire, thus destroying homes and villages, and chasing people out of areas not easily accessed by the British. Above all, this tactic destroyed the livelihood and natural food sources of the people.

6.2 Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu ki Waiohau

As was stated in my personal tribal affiliations section at the very beginning of this dissertation, my sub-tribes are Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu. In the chapters following this one, I present the Case Study undertaken with my family cultural group of the same name. Therefore, I feel it necessary to talk more in-depth about the history of these two particular sub-tribes.

Ngāti Haka and Patuheuheu are two Tūhoe sub-tribes that are situated in the Waiohau Valley on the western side of the Tūhoe boundary. It has, at most, a residing population of a mere 200 people; many descendants of this sub-tribe, like myself, have chosen to live outside of the region. It has one marae that services both Hapū, and due to intermarriages it is almost impossible to find families that are not linked to both tribes consecutively.

According to Best (1972), Ngāti Haka was originally called Ngāti Rākei (p. 29). A planned attack on Ngāti Rākei was devised by Ngāti Whare situated just below Ngāti Rākei. Pūkeko, of Ngāti Rākei dreamed of this attack and informed his people. When they were invited to visit with Ngāti Whare, they concealed their weapons, thereby surprising the Ngāti Whare with a close surprise attack. Once the Ngāti Rākei were victorious, they assumed the name Ngāti Haka ‘Descendants of the Dance, or Dancer.’

The Patuheuheu were also part of Ngāti Rākei or Ngāti Haka. By inter-marriage they became practically one people with Ngāti Rongo of the Ruatoki region; however, they continued to live in the Waiohau Valley. Prior to becoming Patuheuheu, a small band of Ngāti Haka were cornered and slain by a neighboring tribe called Ngāti Awa in an uru heuheu or thicket, hence the clan’s name change to Patu-heuheu meaning ‘thicket slaying’ (

Best. 1972: 221). Today the descendants of that slain party are continued to be called Patuheuheu whilst those not directly connected to the slaying keep the name Ngāti Haka. Both are, as shown, descendants of the original sub-tribe Ngāti Rākei.

The original tribal land of the Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu people is Te Houhi which is located just below Waiohau where they are currently situated. Te Houhi, through European trickery and greed, was taken and the residents were forced to relocate. The people uplifted their ancestral meeting house, exhumed the bones of their ancestors and by way of horse and wagon made the journey to the Waiohau Valley where they continue to reside today.

6.3 Tūhoe of today

The 2006 Statistics New Zealand census showed that 32,670 people registered their primary or secondary iwi as Tūhoe. This is an increase of 3,411 people since the 2001 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Tūhoe communities outside of the Tūhoe region (who congregate regularly for iwi kaupapa) can be found in regions such as Wellington, Auckland, Hamilton, Christchurch, Hastings, Kawerau, Taranaki, Rotorua, and even as far as Sydney and Melbourne in Australia. The proof of the existence of these communities is shown through two ways: their regular attendance and involvement at Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe; and that these places are regularly visited by Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe who, in 2005, were given the mandate from the people to negotiate on their behalf for Treaty settlement and iwi related projects. Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe (also referred to by the acronym TKAT) is a combination of two boards, Nga Rauru o nga Pōtiki and the Tūhoe Waikaremōana Trust Board, who in 2005 both vied for mandate to represent Tūhoe grievance claims. Meetings were held amongst Tūhoe communities both in and out of the region and it was decided by the people that the two boards merge and work collectively thereby establishing TKAT. Te

Kotahi ā Tūhoe state that 80% of Tūhoe are currently living outside of the Tūhoe region (Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe, 2008).

With regards to education within Tūhoe, and after much research, appropriate language initiatives were designed and piloted by Tūhoe Education Authority. Tūhoe Education Authority (otherwise referred to by the acronym TEA) was established in 1988 as a result of the desire for Tūhoe schools to unite and co-operate as a cluster of schools; TEA operates under the mandate that it exists only to meet the needs of those schools and their respective communities. A memorandum of understanding was signed in April, 1999 between TEA and the Ministry of Education. One of its (TEA) primary focuses is developing Community Based Language Initiatives²⁷. Once again this can be seen as a strategic move by Tūhoe with the intent of asserting Tūhoe's right to take responsibility for themselves and their learning. There are currently 13 schools that are registered with the Tūhoe Education Authority (Tūhoe Education Authority, 2008).

6.4 Children of the Mist or Guerrillas in the Mist

On October 15, 2007, while I was in New Zealand attending the conference on International Network of Indigenous Health Knowledge and Development in Rotorua (and returning my community transcripts to the people I interviewed earlier that year), I was given a front row seat to the Terrorist Raids that the New Zealand Police undertook in my hometown of Ruatoki. Road blocks were set up on the confiscation lines and people were forced out of their vehicles and photographed holding a Police identification number like those found in Police mug shots. The school buses full of children and infants were granted no special treatment as troops entered their buses and searched them for weapons. The sight of heavily armed troops swarming the Ruatoki Valley while snipers circled above me in

²⁷ Two of these Community Based Language Initiatives are explained further by TR in Chapter 7.

helicopters gave me a glimpse into the land confiscations that had taken place in the time of my ancestors. As I sat in my brother's vehicle observing the dazed, frustrated and fearful looks on the faces of my people, I silently wept for the ordeals of my forefathers and what it must have been like for them. It was just before noon.

While we were detained at the road blocks, I managed to exchange conversations with others who were sitting there as well. I asked them if anyone knew what was happening and why the Police were there in full force...no one knew. Some talked about how their homes were raided at the crack of dawn and how the Police had held guns to the heads of their family members, including their children; some were arrested and then escorted away, yet still no one knew what was going on. Unable to enter the Valley, I returned to the conference in Rotorua and waited for the 6.00 pm National News. By 7.00 pm I was more informed of what had taken place earlier that day. The Police had accused Tūhoe of running Guerilla style training camps deep within the Urewera forest and invoked the 2002 Terrorism Suppression Act to warrant them undertaking their raids. Over a 12 month period, the Police had tapped phone lines and mobile phones, intercepted emails, and secretly videotaped certain Māori and non-Māori activists and anyone they made contact with. By the end of the day, the Police had arrested 17 people throughout New Zealand. A large sum of tax payers' funding, amounting to millions of dollars was spent during this operation.

The following morning, as I entered the lobby of my hotel, I encountered a gathering of Indigenous delegates reading the local newspaper and discussing the Terrorist Raids. This was also the day in which the first bail hearing at the Rotorua District Courthouse was heard; coincidentally it was for a cousin of mine, Tūhoe activist, Tame Iti. Tame Iti was one of the community members whom I had interviewed; because of the raids, I never had the

opportunity to return his transcript. He was one of the many who was dragged from his house in the early hours of the morning, while his house was searched and items and documents seized. I left my conference meeting early and made my way to the courthouse. I was not at all surprised when the international delegates from the conference also turned up at the courthouse. The presiding judge allowed Tame Iti's family and closest friends to enter the courthouse and for one Tūhoe Elder to address the court. In the end, the judge chose to defer his judgment to the following day. Upon my return to Canada, I was inundated with questions from colleagues and friends and continually thought and worried about my Tūhoe people. The following week, my husband and I wrote a letter to the New Zealand Minister of Police, Annette King, and a couple of weeks later we received her reply stating,

I must emphasize that the Government has had no involvement whatsoever in this operation....If any member of the New Zealand public is dissatisfied with any action of the Police, the proper and appropriate body to go to is the Police Complaints Authority....I urge people to wait to see and consider the evidence Police provide before deciding whether such action is warranted....I cannot comment further on these matters while they are under investigation and before the courts
Hon Annette King – MINISTER OF POLICE (Nov 6, 2007)

I also received a call from Māori Television and was interviewed on what I had witnessed during the terrible day of the Tūhoe raids.

Wanting to remain well informed, I subscribed to iwi email newsletters and through the regular conversations with my brother Hōhepa, I managed to stay up to date with what was happening back home. One of the many emails I received was from a Māori lawyer Moāna Jackson titled 'Back in the Mists of Time.' It began with a quote from a descendant of the Ngāti Kahungunu tribe which said,

I weep for what has just happened at Maungapōhātu in Tūhoe. The Police raid seems to be about punishing Kenana for questioning the Crown and will only take us back in the mists of fear and doubt...I wonder if we will ever stop worrying when it might happen again.

Karaitiana Rarere, Ngāti Kahungunu, (Back in the Mist of Fear, 1916) (Received October 23, 2007)

In a media release at 4.00pm Thursday November 8, 2007, Solicitor General David Collins announced that he would not be granting leave for charges that had been laid under the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002.

This act of invasion set relations between Tūhoe and the Government at least 50 years, and has caused significant strain to their interactions. To date, the Tūhoe community of Ruatoki is suing the New Zealand Police Commissioner and is seeking compensation for the traumas endured and the long term effects it will have on their community.

6.4.1 The New Zealand Terrorism Suppression Act of 2002

The New Zealand Terrorism Suppression Act came into effect on 17 October 2002. It was developed against an historic background of national and international responses to acts of terrorism dating back to the 1970s. These included United Nations General Assembly conventions against terrorist related activity - for example, the 1970 Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, through to the 1997 Convention on Terrorist Bombings and the 1999 Convention on Terrorist Financing. In April 2001, New Zealand introduced the Terrorism (Bombings and Financing) Bill with the intention of being able to ratify the two related UN Conventions. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) had also issued a number of Resolutions against terrorist activity. In October 1999, the UNSC adopted UNSCR 1267, which established a Committee consisting of all the

members of the Security Council. This committee has the responsibility for establishing and maintaining a list of individuals and groups designated as "terrorist entities," and against whom various sanctions are to be applied. As a member of the United Nations, New Zealand is bound by international legal obligations to ensure that UNSC Resolutions are followed. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York, Washington, D.C. and Pennsylvania focused global attention on the effects of international terrorism. On September 28, 2001, the UNSC issued a resolution calling for member states to apply certain measures to prevent and suppress terrorist acts. These included preventing terrorist financing and recruiting, as well as harboring terrorists. In January 2002, the UNSC issued a further resolution that specifically required member states to apply the measures against all individuals or groups who were listed by the 1267 Committee as "terrorist entities." In order to give effect to the obligations created through the various UNSC Resolutions, the New Zealand government decided to use the Terrorism (Bombings and Financing) Bill, which had already been introduced and which was still before the Foreign Affairs, Defense and Trade Committee, as a means of enacting appropriate laws.

On 8 October 2002, the bill, having been re-titled the Terrorism Suppression Bill and substantially rewritten, was reported back to the House and was enacted. The New Zealand Terrorism Suppression Act established the legal framework for the suppression of terrorism. In particular, the Act is the principal mechanism by which New Zealand complies with United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions to suppress terrorism. Prior to UNSCR 1373 (Sept 2001), the requirements for member states specifically addressed nations or events. For example, sanctions were applied to named countries according to specific resolutions and against named individuals and groups (designated terrorist entities) under the '1267 Committee' listing process. However, UNSCR 1373 required member states to adopt

measures to combat terrorism, without defining what amounted to terrorism or who amounted to a terrorist. The first feature of the New Zealand Terrorism Suppression Act is that it contains a definition of the term 'terrorist act,' which in essence includes an act that

- a. is intended to cause the death of, or serious bodily injury to, one or more persons;
and
- b. is carried out for the purpose of advancing an ideological, political, or religious cause;
and
- c. is intended to either:
 - i. induce terror in a civilian population; or
 - ii. unduly compel or to force a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act; and
- d. is not an act that occurs in a situation of armed conflict and which is, at the time and in the place that it occurs, in accordance with rules of international law applicable to the conflict.

"Carrying out" a terrorist act is defined in Section 25 of the TSA as any activity which plans or prepares to commit a terrorist act (as defined above). The Act creates offences relating to terrorist bombings and financing terrorism (s7 & s8). The Act also criminalizes various forms of interaction with designated terrorist entities. For example, it is an offence to deal with a designated entity's property or to provide an entity with property, financial or related services (s10). It is an offence to knowingly recruit for (s12) or participate in (s13) a designated entity, and it is an offence to harbor or conceal a terrorist to assist avoiding arrest or escape lawful custody (s13A). While it is an offence to participate in a designated entity if the purpose is to help enhance the entity's ability to carry out a terrorist act, there is no offence of simply 'belonging' to a terrorist group. All of the offences listed in the TSA have been carefully constructed in order to meet New Zealand's international legal obligations, including those contained in UNSCR 1373.

6.5 Reflection

Since the Land Confiscations of Te Urewera forests, Tūhoe have endeavored to fight to regain their lands. How ironic that the New Zealand Police would conduct a Terrorist Raid and accuse the Tūhoe people of running guerilla style camps deep within Te Urewera. It is my belief that this move was made to acquire public support of the Urewera lands remaining in the control of the government; however, what eventuated from the terrorist raids is that it put Tūhoe on the international and Indigenous stages which in turn stirred up past grievances and memories from within Indigenous communities.



Fig. 17 - Members of the Ngāti Haka/Pātuheuheu Kapa Haka. (photographed by H Tamehana 2003-2007)

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Learning Stage:

The Case Study

Opening

I remember attending the Tūhoe Festival back in the 70's, when my grandmother (Tui Pouwhare) was tutoring one of the competing groups (Tūhoe ki Waiohau). As I was just entering my teen years at the time, I paid little attention to what was taking place before me. Who would have guessed, that almost four decades later, I would find myself back there, thirsting for knowledge, hungry for the culture that I had left behind those many years ago. As I sat amongst the audience during the 2005 Tūhoe Ahurei, my mind traveled back in time, as I quickly scoured my memories, comparing what I was currently witnessing, to what I had witnessed in the 70's. Some things had changed and yet there were still remnants of the early years of this gathering. I guess the most identifiable change was that of the faces. Gone were the old familiar faces of many of our Elders that I cherished dearly, aged were the faces of my once vibrant aunts and uncles, confident were the faces of the many nieces and nephews I had only seen as children and then there was the next generation, fresh new faces full of excitement and joy as they played around the adults, demanding money to make purchase at the many food and clothing booths. Silently I acknowledged them all, these people who have kept our culture, my culture, alive. They keep the home-fires burning for people like me.

7.1 Introduction

The theory, literature, and methodology which I explored in chapters 1-3 allowed me to set the ground work prior to entering my homelands and communities. What follows are the responses from the participants I interviewed based on the questions that I posed (see Appendix C). I have presented what each speaker said on the various topics to allow any message, great or small, to be included and to ensure that every participant is heard. The rationale for structuring the chapter in this way is to provide younger and future Tūhoe and Māori access to these teachings in the future. However, one must also keep in mind that

although this chapter is solely based on what was told to me by the two focus groups and the ten individual speakers, it is still only a portion of the transcripts.

The first two sections following this introduction are taken from the voices of the two Focus Groups I interviewed which are followed by the ten individual speakers. Each individual Speaker signed a consent form consenting to be a part of the research; however, not all signed to say that they wish to be identified. Therefore, some speakers have been identified by having their name written in the title of each section and others have not. I have arranged each speaker's answers into three sections: ontology, epistemology and pedagogy in order to make it easier for to move towards my goal of understanding 'how we are who we are, how we know what we know, and how we can teach what we know.' I begin each section by giving a brief introduction to each speaker and their relevance to my research. Often during the interviews, Speakers expressed views on topics which were not included in the questionnaires. I willingly recorded their thoughts and opinions, knowing that perhaps my questions were not as constructive or thorough as they could be. I found myself being led by the Speakers and I willingly followed recording every word. As I have been away for almost four decades, I rely heavily on these community voices to fill in the gaps regarding the changes that this festival has been through while I was away. On a personal level, undertaking this research supersedes the desire to attain a PhD qualification; I am on a personal journey in search of enlightenment and if I succeed then this thesis will serve as a resource for my people and for the many generations to follow.

7.2 The Male Focus Group

Focus Group 1 was made up of the twenty male performers of Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu Kapa Haka. Also included in this Focus Group were Elders and male supporters of the group. This Focus Group consisted of 24 people.

7.2.1 The Male Focus Group on Ontology – (How is it that we are who we are?)

To begin, the Male Focus Group made much mention regarding the ancestors and whakapapa lines. There seemed to be a consensus that being Māori, and specifically Tūhoe, is derived primarily by the blood that is in their veins. Many stated that Tūhoe owe their tribal identity to the founding ancestor Tūhoe Pōtiki, while others owe their tribal identity to those ancestors who fought the British soldiers for Māori rights to exist and be recognized as Tangata Whenua.

Tūhoe protocols, traditions and customs are without a doubt a major player in who Tūhoe people deem themselves to be. These traditions appear to set the ground rules of what you should and should not do. All of the Focus Group agreed that by adhering to customs and practices, they learned how to interact and behave amongst other Māori and each other. The marae seemed to be the main site of this type of learning, as customs, protocols and traditions are played out regularly. One of the group members made the statement, “if we don’t do it on our marae, then we don’t do it on any other marae; like smoking inside the kitchen or spitting on the marae ātea.”

Another major player in identifying who Tūhoe people are is their environment. The environment appears to determine the way they view their existence. Some of the Focus

Group participants are hunters who enter the forests in search of deer or wild boar. One of the members stated,

a lot of our people depend on the forests, if we can't hunt then a lot of us lose our livelihood...many of us men have been raised hunting and fishing and our women have been raised learning how to collect plants to make clothing or medicine...we would be lost without our environment.

A common belief was that of whānau (family) and whanaungatanga (family values) particularly in terms of how Māori unite as one in good times and in bad. The following statement was made regarding whanaungatanga:

There is a huge sense of whanaungatanga in this group and in our iwi. We are a force to be reckoned with when we get together...nobody messes with us. We aspire to be better people by constantly reflecting our lives against each other finding out what works and what doesn't work. This is done by communicating with each other, talking and creating friendships, taking the time to get to know those family members that have recently come home to perform with the group.

The group talked in length about trying to inspire others to want to be a part of the group by extending matemateāone (respect). Celebrating each other's achievements while, at the same time, showing humility, was also mentioned during this interview. On a spiritual level the Focus Group also discussed, stating that they attempt to capture the essence of mauri within each other and nurture it. For example, the participants asserted that once people are made more confident and comfortable with the group, this comfort encourages their mauri to come out. Indeed, the bonds of family give strength and a sense of belonging to any person in any culture; judging by what I have seen and heard amongst this group, this definitely rings true.

7.2.2 The Male Focus Group on Epistemology – (How is it that we know what we know?)

Our parents and grandparents are our biggest contributors of historical knowledge(s). Many focus group participants made reference to learning by observation: observing what happens on the marae during a funeral, wedding or birthday and taking note of what the adults do and what the children do. Discipline is also a key factor that was identified; many of the group stated that they owed their learning to the scolding they received on the marae, not only from their parents, but from any adult who saw that they were doing wrong.

We were yelled at as children on the marae. If we did wrong then an adult would be sure to correct us to make sure we were where we were suppose to be and doing what we were required to do. That's how I learnt not to run across the marae when there were speeches going on.

Sharing and caring are some of the traits that were identified as important in this Focus Group; again, many participants made reference to the way we interact with others, how we share stories, histories, cultural practices and motivation. The group acknowledged that they have a responsibility to pass down historical knowledge(s) to their children and also to those whom were raised outside of the community but whom have come home. They acknowledged that there are many family members out there whom they had not met or did not even know of. It is their hope that those unknown family members will one day return with the desire to learn who they are as Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu or as Tūhoe. One must want to learn; this is the only way knowledge(s) can be passed on. One member spoke of this desire to learn and stated: “The desire to want to know and learn has to be there, if it isn't then you may as well just be talking to a brick wall.”

Stages of learning were also identified during the discussions; many participants suggested that people must know who they are as Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu before they can know who they are as Tūhoe. Once people know who they are as Tūhoe, it is easier to know who they are as a Māori. Geographic surroundings (a community's actual geographic situation) can also be mentioned with regards to epistemology. The phases of the moon can tell a person when it is the right time to harvest or fish. Kapa Haka was identified as a main contributor to retaining historical knowledge(s) and Tūhoe or Māori worldviews. All agreed that they have learnt so much about who they are as Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu, and indeed Tūhoe, by being part of a Tūhoe Ahurei group. The songs they sing are always relevant to their being Tūhoe. Many participants stated that the songs not only reiterate historical events from their communities or main tribe, but they also explain issues that affect Tūhoe who are away from family and tribal lands, possibly outside of the region. Being part of a performing group gives these people the opportunity to return home during practices; this allows the person to rekindle ties, learn historical events and stories through the songs and practice building relationships.

Kapa Haka practices require more from a person than pure participation; they must learn to sing, to harmonize, to use weaponry, to synchronize movements and choreography, to be adaptable, confident, work with others, and most of all, to listen and observe. It definitely appears that the reliability rests with the tutors of groups such as this (according to Hōhepa). When I asked the group, "what makes a good tutor?" several answers were quickly supplied. Responses included a person who is knowledgeable, reliable, focused, open minded, has gained respect, gives criticism constructively, makes decisions based on the benefit of the group as a whole, unbiased, a perfectionist, and most of all has a good sense of humor. Without questions, this Focus Group identifies that Elders, tutors and

families are the key informants to knowing what a person knows; the skills we use to perceive these messages ultimately determine how we project them.

7.2.3 The Male Focus Group on Pedagogy – (How can we teach what we know through Māori Performing Arts?)

The consensus here is that we must first practice what we preach. Cultural groups are one of the most identifiable situations to be in when wanting to learn. With regards to language, one participant explained how he was raised out of the region and never had the opportunity to learn the language. Kapa Haka was the medium that he used to learn how to pronounce Māori words and how to form sentences. As I stated in the previous section, a person must be willing to learn before they can be taught. One speaker also made reference to peripheral learning: sometimes people learn without even realizing it. This is evident by the way the children learn songs and actions simply by being around when the adults are practicing. As identified earlier, the marae is also a site of learning. When children are disciplined, it is not necessarily to teach children to ‘lecture’ or ‘growl’ back; the intent is to teach the child the proper course of action: to teach them the needed lesson. The marae can also be seen as a place of practice for performing arts. When the kaikōrero (speaker) is speaking or when the kaikaranga (caller) is giving the call of welcome, and when the people get up to sing a support song, they are all performing an art: the art of speaking, of chanting and of singing. Teaching knowledge(s) relies on the knowledge and understanding of the adults; therefore, learning ultimately rests with the children. Some members talked about how they would take their children to Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe simply to expose them to it so that they know that it exists; in time, participants hope that their children will return to the festival to inquire further. As many of the performers have children, most of them said that

they take their children so that their children will learn; that the seed of desire starts by exposure. Explaining further, one of the participant stated:

I could leave my children at home if I wanted to so that they don't get in the way when I'm practicing but I choose to take them so that they get to know the other children, they get to experience what I'm experiencing, and so they can develop a hunger for wanting to learn about who they are as a Tūhoe.

Some stated that they unconsciously keep an eye out for whānau members they don't know and that they always encourage those people to go to the practices, or even to the Tūhoe festival, commenting further that it is their job to not only wait for tribal members to come home, but to look for them whenever and wherever they can.

7.3 The Female Focus Group

The female Focus Group was made up of the twenty female performers for Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu Kapa Haka. Also included in this Focus Group were Elders and female supporters of the group. This Focus Group had 32 people in total.

7.3.1 The Female Focus Group on Ontology – (How is it that we are who we are?)

While several key points overlap with what was said by the male Focus Group, the female focus group also identified other important ideas. The women tended to be more spiritual when answering the questions. This group stated that Kapa Haka encourages unity, self-healing, and spiritual connection to the ancestors, each other and the environment. These all play a part in knowing who they are. The role of the female, as explained by the women, was a partner who is equal to that of a male, but one who tends to be more spiritual than the men. As women, their role is to strike a balance with the role of the men; the

women are the softer counterparts. What makes these female participants who they are is their ability to identify their roles and to employ them. They acknowledged that there are issues in our lives that we deal with as an individual; however, women, they noted, are more inclined to share these issues with each other and seek assistance and advice willingly. As with the men, the women also identified genealogy as a factor of being who they are. Traditional stories and Māori myths and legends also played a part in Māori identifying who they are. As articulated by one of the speakers, the mythical stories which were told to her by her kuia (grandmother) played a big part in creating who she is today. Commenting further she stated,

My kuia told me many stories that were told to her by her kuia. She told me about Rata and how he had cut a tree down without asking permission from Tāne (god of the forest) and how the birds and insects would re-erect the tree during the night because the tree was a child of Tāne and Rata, out of respect, should have asked permission...this made me look at trees and birds in a whole new light, to show more respect for other living things.

The female Focus Group also stated that Tūhoe are who they are because they know why they do things. Regarding the practices of THAT, one speaker spoke of how they are taught to learn and understand the aspects of performing Tūhoe style. Tūhoe have a certain way of standing, of doing pūkana, of doing wiri, which is the same with any other haka group; what makes Tūhoe different is that they can give a reason for why they do things the way they do. Apparently it is not common for haka groups to know and understand this information.

7.3.2 The Female Focus Group on Epistemology – (How is it that we know what we know?)

We learn from our forefathers. The stories that are handed down through generations affirm our existence and tell us who we are as Tūhoe people in relation to everything. We take that information, use it as a foundation for our learning, and then build upon it using the knowledge(s) we have of today's world. This includes the issues that we face in a modern society; particularly in a world which is based on scientific fact. With respect to modern society and science, the women once again made reference to the environment. One of the women of this focus group was a traditional healer. She explained about the kawakawa leaves that they use for medicinal purposes and how they know which leaves are the best ones to use:

when I first learnt to use the kawakawa leaves I was shown what they looked like and then sent out into the forest to pick some. The leaves that were shown to me were a dull green color and had holes in them where the insects had chewed. When I went to pick the leaves I made sure to pick the leaves that had no holes in them and that were a rich green color. When I got back I was asked why I had picked these leaves and I told the people it was because the other leaves had holes in them. I was informed that those were the best leaves because by the insects eating them, they indicate which leaves are the best ones to use.

The same participant continues on and states, “if there are no fish in a stream then we can assume that the water is unsafe to drink; if there are no birds in the sky then we can assume that something bad is going to happen.” Reiterating this theme, one woman recalled on the morning the Bay of Plenty was hit by an earthquake, no birds could be seen or heard. Much can be learned from our environment – from the trees to the insects, to the birds and animals; creatures have an acute sense in times of danger because they are more in touch

with their senses and more connected with the land. Humans have almost lost the ability to use their senses more appropriately and most have lost connection with the land.

7.3.3 Pedagogy – (How can we teach what we know through Māori Performing Arts?)

Once again the marae and Kapa Haka appear to be the best suited places for teaching and learning. Mothers would prepare their daughters for life on a marae, including the expected roles of the female. Any information which a mother left out was soon explained by the grandmothers. As identified earlier, the role of the performing arts was not restricted simply to cultural groups; instead they were performed in every day situations, in every day life. The female participants noted that people perform every day: at work, at home, and in social arenas. People learn by imitating or aping others. That is what we do in Kapa Haka. We learn by observing the others or by asking for assistance. One woman stated that if she finds a particular action hard to pick up then she asks one of the other women to help her at home during the week. While all the women agreed that a person can learn at home they also identified that it was much more fun learning as a group. Kapa Haka allows the group to come together to learn historical knowledge(s) in a familiar and controlled environment while under the disciplines of haka. One woman noted,

we learn all the stories of our region and our ancestors in a friendly environment but discipline is always imparted. We have to keep in mind that we are practicing for an event (THAT) and if we want the audience to know how serious we are about the stories we are sharing then we have to condition ourselves to be disciplined otherwise people will just go and get a feed if they think you're boring or if you show that you don't really know what you are doing.

As stated earlier, in terms of teaching historical knowledge(s) through Māori Performing Arts, much rests with the tutors. However, this Focus Group explained that they are all tutors: they teach and contribute to one another's knowledge all of the time. Some know that they are doing it and others do it without knowing. The group stated that during haka practices they teach each other how to cook for big groups, how to clean, how to prepare food, how to sing, how to perform with confidence, how to be responsible for each other and each other's children and how to retain words and actions for each of the songs.

Regarding helping others one woman stated:

the trick to helping people who need help but are shy to ask for it is by identifying who they are and then going up and offering help during the breaks or making the time to go to their homes during the week, ring them up and see how they are progressing with the songs and just by making your services available.

Aside from learning actions, choreography, words, singing and stories, most of the Focus Group agreed that there are other traits you learn from Kapa Haka. These include emotions and traits such as love, caring, trust, passion, mana, ihi, wehi, ownership, resistance, a sense of security and empathy. All these emotions and traits are relevant to each other and the tribe as a whole; furthermore, such traits contribute to historical knowledge(s). We learn to express ourselves, to release frustration, anger and confusion. We constantly seek confirmation of who we are through Māori performing arts. The Focus Group also identified that sometimes a tutor teaches one thing but the people learn so much more than was intended. To illustrate this point, one of the women explained how the group is made to sing in the dark sometimes. She assumed that they did this to make sure that people learn their words, as in the dark people cannot read the song charts or the words they had written down. When this woman sought confirmation from the tutor for her explanation he explained to her that he turned the lights off to shut the sense of sight down so that people

were not distracted by what was going on around them. Continuing further, the tutor explained that once the sense of sight cannot function properly, the sense of hearing takes over. This forces the group to listen to each other, to the singing and, in particular, to the harmonies; only then will they hear the real beauty of their voices combined. The woman remembers being amazed at this explanation and thought it a very wise statement.

7.4 **Speaker 1 - Tāne Te Kohurangi Waiariki**

Tāne speaks as a performer of Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu and a past tutor of various other Kapa Haka. He comes from a family of musicians, singers, entertainers, and performers. He has been performing the art of Kapa Haka since the age of 5 but more professionally when he was in his early teens. He owes much of his inspiration to learn to both his koroua who raised him, and to his mother.

7.4.1 Tāne on Ontology – (How is it that we are who we are?)

As stated above, Tāne indicates that, on a personal level, he owes who he is today to his grandfather and mother. Since he is a Tūhoe who was raised outside of the Tūhoe region, he also states that he owes his tribal development to Mataatua ki Rotorua (a Tūhoe group based in Rotorua). He makes special mention to the Elder who founded the Tūhoe Festival back in the 1970's. This Elder was also one of the founding members of Mataatua ki Rotorua; he had lived in the Rotorua region for many years prior to his passing. Tāne asserts that Mataatua ki Rotorua was established because of the Tūhoe people who lived in the Rotorua region; their desire to Tūhoetanga was very strong. Tāne stresses the point that, as Tūhoe, they have a need to practice and exercise their Tūhoetanga at every opportunity. This is who they (Tūhoe) are: a proud race. Tāne makes the statement, "Tūhoe people never forget who they are, no matter where they are."

Tāne places emphasis on the spiritual connection to the ancestors while singing or performing. He feels their presence and it confirms who he is. His mind takes him back in time to when those ancestors were around.

I think about those things, not all the time, but definitely when you're in the zone...when you lead yourself up to the actual stage, that's when it starts to drop, all that preparation...something that only individuals can go through for themselves.

Tāne goes on to explain the whakawhanaungatanga within the Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu group and states that there was a true sense of it in the group. This, he articulates, is the reason why Kapa Haka groups should be formed and that the performance is only one aspect of why they (the performers) are there. He explains that bringing people together and nurturing them collectively is the way they (Māori) are, and the way they have always been. The notion of being part of a unit – a collective – is something which Tāne indicates is an integral part of Kapa Haka. For them, it is not merely a job: they are there to be a part of something, to carry on a legacy, to carry on the traditions of their people. Much is based on what you do for your people. As the chairperson for the Tūhoe Health Collective (which is based in Tāneatua), Tāne says he takes his work back home to Ruatāhuna to show the people that even though he lives out of the region he is still doing something for the iwi.

7.4.2 Tāne on Epistemology – (How is it that we know what we know?)

We know what we know because we conceptualize. Tāne talks about how people interpret things differently. Although they are taught as a group, Tāne often watches as people go away by themselves in order to absorb what was going on and what was being taught. This seems to be true of the new performers who need to understand on a more personal level. Once they understand, they become enlightened. Much mention is made of

how 'practice makes perfect'; Tāne indicates that after members finally masters an action after quiet reflection and practice, this individual is overwhelmed with a sense of achievement, joy and pride.

7.4.3 Tāne on Pedagogy – (How can we teach what we know through Māori Performing Arts?)

We can only teach what we know if people want to learn. In saying that, Tāne mentions that he has never come across a person who has joined a Kapa Haka group who is not willing to learn. We teach people by being an example to others. He explains that the process of learning is interrupted if the group is not accommodating, and he remembers how stand-offish some of his previous Kapa Haka groups were. He felt that this was because of individual personalities and, probably, a bit of jealousy.

Continuing in this vein, Tāne states that we must be open and receptive to anyone and everyone. Teaching historical knowledge(s) is based on having no hidden agendas, no facades, and no alteration of stories to accommodate the people or situations: one must be forthright. However, Tāne continues on to say that we can only teach knowledge(s) if we are confident that we actually understand those knowledge(s). If we understand those knowledge(s), then we must learn to communicate. We must be able to walk in all types of situations, in all types of cultures and understand what is right and what is wrong. We must be willing to negotiate, make compromises, and show humility. Most importantly, we must not gate-keep knowledge(s). Explaining this, Tāne adds that it is not our (Māori) job to choose what information we give a person or what version we give them: people are entitled to the whole truth. He also suggests that we must be aware of obstacles that can prevent teaching or the passing on of knowledge(s). One of these obstacles is very often the issue of

finance. If one's Kapa Haka is performing, travel expenses can mount; however, Tāne continues to say that people have to be present to learn, if they aren't there it makes it harder because you have to backtrack when they finally do show up.

Tāne concludes by saying that discipline in Kapa Haka is essential to balancing out the spiritual, physical, emotional, and mental aspects of learning age old stories:

when we are together as a group we are not spiritually, physically, emotionally or mentally alone, we have each other to guide, protect, and nurture...sometimes the stories we learn about through song are sad but we have each other for support...we have the spirit of our ancestors with us.

7.5 Speaker 2 - Wairere Tame Iti

Tame Iti is a well known Tūhoe activist and an expert key informant. Over the years, he has played many roles on the marae, in the community, in both urban and rural settings, and, indeed, internationally. During his life, Tame Iti has traveled to various countries around the world and remembers being in China in 1973 during the Cultural Revolution. He was fortunate to travel around and as he describes, “see little abstracts of activities and Indigenous groups under the social system”. He spent 16 years in the New Zealand Communist Party and includes Marxism and Leninism as part of his background. He acknowledge(s) his “old lady” (mother/mother figure) and his “old man” (father/father figure) and informs me that they were very supportive of him during his upbringing and through the stages of his life.

7.5.1 Tame Iti on Ontology – (How is it that we are who we are?)

Tame Iti remembers back in the 50s and 60s where the older generations of the time tried to encourage them to learn more of the Pākeha ways because there would be more opportunities available to them (the younger generation). He also remembers people saying

that the Māori language was a dying language. Wanting to prove that it was not, Tame Iti resisted his own whānau to prove to the country that the Māori language was alive and well.

He also states that his resistant nature began when he was attending school. The children had to write “I will not speak Māori” five hundred times. His Māori peers were so put off by this, that, in essence, the Pākeha systems created the resistant natures of the Māori. Tame Iti continues on to say that first and foremost he is Tūhoe; he does not see himself as a Māori and adds to this comment by stating that the most difficult thing to be is Tūhoe:

Ehara kau au he Māori. He Tūhoe kē ahau, he Māhurehure ahau, he Tamakaimoana ahau, no Te Marangaranga o Te Hapu Oneone.

I am not Māori, instead I am Tūhoe, I am Māhurehure (Tūhoe sub-tribe), I am Tamakaimōana (older tribe before Tūhoe), from Te Mārangaranga o Te Hapū Oneone (another older tribe before Tūhoe).

He continues by giving his personal view regarding this statement: he does not see or hear anything outside of Tūhoe and makes the assumption that perhaps this is why he gets into so much trouble with the law. He defends his personal view, and acknowledge(s) that he has shifted his thinking from being a Māori to that of being Tūhoe. He suggests that people need to challenge themselves regularly much in the same way as a reality check. As a Tūhoe he suggests that Tūhoe people ask themselves questions such as “What does it mean to be a Tūhoe, what does it look like, what shape or form is it?”

He hopes that Tūhoe people are not just Tūhoe over the 3 days of the Tūhoe festival; that they continue being Tūhoe when they return to the cities or to their homes outside of the Tūhoe region. Tame Iti attributes Tūhoe existence to this way of thinking:

I think it’s part of our (Tūhoe) making...it keeps us alive, keeps us on our toes and I think it’s a good thing that we do that.

In a bold explanation Tame Iti insists that claiming to be Tūhoe should not be made simply because of whakapapa and that a person should prove they are Tūhoe by showing it on their hands, hearts, minds, and souls. Commenting further he states that being Tūhoe has to be earned:

being a Tūhoe is something you have to earn...it's not about riding off the back of others or riding off the back of the tipuna you gotta earn it.

He himself has been approached in the past by many young Tūhoe wanting to know how to be Tūhoe or how to reach the level of understanding and status that the older community members have. Tame Iti explains that he tells them to go and purchase a knife and then return to him. Once this is done he directs them across the road to the local marae and tells them to go peel potatoes for the next 3 years indicating that there is a process one must go through to attain desired levels of understanding. He then informs them that once they have completed this they are to go back to him and he will be willing to sit and talk with them stating that only then will they have something in common. To reach the pinnacle of knowledge one must first begin in the back preparing meals, sweeping floors and scrubbing toilets.

Tame Iti also makes reference to the importance of understanding symbolism. On this topic Tame Iti remembers driving down the road with his son. While they were driving his son saw a big yellow letter M (McDonalds) and immediately identified it as representing food and a toy. He compares this to T-Shirts displaying the Tino Rangatiratanga flag or the Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe flag and questions what people think when they see or wear these T-Shirts; whether they really understand what it means:

this is what we need to create...for people to have an understanding of what we are trying to tell them, by the simple use of a logo or symbol.

Being Tūhoe also seems to be about setting the pace in their fight for independence. Tame Iti makes remarks regarding land settlements between the government and other Māori tribes. He feels that some tribes have allowed themselves to be ripped off with a ‘take the money and run’ attitude. For land settlements pertaining to Tūhoe Tame Iti identifies two main demands: the return of Te Urewera and Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe (Tūhoe rights for independence). He comments that other tribes seem to look towards Tūhoe to see what Tūhoe is going to do next.

Proudly and confidently he states that the Crown may have taken Te Urewera away from the Tūhoe people but they (the Crown) cannot take Te Urewera away from the hearts and minds of the Tūhoe people. It is no secret that Indigenous people have a connection to the land and Tūhoe appear to be no different. Tame Iti recites a Māori proverb that says:

Ko koe ahau, ko au ko koe
(I am you and you are me)

This proverb can be used in reference to mountains, trees and also regarding other tribal members.

Reference is also made towards building alliances. Tame Iti states that it is important for Tūhoe to build alliances not only amongst Māori but also within the Pacific and internationally. This relationship building is something that he has been doing for many years. Tame Iti has spoken with many Indigenous people regarding global situations and feels that these alliances have to span all levels of consciousness, awareness and age groups. Tame Iti explains that he is not motivated by hatred instead he is motivated by beliefs and the love and passion he has for these.

7.5.2 Tame Iti on Epistemology – (How is it that we know what we know?)

Most definitely the Elders were the common holders of knowledge. In the 70's Tame Iti approached a male Elder that was well known for reciting whakapapa. When he requested information regarding his whakapapa, he expected this Elder to recite his (Tame Iti) bloodline from his ancestors down to himself. Instead the Elder recited whakapapa from the beginning of time and Tame Iti remembers getting lost amongst that information. He felt it was because he was not prepared. He does, however, remember every word that he was told, and over the years, he often hears the voice of that Elder in his head reciting all those genealogical lines; finally at the age of 55, he feels that he is ready to understand what was told to him.

Tame Iti mentions a Tūhoe educational institute is currently being developed called 'Te Whare Maire o Tūhoe' and explains it as a wānanga style of learning. This institute will allow Tūhoe people to learn what is specific to them as a Tūhoe in an environment that is familiar under the teachings of everything that encompasses Tūhoetanga. He further states that everybody has a role to play in ensuring that knowledge(s) are handed down. Men, Tame Iti says, are normally the ones who formulate concepts, but he admits that, in most cases, it is the women who actually conceptualize these ideas and, therefore, are the ones who handle the finer details of these concepts. Perhaps, he states, that the women are the real creators of Tūhoetanga.

There also seems to be stereotyping of what or who a Tūhoe person is. Tame Iti states that other Māori tend to look at anybody Tūhoe and automatically assume that that person is knowledgeable or can speak Māori. This is not always the case according to Tame Iti; it just depends on how or where that person was raised. When asked what he thought

about the literature of Elsdon Best in Best's two volumes regarding Tūhoe historical knowledge(s) and whakapapa, Tame Iti commented that Tūhoe do not have to rely on Best's accounts alone; after this pronouncement, Tame Iti produced volumes of information written by Tūhoe people. He explains Best's books as small amounts of historical knowledge(s) that were given to Best but that the volumes he (Tame Iti) had were extended versions of the topics and events discussed by Best. The literature that Tame Iti possesses, as explained by him, was compiled by the various families and sub-tribes of Tūhoe. The history was recorded as part of their defense in land settlement courts. The Tūhoe were competing against lawyers representing the government who could produce written documentation regarding events, while Tūhoe had to rely solely on the oral delivery of events as told to them by their ancestors. For whatever reason, this newly compiled literature will be an invaluable tool and legacy for many generations to come.

In terms of instructing the youth, Tame Iti suggests that the older generation needs to approach the younger generation and ask them what it is that they want as opposed to assuming what the younger generation should have. He identifies that the older generation must leave behind a legacy and states that this is already in the process:

some things have already happened...it's pretty full on, today they have so many different activities or planning strategies of where they (Tūhoe) need to take themselves.

These advances, as Tame Iti sees it, can only be made if we communicate and trust one another.

7.5.3 Tame Iti on Pedagogy – (How can we teach what we know through Māori Performing Arts?)

With regards to Māori Performing Arts, Tame Iti attributes his learning to people such as the famed Kōhine Pōnika and Mōwai Tihi. Tame Iti has also performed with local groups such as ‘Te Karu,’ a local Ruatoki team. Over the years, Tame Iti has performed in various parts of the world with traveling haka groups. However, in 1990, he decided that he would no longer perform in these types of arenas; rather, he chose to perform only on the marae. This decision was largely due to his belief that Kapa Haka was being homogenized or ‘watered down’ in those arenas. He feels that competition takes away the essence of what haka is intended to be: “I think that the Kapa Haka in the early days was to keep the identity, keep those things alive; I think we should move and take it to another level altogether.”

Tame Iti expressed that, in their true form, haka and waiata ā ringa are methods that enable us to express ourselves, our history and situations which currently affect us. He distinguishes a difference between haka and Kapa Haka, noting that Kapa Haka becoming a safe way of projecting the true potential of haka. He makes reference to the wero section of the Ahurei whereby a kaiwero lays down a challenge or a token of peace. If the person picks this token up then they come in peace, if not, then it shows that they come to fight. He was chosen to be the one who picks up the token of peace. He remembers when arming himself with a toki or adze which was spotted in his back pocket and he was challenged by some of the judges at the competition and asked not to arm himself with that weapon. The judges preferred that he use a taiaha or wooden spear. He felt that this choice was made because the people felt that a taiaha is less dangerous but as he sees it the world of Tūmataunga (god of war who all weapons and battles belong) is far greater than people realize and that

once again people have minimized the true intent of an art-form. He goes on to explain that there are no rules in the world of the atua (gods) and that our consciousness must create a space that enables us to perform that way without restraint. Tame Iti believes that the teachings of our ancestors are aimed at allowing us to see where we are going and to prepare us for the unknown.

When asked whether he (Tame Iti) considers the Tūhoe Festival to be a site of resistance; he comments that Tūhoe have always been in the state of resistance whether it is through Kapa Haka or something else. He expounds on this by adding that Tūhoe have always been about maintaining their Tūhoetanga or tribal identity which can be seen as a form of resistance but further adds that Tūhoe are renowned for having this trait. The Tūhoe Ahurei, as explained by Tame Iti, has become a platform for Tūhoe to practice that resistance through the display of historical knowledge(s). Continuing on, the speaker explains that Tūhoe do not need anybody else to assist them; that they do not need to go to National Competitions to prove who they are and sees this as a contributing factor to the tribes strength, unity and solidarity. Tame Iti shares his vision with me regarding the Tūhoe Festival which is to take it to another level. On a personal level, Tame Iti feels that the Tūhoe Festival has too many activities that are not Tūhoe naming the sports (rugby and netball) and alcohol (social evening on the last night). If he had his way Tame Iti would get rid of the sports and alcohol and encourage people to be completely immersed in all things Tūhoe; mentally, spiritually, emotionally, and physically and feels that sometimes people do not allow themselves to be more creative.

7.6 Speaker 3 - Daphne Rangiaho-Tamehana

Daphne is a first time performer for Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu but has supported the group for many years due to her children always being involved as well as these sub-tribes being those of her mother. She is a mother to four daughters and four sons and has two grandsons who are avid followers or performers of Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu Kapa Haka. Her 14 year old son is currently the male leader for the group.

7.6.1 Daphne on Ontology – (How is it that we are who we are?)

Like Tame Iti, Daphne feels that contribution to the tribe determines our right to be a part of the tribe. In recalling her first performance with Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu she makes the statement: “it made me proud, proud of being Tūhoe, it made me feel I did something for Tūhoe.”

She also makes reference to the ancestors or those family members who have passed on. Many times during the weekend practices Daphne lies inside the wharenuī or meeting house and stares up at the photos of tribal members who had since died. Among these photos are pictures of her biological mother, her biological father and the father that raised her. Spiritually she connects with these people and she is saddened by the fact that they are not there to watch her perform. Knowing that these people would be there with her in spirit gives her the confidence to carry on within the group. Daphne feels that people are who they are because they have taken the time to identify who they are. This, she notes, is how Tūhoe know who we are: they research who they are not only as an individual, but also as a member of the tribe. Once a tribe knows who they are, they are in a better position to practice who they are. Perhaps tutors, according to Daphne, become tutors because it is just in them to be one. She also identifies language as an important part of being who a person

is; language enables quicker comprehension and deeper understanding of the Tūhoe world, which ultimately provides an advantage in understanding.

7.6.2 Daphne on Epistemology – (How is it that we know what we know?)

Daphne suggests that much of what she knows is based on the experiences and knowledge(s) of other people. She recalls when the tutor for Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu first informed her that he was going to train her son to be the male leader for the group. She remembers feeling scared for her son because of how young he was. He was just 14 years old and this was his first time in an adult group; she did not feel that her son was ready to take on such a big responsibility. When she questioned the tutor about his decision, the tutor informed her that he (the tutor) had identified a potential within her son. Feeling that the tutor knew best Daphne relented and allowed her son to be trained. She remembers being more scared for her son as the leader than she was for herself as a first time performer. During the performance Daphne explains that she never really got the chance to observe her son because she was too busy concentrating on what she was supposed to be doing. Once the Tūhoe Festival was over Daphne got the chance to sit and watch the DVD of the group's performance. She remembers focusing more on her son and was pleasantly surprised about how well he led the group and in her words stated: "it blew me away, I was so proud... I was such a proud mum."

Daphne explains that her desire to perform at the Tūhoe Festival is so that she can pass on knowledge(s) to her grandchildren; she feels that her knowledge(s) would be more credible if she had actually taken part in the festival. She identifies her role as a grandmother as one which needs to leave behind a legacy. She also acknowledge(s) that if people do not

practice their culture or their ways, then their culture and ways are at risk of being lost. She discusses the Kōhanga Reo or Early Childhood Language Nests and states that without them, the Māori language would probably be lost. She states that through the Language Nests, the Māori language will live on forever. Daphne further stresses the importance of people knowing where they come from in order to keep historical knowledge(s) alive. She adamantly states that people need to know their identity as this is one thing that people cannot take away from you. Peripheral learning is again mentioned here as Daphne explains how her 5 year old grandson knew all the words to the songs before she did. Her grandson can sit in front of the TV and watch haka videos or accompany his mother to the weekend practices and learn while sitting on the sides. Because her grandson is in a total immersion class, Daphne adds that he tends to learn better in Māori than if he was in a mainstream school.

7.6.3 Daphne on Pedagogy – (How can we teach what we know through Māori Performing Arts?)

Prior to Daphne performing with Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu, her first experiences with Kapa Haka were during her school years some 25 years ago. Since that time, Daphne had wondered what it would be like to perform in an adult Kapa Haka, specifically Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu. She admits that at first she struggled with Kapa Haka disciplines such as the poi, mōteatea, and choreography, as well as committing to memory the words to the many songs that she learned noting that much had changed since she was at school. Choreography had become more physically demanding, songs had become faster, and actions had become more complex. Daphne attributes her recent learning to her daughter who has been performing with Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu for over 5 years: “she (her

daughter) was always telling me...you can do it mum...she was always encouraging me, she really wanted me to stand.”

Many times Daphne found herself wanting to pull out or leave the group because she was not confident, but family members of the group would insist that she stay. She was encouraged by this and she also gained assistance from whanaungatanga. The atmosphere and weekly routine of the group made her feel a part of something. She enjoyed the routine: staying at the marae, meeting new people, and connecting with family members. Daphne admits that she never really knew the depth of whanaungatanga; through this experience, she adds, that she discovered that it is far deeper than just performing haka. She explains that everybody takes responsibility for each other and in turn each other’s learning. This is illustrated, for example, in the way that the group got into smaller groups and someone other than the tutors teaching them actions or choreography. As a whole, the group was always found to be supporting and encouraging each other; accolades are given out in the form of a smile, a pat on the back or by a simple nod of the head.

After a weekend long practice, Daphne would return home exhausted but with a feeling of success knowing that she had learned something, which she describes as an awesome feeling. There are many skills that Daphne acquired or employed while in the group. She lists some of these as listening, discipline and co-ordination. Daphne feels that skills such as these are imperative when receiving or retaining historical knowledge(s). Daphne also states that some lessons are not learned until you actually perform on the stage. She continues on to explain that she was complete in an emotional, physical, mental, and spiritual sense. She remembers all sorts of emotions running through her at the time, and that it varied depending on the item they were performing. During the choral piece, which as she explained was a sad song, she felt a happy spirit from her ancestors; she, therefore, felt

happy within herself. Daphne credits her tutor for this connection, and describes him as a talented and gifted person. She also identifies that the skills required to teach are much more advanced and complex than those required to learn. She explains that in many groups there is only one tutor who is responsible for the learning and development of forty people. She (Daphne) can only imagine what these skills would be.

7.7 Speaker 4 - Rita Tupe

Rita is a descendant of Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu and is actively involved with Māori rongoa (medicine). She is a tutor of the Kapa Haka group and a past performer of Tūhoe ki Waiohau. She also acts as a costume designer and lends added support to the group.

7.7.1 Rita on Ontology – (How is it that we are who we are?)

According to Rita, knowing who we are seems, in part, to be about empathy: feeling what the ancestors felt, sharing in each other's pains and gains. Being able to connect with the spirits of the ancestors and drawing healing from this experience. According to Rita, knowing who we are relies on us knowing the kawa of the marae, the places where women need to be and the places where men need to be. We need to understand why we do things the way we do; for example, why we have karakia inside the whare and why other religious ceremonies are practiced outside, and why women can't go into the urupa when they are in their menstrual cycle. All these things are incumbent on us knowing who we are which will then lead to the practice of being who we are. Rita states that these knowledge(s) are as important today as they were back in the time of the ancestors.

She continues on to discuss the belief and faith systems of the Māori. Rita recalls the time when her older brother was sick with rheumatic fever, but the doctors did not have the medication to effectively treat him. The doctors told her parents that her brother had one

month to live. Her father approached one of the male Elders and that Elder told him that if he had enough faith his son would be healed. This Elder sent her father to see a tohunga and the tohunga gave him the medicine to heal his son. She offers another example to elaborate on her ideas: how she left home to move to Auckland, and constantly suffered from migraine headaches while living there. Eventually she returned home and the migraines stopped. Rita believes that this told her that she was not meant to travel that far from home and from then on stayed to work on the marae and to help out at the local school.

In her own times of need Rita talks with the spirits of her father and those of her family who have passed on. She continually asks them for guidance, support and strength. During her mother's lifetime, it was her mother who taught Rita the basic life skills of cooking, cleaning and washing clothes which she felt were unnecessary until she met up with her partner. In concluding ontological practices, Rita states that learning your pēpeha allows a person to use the support tools that are supplied by the environment. A pēpeha is the identity of a person, which links them to the mountains, rivers and historical tribal connections; the assertion is that when a person feels weak, they must return to the mountains to be refreshed.

7.7.2 Rita on Epistemology – (How is it that we know what we know?)

Rita describes the marae as a situated learning place; that it (the marae) is the foundation where listening skills and discipline are developed and states that if a person does not have the marae āhuatanga then they probably will not get it anywhere else.

being a child brought up on the marae, knowing your tūrangawaewae, your papakainga, you learn as a child how to grow and also to listen to what the Elders are trying to say to you.

Kapa Haka is also mentioned here; Rita tells how the songs can make a person emotional and that one cannot help but reflect on what the ancestors must have experienced in their time. Accompanying the songs, words, music and singing is the mauri (life aspect) and mana (prestige) of the group, the unity and harmony of the group that allows the group to express and bring to life the messages that are contained within their songs which in turn allows people to hear the group as Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu, as a hapū, as a whānau. She acknowledge(s) the tutor and his skill for composing songs and adds that all the songs he has written for the group pertain to whakapapa and historical knowledge(s) from within Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu.

Rita then speaks on the costumes that Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu wears. She explains that the women's costumes are made out of a native plant called kākaho. She recalls driving down the road when she noticed an impressive looking plant on the side of the road. She informed the other tutor that she wanted to attempt to turn it into a costume and he agreed. Through trial and error, Rita finally came up with a design that she was happy with but states that she changes things in the costume every year. As we all know, experimenting is part of human nature, that we learn by experience, by trying things and then stepping back to analyze them. Rita also makes mention of the need for people to seek clarification or different views on certain topics and explains that she always asks the opinion of the other tutor before she makes any decisions.

Rita continues by addressing the need to keep a positive mind when making the costumes; she believes that when the group puts their costume on, they feel the positivity in

the costumes. A similar approach is employed when plants are used to make medicines. Rita states that when she picks plants to heal a specific person, she keeps that person in mind as if to tell the plant whom it will be healing and what illness they have. This same approach is used when Rita picks the kakaho plant so that the performer will feel proud in wearing it as part of their costume. Rita believes that the group connects to the energies that are imparted on everything that they use to present their bracket of songs including weaponry, hair pieces made of feather or fauna and props such as the poi. Remembering those who were killed in the heuheu thicket (Patuheuheu), Rita explains that one year she incorporated branches of the heuheu plant into the women's hair pieces so that the group remembered those of their ancestors that were slain and that the group connected with their spirits.

After discussing these ideas, Rita then speaks of her daughter who already performs for Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu, and also acknowledge(s) her son that is coming of age. She encourages her son to stand in the group during practices, explaining that she wants him to train to be a good leader. She also makes reference to the grandson of the tutor and how he (the grandson) used to cling to his koro in the past. Today she sees that same grandson standing around the adults imitating them during practices, exuding a air of confidence. Growing up on the marae played a huge role in the way Rita views situations and surroundings. She speaks about how she learned to cook and clean while still being an inquisitive child on the marae and sees this as training. Rita sees routines of the marae as good learning tools. Rita acknowledges her mother as one of the role models in her own life and learning and recalls a story from her childhood:

I remember I was only 9 years old and one night my mother said to me 'kia tere, e oho' (quickly, get up) and I was wondering why she was wanting me to get up...she said 'get your bag and get your torch and carry the spade'....I went with her and

Aunty Nānā and they took me to the back, we call it 'Te Rua a 'Tangaroa' and at that time there was one of Aunty Nānā's nephews that was really sick...we were walking at night, crossed over the fence and I noticed that these two kuia were having a karakia, but I wasn't paying attention to why they were doing that and before I knew it they were on their knees feeling for this weed and when they found it they said haere mai (come here) and get the shovel and shake all the otaota (weeds) that was in there... I never questioned why that happened.

Many years later, remembering that night, Rita approached her mother and asked her the significance of that night. Her mother explained that that rongoa was called pā tōtara. Her mother continued on to explain that they were searching for that plant to heal someone who was hemorrhaging. Rita never forgot that night and still carries those values and beliefs to this day, amongst her work as a traditional healer. Perhaps this was where the desire planted within her originated; encouraging her to enter into the world of traditional healing. Her mother also taught her that pregnant women do not sit around corpses during a funeral; instead, they are to be seen sitting in harmonious surroundings so as not to affect the unborn child:

with the māmā (mother) carrying and going to a tangihanga, they (the mothers) weren't allowed there...the kōrero that our mother was saying is that when you hear this hotuhotu (sobbing) when someone has passed on and kei te hapu te wahine, that baby becomes like that when it's born.

Through this, Rita articulates that a baby captures everything which its mother learns outside of the womb. Rita also makes reference to a form of symbolism alluding to their ways of knowing. She recalls a story told to her by her mother about how her mother's grandfather used to come up the valley, crossing many rivers along the way. There was a log that used to float up and down the river and the koroua (male Elder) would tell them that where ever the stick was, no eels would reside upstream from that point. Another story that Rita recalls was

when her niece had gotten lost in the forest while wandering off into sacred parts that people had been warned to stay away from. Everybody believed that she had been washed away down river. In fact, Rita believes that her niece was led away by patupaiarehe or forest dwelling fairies. When they finally found the niece she was covered in mud showing that she had crossed swamps. At this time, Rita's own mother had just passed away; the family believes it was Rita's mother who led the niece home.

7.7.3 Rita on Pedagogy – (How can we teach what we know through Māori Performing Arts?)

Rita remembers back to 1999 when one of their current tutors returned home to Waiohau to help the whānau and hapū re-establish a Kapa Haka group. She remembers that for some time, many of their rangatahi (youth) were searching for their roots – their whakapapa and their culture. It was something that they had been missing for a long time. Rita was constantly approached by the youth who pleaded with her to start a Kapa Haka group with the intent of entering the Tūhoe Festival. She promised them that she would look around for a tutor and approached their current tutor who agreed. Rita was amazed at the number of people who came to the initial meeting and the first practices. It was then that Rita decided to remain with the group and see the kaupapa through to the end. As she explains it, the first practices were based on tikanga and getting to know each other. She recalls her days as a performer with Tūhoe ki Waiohau and explained that their group was not very successful due to the late changes in choreography, songs and leaders by their then tutor. Rita shares how the performers for Tūhoe ki Waiohau would go on stage lacking confidence because of the late changes. She talks in length about the skills that she has learned through Kapa Haka which she terms as whakapapa (genealogy), whanaungatanga

(family values), tikanga (protocols) and marae concepts. Rita relays her role as a tutor in the group and talks about how her job is more that of fine tuning or disciplining the group. She listens to the way the group pronounces their words, sings in tune, and stands. If they need to be corrected, she steps in. Rita believes that constructive criticism is a positive way of helping people understand or learn the values that come through Kapa Haka. She alludes to the understanding that people take on board what is being said to them and that if it is said in a negative way then that is the light that people see themselves in. Support, sustainability and focus are all key elements in Kapa Haka. She, again, commends the male tutor for his ability to draw people into the group focusing on their needs and being skilful in his approach. In terms of correcting people during practices, Rita reiterates that we must always be able to explain what a person should be doing instead.

Rita talked about the varieties of language that can be used when teaching historical knowledge(s) in Kapa Haka. She identifies some of these varieties as te reo o te kāuta (informal language), te reo pōhewa (imagery), and te reo o te kainga (sub-tribal dialects) and states that Kapa Haka is not only about teaching historical knowledge(s). The tutors must also consider the level of language that we use, and, furthermore must also consider moving with the times to accommodate the younger generation. The idea of moving with the times does not mean that that the old ways should be discarded; it is more to say that tutors need to find more refreshing and exciting ways of rebirthing old stories from whānau, hapū and iwi. The forum of Kapa Haka also allows people to learn skills not associated with Kapa Haka but which are necessary for working in groups or in tribal arenas. These are elements like cooking, cleaning, being responsible, caring for each other and learning to adhere to protocols and customs. She explains how two women lacked confidence and therefore approached her. She then called a meeting with all the women and then asked these two

women to tell the group what was troubling them, allowing the two women to release their fears. This also demonstrated to the rest of the women that these two ladies needed more support and assistance, which was freely given.

The group, according to Rita, is encouraged to learn not only the words to the songs but the deeper meanings as well; only then will people be able to express appropriately the emotions that accompany a song. She expounds further by saying that, a person who knows the words and meanings to songs helps bring the songs to life which is needed to draw the attention of the audience so that they (the audience) feel a part of the performing group and that they comprehend fully what is being sung to them.

7.8 Speaker 5 - George Mark Faga

George has been performing with Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu for the past two Tūhoe Festivals. He is of Samoan descent: his mother is from Western Samoa and his father is from American Samoa. His partner, however, is a tribal member of Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu and has been a performer for the group for the last 6 years. They have been in a relationship for the past 4 years. George is also a trained teacher.

7.8.1 George on Ontology – (How is it that we are who we are?)

George refers to a good Kapa Haka leader as a person who has the ability to practice what they preach, who relates their leaderships skills to the rest of the group, who can guide, who is approachable, who can take as well as give advice, who has historical knowledge regarding tribal stories, ancestry and genealogy, and who can see the significance of the words and understand its relevance to connecting relationships and direction. He states that much of who he is can be attributed to his parents. George remembers the time when he first told his parents that he was going to perform with a Māori group: his father told him

that it was a good thing to do, and his mother cried and praised him for trying something new, learning new things, and looking for more opportunities. George remembers feeling inspired. His partner also showed support and elation when he told her that he was going to try Kapa Haka. As stated earlier George is a trained teacher who is also studying to complete his Master's degree. George comes from a well educated family and has always been encouraged by his parents to aspire towards higher goals. George sees culture as being very important to understanding one's identity. He adds that culture helps establish values and one's place within their particular iwi and helps to connect a person to their ancestry, to the realm of spiritual understanding; furthermore, it connects people with their marae, stories, and the symbolic values of tā moko and carvings. With reference to language, George expresses that language is important to filling the missing link between a person and who they really are. George states

I know there are a lot of people who don't know their language but they are absolutely wonderful performers. They perform from within the heart, with aroha, with mana and they give it their all. There's also the other side...the fluent speakers...they can actually see what they are actually performing in terms of relating to the kupu.

7.8.2 George on Epistemology – (How is it that we know what we know?)

A lot of what and how George learned is attributed to his partner and his tutor. He acknowledges the Māori language is somewhat different to Samoan but that similarities can be identified in sentence structures, given that both languages are Polynesian. With the assistance of his partner, he soon learned to pronounce the words of the songs using the Māori phonetics and stated that once he started, he felt quite settled. Reflection is one way of understanding what has been taught to you. George explains that many times during

practices his mind goes blank and he loses the words or actions. What helps him recall his place is taking the time to sit and reflect on the songs as if to reconnect spiritually to the wairua of the songs and frequently reaffirms what he knows with that of his partner. What interrupts knowledge flow in a Kapa Haka is when people contradict what the tutors or leaders say:

it's quite daunting when the other so called crew of the ship suddenly have their bits and pieces all over the place and start overruling toward the Captain or to what the leader's trying to say...in other words too many captains do sink the ship.

George states that he is there to have fun, to engage, and to socialize but also to learn and be a part of the whānau. He acknowledge(s) various people who came into the group to assist the tutors. One of these people, George remembers, taught the men to relate their actions in the haka to the environment; the land and mountains and describes this as a wonderful skill. The men were also taught to relate their actions to the ancestors. Reciprocity is also mentioned here with George who identifies reciprocity as a wonderful skill that encourages people to learn from each other.

7.8.3 George on Pedagogy – (How can we teach what we know through Māori Performing Arts?)

George informs me that he only went to Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu Kapa Haka practices to support his partner in 2005. Gazing up at all the song charts hanging on the wall he remembers being “blown away.” George found it quite easy moving into Māori Performing Arts from Samoan Performing Arts. He had been raised performing the Samoan culture for most of his life. As a performer who is non-Māori and, specifically, non-Tūhoe, George acknowledges that he has gained so many skills from being a part of Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu. Comparing Kapa Haka practices to those of the Samoan, George found

the Kapa Haka practices to be a lot more focused and intense, synchronizing hand movements with words, adding vocals and facial expression, while moving around the stage. The group is made to synchronize physically and spiritually with each other. As an observer in 2003, George remembers feeling amazed while watching the whole bracket of songs come together during the practices. After that year, he approached the tutor and asked if he (the tutor) felt that George would be able to join the group to which the tutor answered yes. What inspired George to continue with the group was the way the group embraced and encouraged him including him as part of their extended whānau and supporting him where necessary. This made George's experience an enjoyable one. Good tutorship skills, George asserts are those who can refocus the minds of the performers; who are upfront and flexible, but also humorous. This is important, according to George tutors are the ones who apply the pedagogies of Māori Performing Arts. He concludes this description by stating that "the group needs the tutor and the tutor needs the group; they need each other".

George explains how he has used the teaching strategies he acquired in Kapa Haka in his teaching methods in the classroom. He lists some of these skills as vocal projection, harmony, discipline, adaptability, and responsibility. As an example George recalls a lesson he was giving his class where he was teaching them a song. In the past, George has always complied with whatever a book would say about teaching; for example, George remembers teaching a song that, according to a book, was to be played in a certain key. Normally George would only play the song in that key even if a note was too high or low for his class. Kapa Haka has taught him to be more adaptable and change the key to suit the voice ranges of the children. Furthering his point, George provides another example. During a swimming lesson, George identified the stronger swimmers and got them to guide the not so strong swimmers. This trait is practiced by the tutors whereby they identify the stronger

singers and situate them among the not so strong singers. George also notes ‘delegating responsibility’ as a skill in teaching Kapa Haka. He discusses how the tutor would divide the group into smaller groups, give them a section of a song and then tell them to go away and create actions for that piece. After a certain time the tutor calls all the groups in and asks each group to present their actions, changing what he thinks inappropriate and keeping those actions that he likes. He then puts all the actions together and, within an hour, the actions to a whole song are complete.

7.9 Speaker 6 - Hera Ngahirata Hohipa

Hera’s roles within Kapa Haka are vast and varied. She is a leader, tutor and performer of Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu and on a professional level she is a teacher of Māori Performing Arts and Māori Visual Arts in a Wharekura or Secondary Educational Institute. She is of Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu descent; her Tūhoe sub-tribes are Ngāti Koura and Ngāti Rongo. She speaks with almost 20 years of experience in Māori Performing Arts and has won several leadership awards over the years. Hera refers to Māori performing arts by its acronym MPA.

7.9.1 Hera on Ontology – (How is it that we are who we are?)

There have been many people who have influenced the life of Hera. She lists some of these people as the current tutor for Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu (who is also her uncle) whom she acknowledges as one of her greatest role models in MPA; her mother, who taught her skills such as listening, maintaining and retaining knowledge(s); and her mother’s brother, who taught her weaponry, its relevance, uses, and application. She insists that people must have a passion for learning, which is also the drive behind learning. According to Hera, academic qualifications do not compare to life experiences. She suggests that it is

one thing to learn about something, but it is another to actually live it. Through undertaking MPA, children are taught to become more confident and self-conscious. The children are taught pertinent things with regard to anybody or anything that may have impacted their lives, and thus helps shape who they are today. These influences may include the child's ancestors, historical events, myths, teachers, parents, friends and extended family members which are all relevant towards understanding who the child is. People need to return to their roots; only then will they discover who they truly are. Being in Kapa Haka has given Hera the determination to live Kapa Haka by learning and teaching it. Through Kapa Haka, Hera has learned to transform herself during a performance, to cry during a sad song, to imitate the birds when singing about them (the birds), to be flirtatious when doing the poi, and to be aggressive when doing the haka. In a sense 'she is who she is when she needs to be.' Given that Hera teaches in a Māori total immersion school setting, the language is vital. She also explains that because the children are learning in a Māori language based environment, teaching MPA through the Māori language is made easier. Knowing who we are relies on our interpretation of what has been taught or told to us. Sometimes people will go more with a 'gut' feeling than they will with what they've been told. Hera remembers a time when one of the female Elders came to watch the group practice and the tutor asked this Elder if she could give Hera a karanga to perform during one of the songs. Hera rehearsed this karanga but when it came to performing it during the practices that followed, different words came out of her mouth. Because the words that were coming out of her mouth were as equally appropriate, the tutor allowed Hera to continue doing her own thing. Many times groups will find themselves with performers who are not of their tribe. Hera explains that it is hard to expect these people to cry during a song that is about someone they never knew or never met. In these instances people are asked to draw upon the memories of their own

family members that have passed on and to recall the emotions they felt at that time. They are then encouraged to empathize with the family of the person who the song is about. Knowing who we are as Māori also allows us to know who we are as Polynesians. Hera has also performed with a Polynesian group performing dances from other Pacific peoples. While in this group, Hera learned who she was as a Polynesian and her relationship to other Pacific cultures.

7.9.2 Hera on Epistemology – (How is it that we know what we know?)

Māori Performing Arts (MPA) not only teaches us about who we are, it teaches us our being in relation to things such as the environment; Hera asserts that this is enlightening to say the least. She comments on how through MPA they (the teachers) have taught people the relevance of Matariki which is the Māori New Year and is determined by the position of the Matariki constellation found in the Southern hemisphere, which normally appears in the months of June/July. She (Hera) believes that Māori have a scientific approach to understanding relativity as much as a mythical approach. Appropriateness is also a key factor when teaching MPA. While performing for various groups, from various tribes, with various age groups, Hera applies these skills when teaching MPA. She discusses how she has taught groups from ages 5 to kaumātua (Elder) level. She draws on the skills that she has acquired to identify the appropriate pace, songs, and actions to accommodate the people with whom she works. These skills were taught to her by her mum and uncles and she uses these skills as a base to begin with. Her reasoning behind the way she teaches knowledge(s) is founded on the fact that these knowledge(s) will be carried on by the future generation, therefore today's generation need to not only understand what they are doing but also to

enjoy it. Gaining her grounding in her own tribal ways and being exposed to other tribal ways, Hera is able to enter both worlds depending on the group she performs with. Aside from being the female leader for Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu she is also the leader for another adult group from the Ngāti Kahungunu region. Her performance style is based on her tribal ways but is adapted to suit the style of the other group. However, she explains that when she is performing for a Tūhoe group, she does not employ the skills attained from other tribes preferring instead to stick with the Tūhoe style of performing. Being in Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu has allowed Hera to define her respect for Elders as the Elders involved with Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu have been role models and mentors to her in things other than Kapa Haka. Hera identifies that in order to be who she is, she must be scrutinized by her tribe; ultimately, she is at peace with this stating, “sometimes you have to be cruel to be kind.” She adds that she would choose Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe over any other festival because she would rather critique, or be critiqued by her own. Evaluation is another part of knowing what we know. Hera talks about how at the end of practices the group is made to sit down and one by one, and are encouraged to talk about how they are feeling about what they have learned during that practice. As a tutor, Hera is constantly on the lookout for new and innovative ideas for Kapa Haka. She takes the time to observe other groups and what they are doing or how they do things and if she likes it she will go home and practice it and adapt it to suit the groups she tutors. Hera explains that in a total immersion school children are taught about their whakapapa and pēpeha, but when they reach wharekura they are taught to perform it and express it.

7.9.3 Hera on Pedagogy – (How can we teach what we know through Māori Performing Arts?)

Hera states that they use performing arts to teach their children whakapapa and pēpeha through song as well as discipline. With regards to the youth, Hera explains that they work with many ‘at risk’ youth and use performing arts to refocus these youth. Living in an area outside of the Tūhoe region Hera has encountered many people who have little knowledge of their ancestral lines, history, and culture. These children are taught to discover and understand who they are as a Māori. Role modeling is also important when teaching Kapa Haka, which suggests that children need to aspire towards wanting to emulate a Kapa Haka leader or tutor. This can only be achieved if the child identifies positive traits within that person or those people. Hera discusses the Māori Performing Arts Curriculum that she teaches within the schools. She explains that the MPA curriculum is modeled after the English Performing Arts curriculum. Hera tells how the English curriculum looks at dance, drama and music which according to Māori describe what Kapa Haka is all about; movement, expression and sound. Both curriculums have disciplines that need to be adhered to and skills that need to be attained. The other side of MPA is the physical side. Hera explains how people are taught to move, jump, situate, and use peripheral skills to synchronize with the other performers, all while using props such as poi, patu or rākau. Hera feels that it is important to include MPA in the form of a curriculum because MPA opens the door to things such as job opportunities and international travel, as MPA is now recognized around the world. This not only aids the production of the song and the messages they contain it also keeps the people fit and physically active. For many people MPA is the only exercise they get and it is on a huge scale. On the flip side, Hera is tutoring a girl who is in a wheelchair who has no feeling below her waist. Hera explains that she

would never take away the passion that this girl has to do MPA. Hera therefore finds alternative ways to including this girl in the group and never marginalizes this girl's contribution or participation. MPA can also be therapeutic according to Hera: relaxing and soothing, listening to the harmonies of the singing while feeling the wairua of the group. On another scale, but with regards to MPA being a type of therapy, Hera remembers one youth who was encouraged to join the group after he was released from jail. As she describes it this young man was full of anger. The haka which is a type of war dance allowed this young man to redirect his anger and to channel it through the haka stating that afterwards this young man was a lot more settled and happy. Recalling the first time she joined Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu, Hera tells of how her role in the group was that of a performer and assistant to the head tutor. Over the years, this role has developed into being the female leader which, in turn, led to her being recognized as one of the tutors who is responsible for the women and their choreography, and song composition.

Hera discusses 'Operant' and 'Classical' conditioning and explains these as the way we condition people. Operant can be where we tell a person exactly how to behave and Classical is where a person learns for themselves how to behave. Many times Hera has taken what has been taught to her and developed it to fit into her own frame of thinking.

7.10 Speaker 7 - Ameria Rua

Ameria is a facilitator for a group of people who are responsible for creating two teaching frameworks: one is a language framework based on the Tūhoe language and the other is 'Toku Ora, Tōku Tūhoetanga' which encompasses the culture and identity of Tūhoe and is referred to by the acronym TOTI. Ameria explains that there are two teams

responsible for handling this research: an expert panel made up of Tūhoe scholars and a working party to collate and decipher the information.

7.10.1 Ameria on Ontology – (How is it that we are who we are?)

By Tūhoe creating their own language framework, they identify that they have somewhat different worldviews and practices to other Māori (a view that was identified by many of the people whom I interviewed). Having the ability to recognize and separate one's own values and beliefs from those of another creates, in a sense, a higher understanding of oneself. The TOT document will enable students attending Tūhoe schools to identify who they are as a Tūhoe person by understanding the culture and identity of the tribe. This is a practice which can be taught in schools both total immersion and mainstream. Ameria quotes a Tūhoe whakatauki (proverb) which says, “he Tūhoe ahau, nō Tūhoe ahau, ko Tūhoe ahau” (I am a Tūhoe, I am from Tūhoe, I am Tūhoe). She states,

he Tūhoe ahau is a child or a person who knows that they are from Tūhoe and that's all, they are aware that they have Tūhoe blood in them...nō Tūhoe ahau is when a person understands the language, ways and practices of Tūhoe...ko Tūhoe ahau is the ultimate...that's when you have Tūhoe aspirations, you're working for your iwi and not as an individual.

Tūhoe should be commended for identifying that there is a difference between being and being.

7.10.2 Ameria on Epistemology – (How is it that we know what we know?)

Ameria works amongst the services and skills of many highly educated Tūhoe people who are either teaching or working in educational practices. There is also an Elder who willingly comes in and writes down his memories and the historical knowledge(s) that he has.

He also goes door knocking or approaching other Elders to collect their stories and historical knowledge(s). These are all given over to Ameria who then collates the information and finds the appropriate place to insert these knowledge(s). These people have set the foundation for frameworks to be developed. 'Tōku ora, Tōku Tūhoetanga' which is loosely translated as 'my existence, my tribal being' and is based entirely on Tūhoe context and referred to by Ameria by the acronym TOTT. Whatever information the researchers give is then recorded and transcribed by Ameria. With reference to the Tūhoe Language Framework, the different levels of language have been identified which Ameria explains as the following:

1. Te Reo o te Kāuta

Language that is used at home and in other informal situations. This level is aimed at elementary students.

2. Te Reo o te Marae

Language that is specific to the marae and used in a more formal context. This level is aimed at secondary schools or Wharekura.

3. Te Reo o te Tohunga

Te Reo o te Tohunga is based on the pedagogies of learning at a level similar to that of academia and is being piloted and trialed at tertiary level.

Another level that Ameria discusses is Te Reo o te Karakia; however, she does not expound further. In order for the researchers to identify what needs to be included in these frameworks they realized that they must approach the people to submit surveys, to talk with the people, and most of all to listen to what the people have to say. The research team also observes what it is that captures the minds of the children at all levels of learning. Ameria realizes that in order for this framework to work, teachers also have to be, in a sense, retrained which is mostly done through Professional Development. Teachers have to be

taught how to use the frameworks and how to implement it into their normal class routines. They are also taught to shift their thinking from the national language document to the Tūhoe framework by learning to understand the pedagogical content, pedagogical knowledge and pedagogical practices of Tūhoe. Ameria accuses Māori teachers, and includes herself, of discarding their tribal dialects to comply with the national curriculum. The working party has encouraged all schools within Tūhoe including the mainstream schools to be a part of this pilot. She explains that some of the mainstream schools were reluctant to be a part of the pilot but they were encouraged to keep in mind that 90 -99% of the children in their schools were of Tūhoe descent. The mainstream schools are not expected to trial the language-based one, only the TOTT program. She explains that the TOTT document looks at the tikanga (principles) and kawa (protocol) of Tūhoe. Explaining further, Ameria states that these two frameworks will go hand in hand with the national document. While researching the TOTT framework, Ameria interviewed ten Tūhoe people and asked them what Tōku Ora, Tōku Tūhoetanga means to them or how they interpret this saying. The main response she got was Te Taiāo (the environment); that Tūhoetanga encompasses the environment, the creation of Earth and Sky as told through tribal myths and legends so this is what TOTT is built on. She talks about how schools in the southern part of Tūhoe (Ruatāhuna and Te Whaiti) base much of their learning programs on the environment where classes are taken out to camp in the forests while being taught the names, histories and significance of mountains, rivers, and landmarks. She describes the environmental experience as a rich and meaningful way of teaching.

7.10.3 Ameria on Pedagogy – (How can we teach what we know through Māori Performing Arts?)

Most definitely the framework based on Tūhoe language and the framework based on the culture and identity of Tūhoe (TOTI) will help to assist the transfer of historical knowledge(s) in Kapa Haka. The fact that children are taught these foundational skills prior to their entering Kapa Haka will undoubtedly help them to understand faster and deeper. Like Tame Iti, Ameria discusses Te Whare Maire o Tūhoe and reiterates that it is a work in progress. She states that research is currently underway to identify what and how this educational institute should look like. It is intended for all Tūhoe schools, elementary, secondary, kōhanga reo and tertiary, will come under the umbrella of this institute. Surveys have been distributed among the Tūhoe who live within the Tūhoe boundaries as well as those who live outside of the region asking for their feedback and suggestions. Ameria states that many people to whom they have spoken with are interested in this institute with most stating that they would like to be a part of it, to be trained under it, learning the ontologies, epistemologies and the pedagogies that are specific to Tūhoe. She goes on to discuss a wānanga that Tūhoe recently undertook which was aimed at Tūhoe language. This gathering was productive for the people and a suggestion was made that Tūhoe hold one every year. Professional development for teachers will also be included, which is similar to moderation gatherings held by other developers and teachers of existing educational frameworks. Monitoring and evaluating these frameworks will be the focus over the next few years.

7.11 Speaker 8 - Hōhepa Tamehana

Hōhepa has been involved in Kapa Haka for over 20 years. He has tutored groups for at least 15 of those years and has taught Kapa Haka at all levels: regionally, nationally and internationally in both traditional and contemporary arenas. He is of Tūhoe descent with both his parents being Tūhoe. The sub-tribes of his mother are Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu (of Waiohau) and the sub-tribes of his father are Ngāti Koura (of Ruatoki). His parents also have ties to Ngāti Ranginui and Ngai Te Rangi (of the Tauranga region). He is one of the current tutors for Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu Kapa Haka. Hōhepa refers to Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe by the acronym THAT.

7.11.1 Hōhepa on Ontology – (How is it that we are who we are?)

Hōhepa discusses his perception of who Tūhoe are. He believes that Tūhoe are who they are because they are a connected people – connected to the land, to the spirits of their ancestors, to their values and beliefs, their protocols and traditions, their cultural practices, their history, the unforeseen future, and most importantly, to each other. He finds Tūhoe to be a tribe that strategizes and conceptualizes; a tribe who is pro-active, who takes responsibility for its learning, knowledge(s), perceptions, development, understanding, and exploring. Tūhoe people are also not afraid to challenge themselves and each other which Hōhepa believes is good for the heart, soul, body and mind. Tūhoe have learned to retain traditional values and beliefs by practicing them regularly and protecting them fiercely. Discussing what works and what does not work for Tūhoe is encouraged in open forums such as the Tūhoe Festival, on the marae, in the home, in schools, and in Tūhoe work places. It is not enough to simply be a Tūhoe, we must be Tūhoe. He also adds,

I know it sounds like we are a super iwi, but don't get me wrong, we do have our faults and we do have our problems; the difference with us is that we try to ensure that these are not aired publicly unlike some tribes or races. We try to fix our problems by ourselves, with ourselves.

Participating at the Tūhoe Festival gives Hōhepa the chance to be Tūhoe. He sees his role as tutor for Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu Kapa Haka as his contribution to his sub-tribes and his tribe. He states that prior to his return to tutoring, the group Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu had not participated in the Tūhoe Festival for several years. His intentions for tutoring the group was to, first and foremost, retell the stories and historical events that pertained to Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu, and secondly, to show Tūhoe that Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu still existed and are willing to fulfill their role as Tūhoe tribal members. He states,

each sub-tribe of Tūhoe has roles to play. All of them are expected to recount the historical knowledge(s) of Tūhoe because all of them have a piece. This tribe will have their stories and that tribe will have theirs...together they are one big archive of information and history.

Aside from tribal identities, Hōhepa states that a person must also have an individual identity. Individual identities are created through experiences and interactions had outside of the tribal boundaries. These identities allow a person to be adaptable or flexible to suit various situations or places they may find themselves in. Hōhepa gives an example:

When I am at the Tūhoe Festival I am Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu...when I am at the National Festival I am Tūhoe...when I am in hawai'i, I am Māori...when I am in Canada, I am Polynesian.

That is who I am Hōhepa explains. We are who we are not only because of what we know but also because of how we have perceived and conceptualized what we know. Hōhepa gives an example of these by recalling an event from Tūhoe and how he relayed this event to

two people. The story was of how the men of a Tūhoe tribe went out hunting and left their Elders, women, and children back in the village. While the men were away, another tribe seized the opportunity and attacked the village cornering the villagers in a cave. In this cave the villagers positioned themselves so that the teens were in front facing the entrance of the cave, the women were behind them, the Elders were behind the women and the little children were behind the Elders. In this order they fought and died. That cave is called Te Ana o Tikitiki. Hōhepa goes on to say that once he had finished telling this story to the two people, one cried and one got angry. He believes that the one who cried connected with the spirits of those that were slain while the other connected with the spirits of the Tūhoe men who returned to find that their families were no more. Although these two people had different emotional responses, both of them were correct says Hōhepa. He acknowledges that we all see things differently, from a different perspective; we all read into things differently. What determines our perception can be attributed to things such as one's own state of mind, heart, body, and soul. As stated in section 7.11, Hōhepa has tutored many groups and many individuals. He has a personal motto that he uses when deciding which groups or people to tutor and that is "I go where I am needed and not where I am wanted." Hōhepa defines groups who want his help but do not need it as groups who have a variety of skilled people to choose from and groups who need his help as groups who have no other person to choose from. The latter groups are the ones with whom he chooses to work.

7.11.2 Hōhepa on Epistemology – (How is it that we know what we know?)

Hōhepa attributes the foundations of his learning to his father who has always been the main influence in his life. His father was a very knowledgeable man who was a critical

thinker and constantly analyzed situations and knowledge(s). He acknowledges his father and wishes that he had learned more from him (as his father passed away in 2004). In terms of Kapa Haka, Hōhepa attributes his learning to his Māori teachers at Kawerau College, his Kapa Haka tutor in Australia and his cousin Bubby. He explains that all these people have been mentors to him, guiding and advising him through the various stages of his Kapa Haka life and remain the foundation on which his knowledge is based. In 1986, at the age of 16, Hōhepa moved to Australia. While he was there, he met two Māori women who encouraged him to join their Kapa Haka group. Not knowing anyone in Australia he willingly joined and met many other Māori. These Māori taught him what it meant to be a Māori in Australia which in turn helped him to adapt to a whole new lifestyle: that of a Māori living in another country. Hōhepa found that whanaungatanga was practiced regularly in Australia between all Māori from all tribes unlike New Zealand where whanaungatanga was practiced mostly between specific families and tribes. Māori residing in Australia had bonded closely with each other because they were more of a minority in Australia than they were in New Zealand. Hōhepa went on to state that while he was only one of twelve Tūhoe in Australia at that time, he was one of thousands of Māori.

Kura Kaupapa or Māori total immersion schools were not established when he left for Australia and he remembers the first time he returned to New Zealand during the 90's and heard about these schools. He recalls being confused and had trouble comprehending what a school that teaches in Māori would look like or what it would entail. Because he spent most of his teen years outside of the Tūhoe boundaries, Hōhepa explains that when he moved to Australia in the 80's he did not really know what it meant to be Māori or who he was as a Māori and states that such was the case for many Māori that he knew:

when I was at school I performed with the college Kapa Haka. The name of our group was Kawerau College Māori Cultural Group. As far as I was concerned that was what being a Māori was; singing and dancing, and everything about it was appropriate. Now when I look back at that group I see myself as a Tūhoe singing songs from Ngāti Porou under the tutorship of a man from Ngāti Manawa.

A decade later he noticed that school Kapa Haka was more tribal singing about stories and events from their own regions. The names of the groups had also changed; they had more depth and substance. Upon returning to Kawerau College to watch their group perform Hōhepa noticed that the name of their group was now 'Nga Tamariki o Hawaiki Pāmamao' (The Children of the Distant Homeland).

Hōhepa discusses a term that Māori in Australia refer to as 'the calling' which is when a person who has lived in Australia for many years, enjoyed everything about their life overseas, was well established and then suddenly they get a strong desire to return to New Zealand. Hōhepa received his 'calling' in 1994. Wanting to know more about Māori language schools he took up a position as a kaiāwhina or teacher aide. Not knowing the new vocabulary that was being used in Māori schools such as the Māori words for 'multiplication' or 'division' he would cleverly ask the children pretending to test them but really self teaching himself. Knowledge is an ongoing process Hōhepa explains:

We only know now, what we knew yesterday and what we have learned today...tomorrow we will learn something else and add it to what we know today.

Following along this path of understanding Hōhepa explains that every day, every situation, and every encounter is a learning curve for him and that he constantly keeps an eye out for the lessons and hidden messages contained within.

7.11.3 Hōhepa on Pedagogy – (How can we teach what we know through Māori Performing Arts?)

As a tutor, Hōhepa states that there are multiple skills that he must have in order to teach Kapa Haka effectively and efficiently. Hōhepa describes five principles²⁸ that cover the areas a tutor is responsible for and explains these as:

1. Who they teach

Tutors are responsible for every person that they teach. It is their responsibility to ensure that people learn in a safe, friendly, and comfortable environment and that people are made to feel a part of the group. It is not the role of the tutor to enforce knowledge(s) upon a person but to merely present them. Tutors must also be open to learning from the performer as much as teaching the performer. Finally a tutor must be aware that what makes them a tutor is the performer and without them the tutor ceases to be a tutor.

2. What they teach

Tutors are responsible for researching topics and knowledge(s) that will be integrated into song, chant or dance and must ensure that this information is correct and that it has substance. Although the tutor can be seen as more knowledgeable than a performer, Hōhepa identifies that some performers hold more knowledge than he. The difference between these people and the tutor is that the tutor has the skill to teach these knowledge(s).

3. How they teach

Tutors are responsible for the methods they employ to teach. These methods must be appropriated according to the values, beliefs and tribal identities of the group or region they teach in. Methods of teaching must also be appropriated to the performer's level of experience. As an example, Hōhepa stated that performers who have had years of experience have higher expectations placed on them by the tutor and can expect that the tutor will reprimand them if the tutor feels that they are not

²⁸ These five principles have also been presented in Chapter One – section 1.13.

trying. A performer who has no experience is more likely to be coached by a tutor in a softer manner.

4. When they teach

Tutors must expect that timeframes and practice times will change according to the levels of experience within the group. Although groups have a set timeframe by which they are expected to have completed their learning of the bracket of songs, the timeframe of tutoring is adjusted according to the experience of the performer. The more experience a performer has, the less time they get to complete their learning, the less experience a performer has, the more time they get to complete their learning.

5. Why they teach

Tutors must understand why they teach Kapa Haka which (for Hōhepa) is the understanding that Māori historical knowledge(s) needed to be passed down in order for them to survive. Extending further Hōhepa informed me that to merely write about historical knowledge(s) only performs half the task, people must be made to understand them, to live them, to experience them. Tutors must also be able to identify those things that motivate them (the tutor) as this will assist them in times of stress, fear, anger, and weariness. As Hōhepa explains it, motivation can come by way of spiritual connection to the ancestors, the land, and each other.

Hōhepa adds that tutors must also keep in mind that being a tutor does not make them better than the group, they need each other, a tutor is not a tutor if they have no group to tutor. In the same token a leader is not a leader unless he/she has someone to lead.

Hōhepa describes Kapa Haka as a medium that allows people to express themselves. It is also an arena where historical knowledge(s) can be maintained and retained. With regards to THAT, Hōhepa states that it is founded on and grounded in Tūhoetanga. It (Tūhoetanga) is the element that encourages people to attend and/or participate in THAT. This particular gathering, as explained by Hōhepa, can be seen as a platform for cultural

redress where each group gets to challenge ideals, customs, and protocols in the presence of the people concerned. It is not for them (the performing groups) to enforce these ideals; it is purely for them to lay them at the feet of the people and the people will decide whether they agree or disagree which allows for enhancement but it is enhancement that is made as a collective. Many songs, or haka, open forums for discourse amongst the people, including the judges. Many topics are controversial but at the end of the day it rests with the people. Tūhoetanga also comprises of many skills, attributes, talents, gifts, hereditary traits inherited by the individual. For the most part once these skills are collectively used for the benefit of the tribe it displays the true sense of what Tūhoetanga is. Hōhepa explains how the practice of Tūhoetanga or being Tūhoe is based on the understanding that it is a duty or civil service that needs to be performed by them as tribal members. As an example, Hōhepa tells of people who have no desire to perform haka at various cultural competitions but that they would often perform with a group at THAT if their tribal or whanau group needed them because the people see performing groups as their responsibility to their whānau, hapū and iwi. However, people do not necessarily need to be a performer to participate; instead, they can contribute by preparing meals for their group, weaving or sewing costumes, fundraising to help the group cover expenses or even to babysit the children of the performers so that the parents don't need to leave practices to tend to them. Many times Elders would come to practices and just sit amongst the group not saying anything or doing anything they would just let their presence be known and the group would interpret this as support. When posed with the question "What does it mean to be Tūhoe?" Hōhepa states,

being Tūhoe means exactly that; being a part, taking part in community or tribal gatherings, letting your face be seen amongst the tribe at funerals, birthdays, weddings...Māori have a term called 'kanohi kitea' or (the seen face)...contributions to the tribe can be made by way of koha or donation at a funeral or just by showing

your face...this shows that you care about the person who has passed and that you are willing to share in the grief felt by the family.

Hōhepa also reveals that learning through Kapa Haka is not only intended for the performers; it is intended for the audience as well. He describes how he composes his songs. Hōhepa tries to ensure that the tune, words and beat are all appropriate to each other and to the message they are trying to convey. He feels that people do not need to understand or speak Māori to capture the essence of a song. Music is a universal language he states. When Hōhepa performs he tries to appeal to a person's spirit:

When I sing to people, I try to sing to their soul...their spirit. Not everybody can speak or understand Māori but all of them can feel.

Hōhepa gives examples of times he was in Hawai'i and Canada where he, along with other family members, sang a song that was in Māori. He closed his eyes so as to connect to the essence of the song and to the spirits of the people. Both times when he opened his eyes at the end the people were crying. This is what Hōhepa tries to teach during Kapa Haka but he also realizes that some things such as empathy, ihi, wehi, and wana are things that cannot be taught. These are things that a person must learn for themselves and informs that these things are learned by soul searching, by being in touch with your feelings.

7.12 Speaker 9 - TR

TR has been involved with the Tūhoe Festival since its first conception given that he is the son of the Tūhoe Festival's founder. He is also a tutor of one of the participating groups at the Tūhoe Festival as well as a lecturer of Māori studies.

7.12.1 TR on Ontology – (How is it that we are who we are?)

Most of what TR learned can be attributed to his father. Many times during the interview he talked about how he had learned this thing and that thing from his father. Knowing that his father was the founder of the Tūhoe Festival and therefore instrumental in the early developments of the festival, TR showed that when changes are made at the Ahurei or when something new is introduced, he always reflects on the teachings of his father.

7.12.2 TR on Epistemology – (How is it that we know what we know?)

TR states that, for Tūhoe, the real stage for learning is the marae. He states that everything that a group does on a stage is done to either reinforce or enhance what is practiced on the marae which was his father's intentions when starting the Tūhoe Festival; that Tūhoe learn and understand the protocols of the marae which TR identifies as a deciding factor when distinguishing Tūhoe from other Māori: Tūhoe use Māori Performing Arts to enhance or reinstate their current practices. TR talks about how he performed for another group in the Waikato region. He describes how that group saw Kapa Haka as a practice that was best suited for the stage. Given his strong Tūhoe background, TR disagrees with this view and states that he sees Kapa Haka as a way of strengthening the language, stance, thoughts, songs, movements, and things such as the use of traditional weaponry with the intent of standing confident on a marae. He acknowledges that the Ahurei instilled these values in him. TR says that it does not matter where Tūhoe people are; they are able to conduct a pōhiri according to custom and that most probably the Tūhoe Festival was where the people learned to do that. He speaks with reference to the waiata koroua that are sung at the festival. He explains that every group is made to sing the same

waiata koroua or traditional chant. The choice of chant is decided upon by either the Tūhoe region that is hosting the festival, or the delegates of each group and the organizing festival committee; the chant changes for each festival. Performing the same chant not only allows the old stories to be told, it also exposes all the Tūhoe tribes to historical knowledge from around the Tūhoe region. In addition, TR explains that when a Tūhoe Elder stands to deliver a speech and then his support song is sung which, in most cases, will be the chant from the last festival and almost all people who have been a part of the festival will know it. They may not necessarily know each other but through the Ahurei they will know the chant; its meaning and its history. TR also discusses the Māori studies that he lectures and explains that the course content is designed to further assist marae which is needed as the surviving Elders on marae are few in numbers. In a sense, some educational institutes have also taken on the role of training future Elders and leaders.

7.12.3 TR on Pedagogy – (How can we teach what we know through Māori Performing Arts?)

TR talks about his role as a tutor. He suggests that composing songs is also a way of creating resources. He also talks about how composers need to connect to the kaupapa that they are writing or researching when composing songs. He explains a term called haurangi. So as to inform me he explains that haurangi can mean inebriated but that he refers to an alternative meaning. He explains that haurangi refers to the spiritual state of a person where their spirit flies and should not be confused with pōrangi where a person's spirit is lost in the dark. TR feels that there is no sense in performing haka and waiata if there is no spiritual element involved, to which he refers to two types of people, those that have the knowledge but not the wairua and those that have the wairua but do not understand it. The

same can be said about performers, according to TR who states that “it is hard to teach those that do not have a cultural base”. With regard to the Māori language, TR states “it is easy to learn the language academically but you will not understand its full potential if you do not have a cultural base”. He then moves into the identifiable changes in the Tūhoe Festival from the 70’s to today. He remembers back in the early years of the festival and recalls there being minimal choreography. He also identifies that some changes have been influenced by the culture of Māori in general. Even though these changes have occurred TR feels that the spirit of Tūhoe is still present. On the topic of Te Matatini (New Zealand National Kapa Haka Competitions) TR discusses how many groups have adapted their tribal ways to make their performances seem like it was intended for tourists, when out came a group called Te Mātarae I ō Rehu who took Kapa Haka form back to a more authentic style, which impressed TR. He sees this style of performing as “creating something new by reverting to the old.” Ruatāhuna are another group that presents an old style when they compete at National competitions. They present their bracket of songs in an aggressive manner which reflects who they are as Tūhoe. TR states that this is the way that Tūhoe have always been; they have not changed their culture to accommodate audiences or judges. TR has also noticed that many groups imitate the styles of others as opposed to remaining true to their own style. In terms of music and vocals TR states that in years past everyone could sing a tune, harmonize and hold a beat. Nowadays, people (especially the younger ones) have to be taught to sing in tune or to hold a note and he attributes this to the music scene of today that do not have four part harmonies with many of the young being drawn to ‘rap’ music. He acknowledges that boundaries are crossed all the time at the Ahurei. One year people are told to keep one foot firmly on the ground when stamping; to stay connected to Mother Earth and then next year people are jumping in the air. He believes that inconsistencies are

always present in the judging: one year a judge will allow it, but the next year, a different judge will disallow it. This, Hōhepa suggests, is largely due to judges having different perceptions of what tikanga is. As an example TR recalls the following:

I te wā I tīmata mātou, ko te karanga...te mea tuatahi hei mahi...ko te raupapa o nga mahi; karanga, wero, ka papaki, kua karanga anō, ka haere te whakatū waewae, ka mutu te whakatū waewae, kua aranga anō, e toru nga karanga. Koira te mea I akohia mai ki a mātou. Ka mate a pāpā, ka hui te Ahurei, kua whakaaro wētahi, kāre rātou e whakaae ki tēra. Ki a rātou, ko te wero kē te mea tuatahi, ka papaki, ko te karanga. E rua noaiho nga karanga.

(When we first started, the karanga...was the first item to be performed...the order of the bracket was; karanga, wero, slap, karanga again, and then the haka, when the haka was finished, you karanga again, there were three karanga. That is what was taught to us. When my father died, the Ahurei committee met, and some thought, well they didn't agree with that format. According to them, it is the wero that should be performed first, then the slap, and then another karanga. There are now only two karanga)

TR also insinuates that the competitive element of the Ahurei can make it difficult to teach the younger generation. As an example, TR told of how his nephews always approach him and ask why their Kapa Haka stick to protocol when they do not win; the nephews suggest using outside influences to make their bracket of songs more interesting and different from the others. TR stated that he always tries to discourage change but finds it difficult to always defend.

7.13 Speaker 10 - Yvonne Hineiturama Hohipa

Yvonne is a well educated Tūhoe woman with a variety of skills and talents in education as well as tribal practices. She is a project coordinator for Māori education within Tūhoe. She speaks to us as a judge and performer of Māori Performing Arts.

7.13.1 Yvonne on Ontology – (How is it that we are who we are?)

Some people say leaders are born not bred. Yvonne disagrees with this statement. She believes that leaders can be both born and bred:

ka heke iho tēraka mai i ō tātou whakapapa engari ki a tātou, ko nga mea tino kaha ko ēra e tāreka ai e rātou ki te whakaparuparu i ō rātou ringa kia raupa ai.

(it can be inherited through genealogy, but to us, the stronger ones are those who accomplish calloused hands through hard labor).

Yvonne believes that judges need to be able to express emotion which will allow them to spiritually connect to the groups and their songs, which, in turn, brings the performances to life. The connection is usually made as soon as the groups open begin singing. Judges find themselves enveloped in the performance as if they were part of it; one can understand and feel the group's pain when they are in pain and feel their joy when they are happy, all the while understanding what and why you are feeling these emotions. These emotions also allow people to transform. Yvonne states that transformation comes from true understanding of why a piece was written. Regarding performers, transformation comes about when the group truly understands the vision that is in the tutor's mind. The groups live that vision, they become its pathway to reality and these are the transformations that judges look for. They (judges) look for it in a group's physical presence, in their manner of articulation, and in their facial expressions. Yvonne reflects on her own learning and those

who influenced her. The memories of these people are firmly imprinted in her mind and often she will reflect on them. She has seen, in the younger generations of today glimpses of these Elders long since passed, in the younger generations of today and believes that there will come a time when the skills of the Elders will resurface. Yvonne reflects on the Ahurei, commenting that the poi songs performed by every group were centered on the birds; she states that this is evidence of Tūhoe's connection to the land, to the forests and all things that dwell within. She describes the birds as older siblings to people because they were here before us. She hopes to see Tūhoetanga as a natural part of everyone's (Tūhoe) existence because it impacts on the livelihoods of everyone concerned.

7.13.2 Yvonne on Epistemology – (How is it that we know what we know?)

Yvonne believes that much hinges on being both pretty and immaculately dressed. She states that these principles are what many use to attempt to project ihi (essential force) and wehi (awe); however, she describes these criteria as “superficial aids.” She remembers that when she was a child, they never wore moko or piupiu; instead they were encouraged to use ihi and wehi to portray their beauty:

Koira te kai whāngai I roto I a mātou, kia tu māia ai, kia tu ihiihi ai, kia puta ai te wehiwehi me te wanawana.

That is what was instilled in us, that we stand confident, full of spirit, allowing inspiration and awe to come forth.

She also adds that ihi and wehi are not just produced through facial expressions (pūkana, whākana, whētero); they must come from deep within your stomach. These things can be practiced and critiqued at the Ahurei. Yvonne encourages Tūhoe people to stand at the

Ahurei before they stand anywhere else; they need to be judged by their own before they are judged by anybody else. She remembers being told by her Elders that knowledge(s) are situated deep within the stomach and that if you can feel them brewing in there, your throat will feel the need to release it; for example, if one is singing a sad song then the appropriate responses will be regurgitated from the gut. This is a form of expression that is rarely seen today according to Yvonne. She believes that this has been lost because people are too concerned with imitating each other. She states that people imitate because they like the performance of another person and that they only see the outside of the person's performance, not the inside. According to Yvonne, judges are not the be all and end all of knowledge(s). Judges still rely on the Elders to validate remarks or comments. She sees the Ahurei as a chance for her, as a judge, to challenge her knowledge(s), and to question how she perceives things. She describes judges as performers and, like performers who perform on the stage, judges perform on the podium: both performers and judges should feel comfortable enough to be scrutinized in a fair and just manner. Yvonne knows that she has had many role models in her life, including many Elders who have since passed on; she sympathizes with younger judges who did not have the opportunity to learn from these knowledgeable people. Yvonne states that she has never walked away from a festival feeling that she has done a group an injustice; instead, she believes that she has given the groups something to think about that can help to enhance their next performance. When she judges leaders, she judges them on how well they bring their groups together, how well they support their group during a performance, how well they guide and nurture their group and not only on the stage. She challenges the decided roles of female leaders at the Ahurei where they are made to be stationary on one side of the group. She questions why this has to be, as

she remembers one of her aunts who use to walk the ranks uplifting the women as well as the men.

Yvonne is a firm believer that the Tūhoe Festival contributes towards the language, protocols and customs by keeping them alive and comments further by saying that the Ahurei has some responsibility towards the revitalization of who they are as Tūhoe. The Ahurei revitalizes the Tūhoe stance, and their ways of amusing themselves: for example, they are able to jeer at each other, to support each other, to stabilize each other, to mock or belittle each other, to cry and laugh together, and to argue with each other. These are all elements which bring Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe to life. She explains that other tribes call this whanaungatanga (family connectedness) but Tūhoe call this matemateāone. Yvonne talks about how the language has been generalized to accommodate school based learning with the intent of making it easier for children to go from one school in one region to another school in another region. Tūhoe have their own language structures, their own linguistic capacities, in which reside different stages of the language. She comments that other tribes assume that Tūhoe have no understanding of linguistic capability and capacity but Yvonne is adamant that when a person understands the stages of Tūhoe language they become more knowledgeable and accepting of an evolved language. According to the Elders, this language evolution began in the missions (churches). The churches tried to generalize the language to make it easier to communicate with all Māori in a bid for a single nation language. Churches are also responsible for tearing apart the individual customs and protocols of the Māori, for such was the nature of the white man, trying to do away with individual tribal identities. Yvonne comments that Tūhoe can also be accused of putting their language aside in search of education outside of their boundaries and attributes the return of Tūhoe language to the Ahurei. She identifies that change is unavoidable but is adamant that Tūhoetanga remain the

foundation, feeling that therein lays a Tūhoe person's identity. The decision to leave home in search of education was largely made by the parents and Elders who encouraged their children to go out and learn, which would ultimately give them a voice in national communities and in political arenas. Unfortunately, Tūhoe ways were set aside to allow Māori values to guide them and people started to lose their identity as a Tūhoe. The fight now, as Yvonne sees it, is to ensure that Tūhoetanga returns. Tūhoe are not trying to say that they do not empathize with other Māori, because they do; Yvonne acknowledges that what happens to Māori ultimately happens to Tūhoe, what affects Māori affects Tūhoe, but Tūhoe use the language to tell them who they are. Yvonne states that "Māori is a metaphorical language, but Tūhoe hones it very well." The use of language structures such as imagery and proverbial sayings are critiqued. Looking at sub-tribes within Tūhoe, Yvonne firmly states that they are all important and that without them Tūhoe would cease to exist as a tribe. We must endeavor to uphold our Tūhoetanga because celebrating Tūhoetanga gives strength to Tūhoe.

7.13.3 Yvonne on Pedagogy – (How can we teach what we know through Māori Performing Arts?)

Yvonne speaks about the Tūhoe Festival and the role of the judges. Yvonne explains that the key to judging is identifying that it deals with responsiveness towards the performer; that the judges keep the performers in mind and that their (the judges) comments or marks need to have some relativity to their performances. As Yvonne explains it, judges must ensure that they have no biases and that they use defined knowledge to the best of their ability, in order to gauge the best response possible for a performer or a performance. What can impact a person's ability to judge efficiently and effectively is having a weak

knowledge base or a weak skill base. Yvonne states that when she is asked to judge at a festival she ensures that she has sufficient knowledge and information about how that particular area performs or what their key stance is, which makes it more appropriate when judging in areas outside of your own. During a performance, Yvonne looks at how a group links together: their ability to emit collectiveness as a group, their formations, actions, and uniformity which she explains by saying:

I haramai ngātahi, I tū mai ngātahi, I haere ngātahi.

(They come as one, they stand as one, and they leave as one)

She also says that she looks for the unified spirit of a group which indicates that the group has bonded as one. A unified purpose can bring people and groups together, even when they do not know one another. As an example, when one attends a funeral, one will generally arrive at the same time as other people who you may not have met previously; however, each person is there for the same reason: to grieve for the deceased. Yvonne explains that there is still room for individualism and that this can be produced while still remaining connected to the rest of the group. She remembers the days of her aunts and grandmothers and how they each performed as a group member, but how they also displayed aspects that differentiated them from each other; each person had their own way of performing or expressing themselves which is often lost through the militant style of today where people can be seen as almost robotic. Yvonne admits that some changes are good and some are not. What determines these changes is the person's ability to validate or justify the changes they have made. She feels that if the changes are justified or validated then judges need to see this as an evolution of the arts. She acknowledges that there are some things that will never change and even agrees that they should not change, but there is still room for movement.

When comparing tutors and performers, Yvonne says that a group is only as good as their tutor and they only perform as well as their leaders. 90% of a group's performance is attributed to their tutor because tutors are the key presenters of what groups present or produce. Tutors have a huge role to play in terms of the dynamics of a group both on and off the stage. Yvonne likens a tutor to a parent of a child. They (tutors) nurture their dream, their aspirations and their expectations within their group because they (tutors) are visionaries; they are the ones who see beyond what can be seen. A good tutor nurtures their group so that their vision bears fruit. She uses the analogy of a puppeteer: "tutors are the ones who pull the strings; they know which strings to pull that will enable a dream to come to fruition." On the subject of leaders, Yvonne identifies a leader as one who has developed a sense of how to use his/her physical and oral natures to urge knowledge(s) stored within; to the forefront. Identifying the roles of both tutors and leaders Yvonne makes the following comment:

during practices tutors are the ones with the vision, it is their job to ensure that the group understands this vision and what it is intended to be. Leaders are the ones who take the reins once the group hits the stage. It is then their responsibility to ensure that the group portrays that vision so that the audience understands its intent.

Yvonne acknowledges that it takes time to develop leadership or tutoring skills, but through the Ahurei (which ensures that the leaders are under the age of 25), the younger generations are expected to fill their own baskets of knowledge which will prove helpful to them in the future. Talking about Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe, Yvonne reiterates that this festival brings back to life the stories of our ancestors, the genealogies, and the politics of today through debate, discourse and performing arts.



Fig. 18 – A mixture of generations. (Photographs by H Tamehana 2003-2007)

CHAPTER EIGHT

Stages of Enlightenment: The Findings

Opening

I am somewhat saddened as I begin to write this last chapter. The last few years have been educational, informative and enlightening to say the least. However, I understand that although I am at the end of my dissertation I know that my journey does not end here. I have much more researching and soul-searching to do before I leave this world. I believe I have only touched the surface of understanding who Tūhoe are and who I am as Tūhoe. The faces of all my people that participated in this study flood my mind and I miss them dearly. I am so proud of the work they have done for our people and I am on a determined path to ensure that I do the same. Before I disclose my findings I would like to take this opportunity to once again thank Tūhoe for their determination and commitment in ensuring the longevity of our language, culture, and practices.

Mai i â mâua ko taku tâne, â mâua tamariki, mokopuna hoki; tçnei te reo a Tūhoe kei tçnei taha o te ao e whakapaoho atu nei he Tūhoe ahau, ko te tūmanako; ma te wâ ka tâea te kii, ko Tūhoe ahau...Kore rawa taku aroha mô koutou e mutu noa.

8.1 Introduction

Although there has been much information given to me through the interviews and my attendance at Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe, understanding who Tūhoe are, and the role of Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe is far more complex. Trying to encase Tūhoe identity or Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe within a study with limited scope or finite parameters (such as this thesis) is absolutely impossible. I do not encourage the reader to accept my findings as an absolute; rather, I prefer the reader to view this entire study as a single interpretation of what Tūhoe identity is and how it can be developed. The reason I say 'single' is because this study has been developed from the views of less than one percent of the tribe and if I have learned anything from this study, it is the knowledge and understanding that nothing is validated or legitimized until it is presented, viewed, and/or challenged by the collective (the tribe). However, based on the dialogue I had with each individual, and the knowledge I have from being raised Tūhoe, this study illustrates how the unity of all aspects of Kapa Haka contributes to the development and sustainability of Maori/Tūhoe identity.

I am encouraged to believe that this study is valid because of the responses I received through each of the research questions which I posed to the community members:

1. How is Tūhoe epistemology transmitted through traditional performing arts?
2. How does Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe sustain tribal identity?

These questions were fully elaborated on in Chapter seven, and will be revisited in this chapter, which is divided into two interrelated parts: Part One and Part Two. The first part revisits how the data was analyzed²⁹, which demonstrates the essential role each of the participating individuals plays in the development of a Tūhoe identity. It further describes how the participants experienced “being Tūhoe.”

Part Two discusses Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe, its relevance and importance for Tūhoe people and the role it plays in sustaining Tūhoetanga (Tūhoe tribal identity).

8.2 The Piupiu as an Identity Framework

Tiakina te whanau pa harakeke	look after the flax bush whanau
Tiakina a Rangi raua ko Papa	look after Rangi and Papa
Tiakina to awa	look after your river
Tiakina to maunga	look after your mountain
Tiakina to whanau	look after your whanau
Tiakina to hapu	look after your hapu
Tiakina to iwi	look after your iwi
Tiakina te rangatahi	look after the young ones

²⁹ Through the analytical framework of space, place, and time (analytical framework is presented in Chapter 3).

Tiakina nga koroua me nga kuia	look after the Koroua and Kuia
Tiakina te rangimarie me to aroha	look after peace and love
Tiakina te whanau pa harakeke kia	look after the flax bush whanau so that
ora ai te iwi Māori	we he iwi Māori may live forever

(Kapua Smith, 1990, cited in G. Smith, N.D)

The weaving of knowledge(s) and the patterns which these knowledge(s) create represent the foundation of Māori identity. It can be metaphorically represented in the construction and design of a piupiu. The identity framework I have adapted is based on the piupiu, a traditional woven skirt worn by Māori and is made from a native plant which Māori call harakeke (*Phormium tenax*), commonly known as the flax plant. Because readers may not be familiar with the origins and purpose of the harakeke, I will briefly expound on the plant and its significance.

The harakeke (flax plant) is a fiber plant that grows in great abundance in New Zealand and plays a major role in the operations of everyday Māori life. Flax leaves can be woven into baskets, mats, rope, fishing lines, fishing nets and clothing while the dried flower stalks can be lashed together to make rafts. The root of the flax plant also secretes a gel at its base that has medicinal qualities and was also used as a sweetener. A pā harakeke refers to the grouping and planting of selected varieties of harakeke chosen for their fiber or weaving qualities. Cultivating harakeke is a way to ensure vigorous, healthy bushes that will provide high quality leaf material for weaving. The term pā harakeke is also used in reference to a family unit and suggests that children need to be nurtured and tended much in the same way as the harakeke plant and that if the child is not nurtured appropriately, the child will not flourish.

The Māori have genealogical tables for all living things and the harakeke is no exception. Māori mythology states that Ranginui the sky father and Papatūānuku the earth

mother gave birth to Tāne Māhuta, God of the forest who in turn married Pakoki and they begat Harakeke.

Once the harakeke is harvested, it is stripped and scraped in the areas where one desires their pattern. Each strand is scraped at altering levels and heights depending on the final desired pattern. Each strand is then hung to dry which can be a lengthy process. The drying process also sees the strands curl into a shape similar to a drinking straw. The strands are then left to soak for at least three days, in paru (mud) and then dried once again. The paru darkens the scraped areas leaving them almost black and the unscraped areas dry to a yellow brown color. The strands are then woven together at the top by fiber string also scraped from the harakeke and then hung once more for a final drying process. The result is a piupiu.

The reasons I have chosen the piupiu as an identity framework are varied. On a personal level, it is a costume that I remember using in my early cultural group years and continues to be the most common of performing arts costumes amongst Māori groups today. On a greater level, it shows the creativity of our people and is a testament to the adaptable natures and identity of the Māori given that this plant was unlike any other found amongst the Polynesian islands. On a spiritual level it has the ability to heal.

The objective of identity frameworks is to provide a sound foundation for sustaining tribal identity which also has flexibility to allow 'new knowledges' to be present or introduced but which can still be claimed as tribal knowledge. Such a framework is essential for identifying processes that are principle-based and internally consistent. The piupiu as an identity framework shows how decision making is done on an individual as well as a collective level. On an individual level deciding 'what is' is determined by the individual's level of observation, participation, inquiry, experimentation, implementation and development. On the other hand, decisions are not validated or legitimized until they are discussed or presented through hui ā whānau (family forums), hui ā marae (marae forums), hui ā hapu (sub-tribal forums), hui ā iwi (tribal forums), hui wānanga (educational forums),

and gatherings such as Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe therefore the identity framework explains two processes ‘the process of deciding’ and ‘the process of validating.’ The two processes have been further sectioned into three distinct areas. The process of deciding (individual decision making) is divided into three phases (reflection, revision, and reclamation) and the process of validating (collective decision making) has been divided into three stages (mōhioetanga, mātauranga, and māramatanga) – these terms will be explained below. These phases and stages of Tūhoe identity were identified through the recorded data that was collected from the Speakers.

8.3 Analogy of ‘The Piupiu’

The woven band at the top of the piupiu model represents the one thing that unites Tūhoe, that being Tūhoetanga (Tūhoe tribal identity). It is Tūhoetanga which determines the origins, nature, methods and limits of human knowledge according to Tūhoe. Each individual strand represents the community (whānau, hapū and iwi) and has a pattern not like the next. The patterns represent the diverse skills, knowledges and understandings that we have as an individual, whether they are in oral traditions, genealogical knowledge, environmentalism, the ability to reciprocate and interact socially, acquired knowledge and skills, and/or the understanding of them.

As the person moves their body the strands of the piupiu disperse in different directions; this is symbolic of the different paths that we take as individuals, the different journeys and experiences that we each have. During this time it is not easy to see the pattern of the piupiu. Once the person becomes stationary the strands all fall back into place, thereby displaying the full pattern of the piupiu; this is symbolic of the communities bringing their various skills and knowledges together for the benefit of the tribe this creating a unified people. The two feathers at the top are taken from the ‘huia’ bird which, in earlier times, used to signify the importance, rank, or social status of a person. Within identity

frameworks, the huia feathers represent the practice of self-determination and self government.

As stated earlier, this chapter is comprised of two parts. Together, they will describe the individual and collective Tūhoe identity components that describe the Piupiu. To start us off, Figure 6 illustrates the progression of developing and sustaining Tūhoe identity, thus constructing a Tūhoe identity framework.

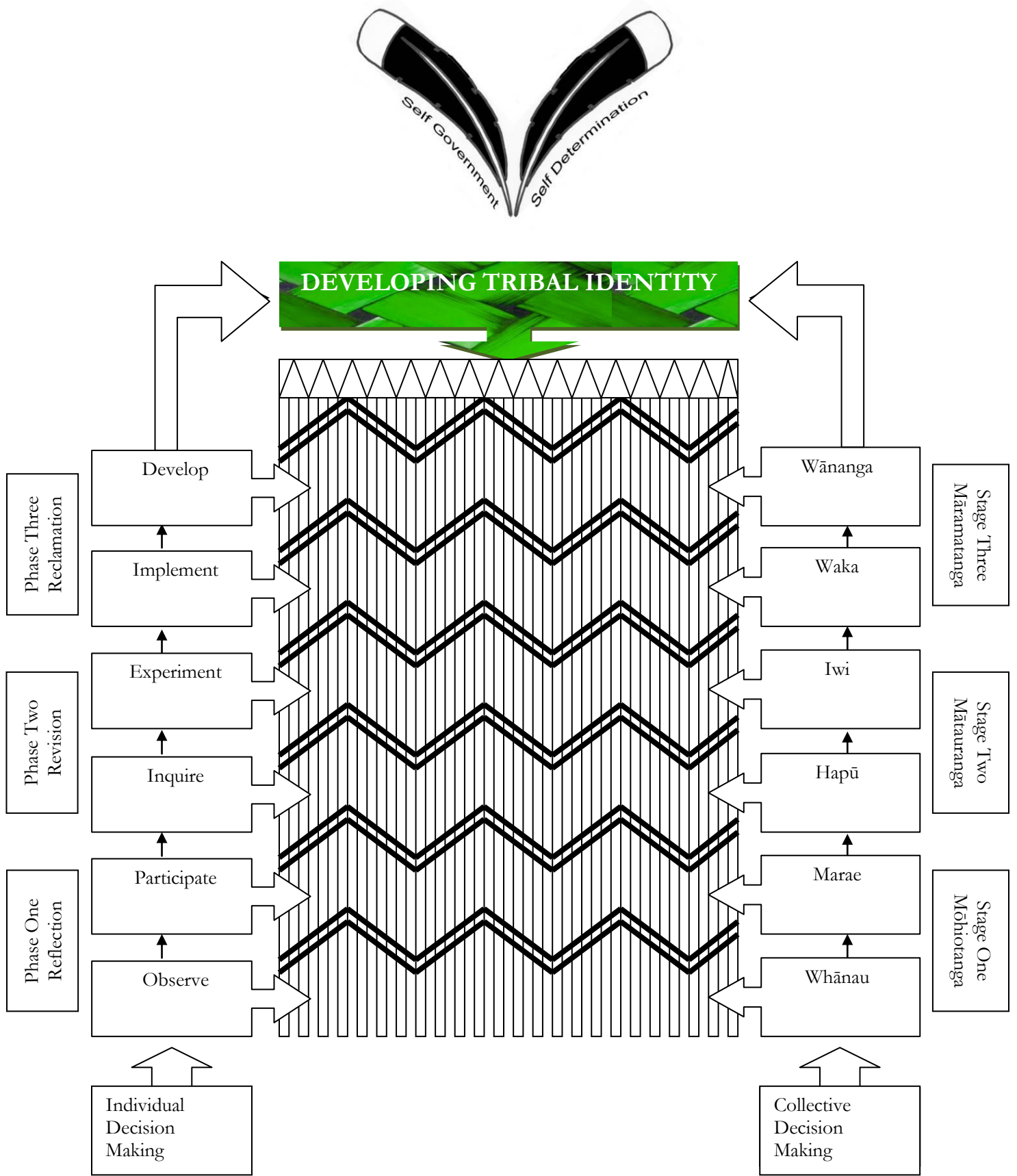


Fig. 6 Tūhoe Identity Framework (Art Graphic Designed by Hōhepa Tamehana, 2005)

8.4 PART ONE: Tātou katoa – Tātou ka toa (Collectivity ensures a great outcome for all).

The proverb that begins Part One has many connotations attached to it. The words tātou katoa can be translated as “all of us together” and the words tātou ka toa can be translated as “we all win.” I find this particular proverb appropriate for this section of the chapter and I use it to refer to the equal value of the information given to me by each participant, as well as the equal value of every tribal member, regardless of where or how they have been raised. In a personal reflection, this proverb substantiates the belief that it is only as a collective that tribal units can exist as a complete unit. As stated earlier³⁰, Tūhoetanga (Tūhoe tribal identity) cannot be defined as one thing or another; rather, it is a composite of everything, as illustrated in the piupiu identity framework. The same can be said about the people: the experience of being Tūhoe should not be determined by where or how a person was raised; it should be determined by a composite of variables such as whakapapa (genealogy), te reo (language), nga kōrero pūrākau (narratives), tikanga/kawa (procedures/protocols), te taiao (environment), and whanaungatanga (family values).

8.5 Analyzing the Data

I have further situated the findings into three phases in an attempt to understand Tūhoetanga (Tūhoe tribal identity), which are illustrated in Figure 7.

1) Phase one

Reflecting on who we are as Tūhoe tribal members;

2) Phase two

Reclaiming who we are as Tūhoe tribal members;

3) Phase three

Revising who we are as Tūhoe tribal members.

³⁰ In Chapter 7, section 7.14

I do not view these phases as separate from each other; rather, I see them as overlapping each other with the intent of developing tribal identity through performing arts:

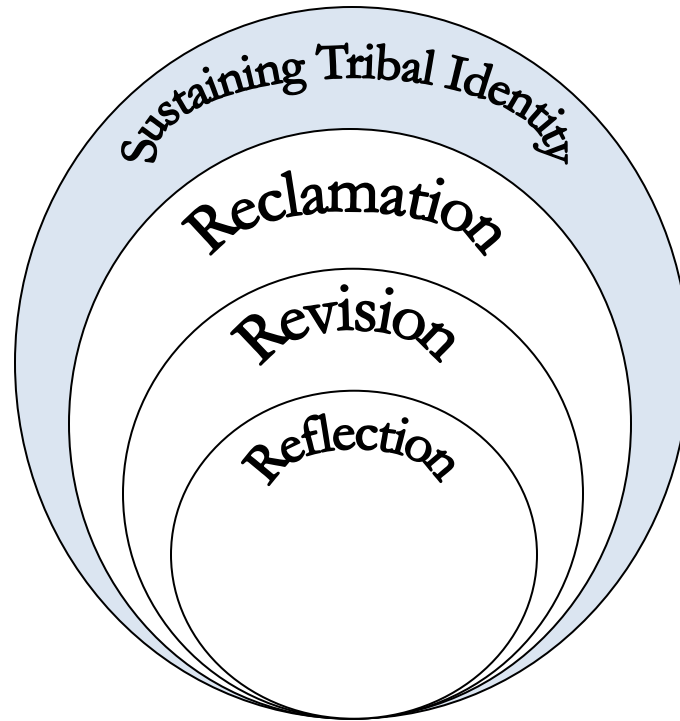


Fig. 7 – Sustaining Tribal Identity: Individual Development

Each phase has been further divided into two sections that discuss the principles and how individual decision making is made. The two terms are explained as follows:

1. Principles

The word “principles” is used in reference to those concepts that are deemed important when in the process of “developing” tribal identity.

2. Individual decision making

This section looks at how individual decisions are made in the attempt of understanding Tūhoetanga.

8.6 Phase One: Reflection

Phase One reflection has been designed to depict those people who have been raised disconnected from their tribe and who have either never had the opportunity, or found it difficult in the past, to enter amongst their people in a participatory role. There were many things that I took into consideration when trying to explain this phase. For the most part, I include what the participants said they learned as children, as well as the experiences of those who do not speak the language fluently or are first time performers.

8.6.1 Principles

There were three main principles that were discussed by the participants: whakapapa (genealogy), nga kōrero pūrākau (tribal narratives), and whanaungatanga (family values).

a) Whakapapa (genealogy):

There are two levels of whakapapa that I identified through the interviews. The first is the human to human link; the second is the human to environment link. In this phase, whakapapa refers to the genealogical link, human to human.

In this introductory level of a person learning who they are as a Tūhoe, the general consensus, as identified by the Male Focus Group, is that “being Tūhoe is a right that is inherited through the blood of the forefathers.” Hera, a teacher of Māori Performing Arts for school children, also describes genealogy as a beginning stage to learning who you are as a tribal member. Although genealogy has more legitimacy if it is learned from within the community, it is more likely that people in Phase one will research their whakapapa from an outside source such as the library, the internet, or from people that are familiar to them (parents or grandparents).

b) Nga kōrero pūrākau (tribal narratives):

Hera explains tribal narratives as an important aspect of understanding who a person is as a tribal member. Ameria also informs me that tribal narratives are part of the basis on which the TOT³¹ document was founded. Some of the women in the Female Focus Group explain the influence that tribal narratives, as told to them by their grandmothers, have on the way they live their lives today (for example, the respect they have for plants as a healing property). George views tribal narratives as a way of connecting with the ancestors and being able to understand the way that the ancestors viewed the world. Hōhepa explains that tribal narratives differ from family to family, sub-tribe to sub-tribe, and tribe to tribe, but that all versions should be viewed as one big archive of history. Yvonne insists that reliving the old stories through song and dance is to live among the ancestors. Although tribal narratives can have more of a personal relevance when learned from within the community (as with whakapapa), myths, such as the creation of the world, can be sourced from places other than the community (like literature, television, educational institutes, and the internet).

c) Whanaungatanga (family values):

Tāne identifies whanaungatanga as a trait that has always existed amongst Māori and Daphne, who spoke as a first time performer, explains that whanaungatanga within Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu was one of the reasons why she chose to remain with the group: it made her feel a part of the group. Rita also states that she learned what whanaungatanga is by being part of the performing group (Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu) and like Daphne, Rita felt that the process of learning who she was as a tribal member was made easier through the practice of whanaungatanga. Hōhepa discusses whanaungatanga as a means to turn a

³¹ TOT stands for Tōku ora tōku Tūhoetanga which is the language and identity curriculum developed by the Tūhoe Education Authority for Tūhoe schools.

minority into a majority which he evidenced while living amongst Māori in Australia, where individual tribal identity (e.g. Tūhoe) was replaced with a collective tribal identity (i.e. Māori). Yvonne explained that whanaungatanga is a process of reciprocity: being able to laugh at each other, jeer at each other, cry with each other and argue with each other and continued on to say that the Tūhoe equivalent of whanaungatanga is *matemateāone*³².

8.6.2 Individual Decision Making

Deciding what Tūhoetanga (Tūhoe tribal identity) is and what it entails, in this stage, are done by observing and participating.

a) Observing:

While people may have the long term goal of being useful to their *īwi*, in this stage they are more suited to being useful to those who have not yet entered this phase. People are expected to research who they are and in most cases will start this process from an outside place which means that it is most likely that people will attend tribal gatherings or festivities such as Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe but will prefer to attend as an observer. Both Speakers 3 and 5 identify this; they state that their journey with Māori performing arts began by sitting amongst the audience. Hōhepa also spoke about how people who are first time performers were normally part of the audience at previous festivals and he believes that these people feel more comfortable attending Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe as observers before they attend as performers. Peripheral learning or situated learning also assists the learning of observers, especially amongst the children. Several of the participants talked about how their children would learn actions and songs simply by watching the group practice; in some cases, the children would come to know the actions and words better than their parents. By exposing their children to the culture, the language, and the people, the children have learned

³² Matemateāone can be seen as “treat others the way you want them to treat you”.

to sing and dance, to speak Māori, and to acknowledge their many family members. Rita remembers back to when the tutor's grandson was small and how shy the child was. This child would follow his grandfather everywhere and would not go to anybody else. As time went on, the child became full of confidence, running and playing with the other children and would approach other group members without feeling shy.

b) Participating:

Attaining Tūhoetanga also requires that a person participate; in this stage participation is more likely to be by way of support. That is, that a person is more likely to become a supporter of the group as a cook, babysitter, costume maker, or a first time performer as suggested by Hōhepa.

Once people in this stage gain confidence through observation they will then be expected or feel the urge to put into practice what they have learned, which is where most see Kapa Haka as a tool which will enable them to do this, perhaps because Kapa Haka is practiced by multiple tribes of Aotearoa. A person's understanding of what defines Kapa Haka is not yet clear; nonetheless it is still a good starting point for 'situated learning' for those who were not raised on the marae. However a person participates, whether it be as a performer or simply a cook, each role is seen as being equally as valuable: a performer's job is made easier if someone is there to cook for them, while the cook is represented on stage by the performer because they have helped to get that performer there. Daphne, a first time performer, explains that she views her participation as a performer and as a legacy she leaves for her grandchildren.

8.7 Phase Two: Reclamation

Phase Two is designed on a level similar to those who were raised away from the community but who have maintained connection by regularly returning for gatherings such as funerals, weddings, birthdays, and festivals. As experienced performers, these people have taken on extra roles such as assistant tutors, researchers, and organizers.

8.7.1 Principles

There are three identified principles within Phase Two: whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga/kawa (protocols/procedures), and an extension of whanaungatanga (family values).

a) Whakapapa (genealogy):

Genealogy in this phase refers to the genealogical link; human to environment.

Genealogically linking Māori with the land is generally done through the process of pēpeha which is a process where people will introduce themselves by first acknowledging an ancestral mountain and river as well as the marae that they affiliate to and can also include the canoe that their tribe originates from and the ancestor or chief of their tribe. As an example, in the beginning of my thesis I quoted my pēpeha from my mother's side:

Ko Hikurangi te Maunga	My mountain is Hikurangi
Ko Rangitāiki te Awa	My river is Rangitāiki
Ko Waiohau te Marae	My marae is Waiohau
Ko Tama-ki-Hikurangi te Whare Tīpuna	My ancestral house is Tama-ki-Hikurangi
Ko Ngāti Haka me Patuheuheu ngā Hapū	My sub-tribes are Ngāti Haka and Patuheuheu

Ko Tūhoe te Īwi	My tribe is Tūhoe
Ko Mātaatua the Waka	My canoe is Mātaatua
Ko Tina Ngāroimata Fraser ahau	I am Tina Ngāroimata Fraser

As stated in Chapter six, Tūhoe can claim descent through Hinepūkohurangi who is the mist personified. The acknowledgement of a person's genealogical link to the land shows that the person is beginning to re-affiliate with their sub-tribal identities and ultimately reconnect to the land. Tame Iti, a fluent speaker of the Tūhoe dialect, told of how, as a teenager, he was taught his whakapapa that began from the creation of the world and only now, at the age of 55, is he beginning to understand what was told to him those many years ago. Reflecting on the comments made by Hera regarding the next stage of learning whakapapa, it is clear that a child is able to express or perform their whakapapa through Māori performing arts.

b) Tikanga/Kawa (procedures/protocols):

The best identified place for learning tikanga and/or kawa is the marae. The marae is described by TR as “the real stage for learning.” TR also informed me that the practices of Māori performing arts (at Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe) are done with the intent of reinforcing or enhancing the procedures/protocols of the marae and that Māori performing arts aid a person's ability to stand more confidently on the marae. As a lecturer of mātauranga Māori, TR explains that the course content is also designed to aid marae by training people in the protocols and processes of the marae as Elder numbers are decreasing at a rapid rate. The Male Focus Group state that “by practicing protocols within a Kapa Haka, we are actually learning how to interact and behave amongst other Māori.” One of the male performers, when discussing Māori protocol on the marae, states that “if we don't do it on our marae then we

don't do it on any other marae." As children, the marae is an open arena for teaching and learning to take place; the Male Focus Group asserts that teaching can be carried out by any adult, not just the parents of the child. If an adult sees a child doing something they should not be doing, on a marae, then the adult is well within their rights to discipline the child.

c) Whanaungatanga (family values):

This extension of whanaungatanga refers to the "giving" as opposed to Phase one where whanaungatanga refers to the "receiving." In this phase, extending support to others is done by those who have already been through the stage of receiving support. As identified in previous chapters whanaungatanga is about including people, making them feel a part of the group, giving guidance and support where necessary, and teaching them principles such as protocols in an informal manner. The practice of whanaungatanga creates an unbreakable bond between the people, as suggested by the Male Focus Group, where one performer makes the statement "we are a force to be reckoned with when we get together." Rita comments on how she continuously looks for people who might be having difficulty within the group and once she identifies them she looks for ways to ease their stress. Some performers talk about how the group take responsibility for each other because it is in the best interests of the group to do so. Hōhepa explains that if one performer fails on stage then the whole group fails; whanaungatanga ensures that everybody is on par with each other. During Phase one of whanaungatanga, it is unlikely that a person will recognize that whanaungatanga is a two-way process, but in Phase two, people are more aware of its significance and importance.

8.7.2 Individual decision making:

Deciding what Tūhoetanga (Tūhoe tribal identity) is and what it entails, in this phase, are done by inquiring and experimenting. Experimenting in this section refers more to a person testing their theories, notions, or perceptions.

a) Inquiring:

While perception or assumption is still strongly evident in this phase, people make the attempt to marry what they knew before with what they know now in order to try and make sense of things using methods they have employed in the past.

Confidence appears to build steadily in this phase and people have no problems presenting the 'why' questions in order to seek clarification or to ask for help, as suggested by some of the women in the Female Focus Group.

b) Experimenting:

Generally, once a person in this phase feels confident that they have some level of understanding what Tūhoetanga is, performing arts or the Kapa Haka (performing group) is identified as a place where their theories can be tested. However, this section not only refers to the testing of theories, it also refers to a person "taking a leap of faith. For example, a person may not feel right about a process or decision but they will allow themselves to be a part of that process or decision, putting their trust in the people they deem to have had more experience. As an example, George believes that whanaungatanga was about being unified. This belief was validated when he joined the group as a performer; however, George also learned the extended meaning of whanaungatanga and what it entailed, such as shared support, taking responsibility for each other as well as each other's children. Daphne, a first time performer, talks about how she questioned the tutor's decision to make her son the

male leader as her son was also a first time performer and only 14 years old.

However, believing that a tutor is a person who makes decisions based on years of experience, Daphne put her trust in the tutor and she was not disappointed.

8.8 Phase Three: Revision

Phase Three is designed on a level similar to those that were raised within the community, who are fluent speakers of the Tūhoe dialect and have been raised in the ways of Tūhoe. People in this phase are the “movers” and “shifTERS” of the tribe who are more likely to challenge tribal identity with the intent of developing it.

8.8.1 Principles

There are two main identified principles within Phase Three which are: te taiāo (environment), tikanga/kawa (protocols/procedures), and te reo ā īwi (tribal dialect).

a) Te Taiāo (environment)

At the pinnacle of understanding who a person is as a tribal member, is te taiāo. Being raised on and by the land, people in this phase recognize that the environment is vital to their whole existence. The land provides shelter, food, and clothing – things which people cannot live without. Some of the men I interviewed are hunters and they stated that without the environment, they lose their livelihoods. The Female Focus Group proved to have a more spiritual connection with the environment; they viewed the environment, and in particular, the plants and trees, as holding healing properties. Trees are not just trees to these people; instead, they are living entities who demand the same respect that is held between humans which is evidenced in the constructs of the Māori language where people are symbolically defined as birds or trees. As an example, knowledgeable Elders who have lived a long and prosperous life are likened to a Tōtara tree (one of the largest and oldest

species of tree in Aotearoa) and people who are great singers are likened to a manu tioriori (or a singing bird). People in performing arts are taught to relate their actions to the environment as suggested by Speakers 7 and 8. During a survey held among Tūhoe, Ameria asked the question, “What is Tūhoetanga?”; she reported that the main response given was that Tūhoetanga encompassed the environment. Ameria also reported that some Tūhoe schools are opting to take their children into the forest to conduct classes as opposed to teaching the children about the forest in a classroom setting. People in this phase have learned to read their environment; they, for example, are able to select the best plants for healing by observing the behavior of the insects, as suggested by one of the female performers; or determine the best times for eeling by observing the moon cycles, as suggested by one of the male performers. Perhaps the best way to describe the importance of the environment is through a comment made by Hōhepa in a personal conversation:

The difference between a person who has been raised away from tribal lands and a person who has been raised on tribal lands is that when we (Tūhoe) march to parliament to protest, those that were raised away from the land are fighting for the land...those that were raised on the land are fighting for their lives.

b) Te Reo ā Īwi (Tribal Dialect)

If one was to attempt to describe the way people in this phase view the language, it could be something of the following: “Life depends on breathing, speaking depends on breath, therefore every word that is spoken has life breathed into it and should be acknowledged as a living entity”.

Tūhoe identify that their dialect is specific to their tribe and that the teaching of it should not be confined to the home; it should be learned in schools (hence the creation of the TOTT document). The TOTT document views colloquialism as an essential part of the

language and is termed *te reo o te kauta* (informal language). Also included in the TOTT document are *te reo o te marae* (formal language) and *te reo o te tohunga*, which I will liken to the language of academics. Tūhoe are the first³³ tribe to develop a language curriculum for schools based on the dialect of the tribe. Understanding the full potential of the language, in this phase requires a person to have a cultural base, suggest by Speakers 11 and 12. If a person has a cultural base (they have been raised in the ways of Tūhoe) then they are more likely to understand how to use linguistic skills such as proverbs, idioms, and jargons and are able to carve a conversation much in the same way an artist carves wood.

8.8.2 Individual decision making:

Deciding what Tūhoetanga (Tūhoe tribal identity) is and what it entails, in this phase, are done by implementing strategies with the intent of further developing the tribe.

a) Implementing:

People in Phase Three are the strategists of the tribe. Being raised fully immersed in the ways of Tūhoe, these people are able to identify changes that are sensitive to the traditional ways while incorporating new knowledge(s). Some changes are done with the intent of including the young says by Tame Iti, and other changes are made through the influence of other Māori practices, suggests TR. TR also concludes that although changes are made, the spirit of Tūhoe is still present. There are some changes that people attempt to introduce but are discouraged from doing so by people in this phase. Yvonne states that some changes are unavoidable, and are ultimately accepted so long as Tūhoetanga remain the foundation for these changes. For the most part, implementing changes are done or assessed by people in this phase. Paradigmatic changes are also evident among people in this

³³ On Friday 18 April, 2008, The Waiariki Member of Parliament, Te Ururoa Flavell, released a press statement congratulating Tūhoe on being the first tribe to create an *māi*-designed education curriculum. <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA0804/S00483.htm>

phase but, as explained in Chapter three, rather than these changes in thinking being referred to as paradigm shifts, I refer to them as paradigm reversals that have done a complete circle.

b) Developing:

Because these people are at a high level of understanding the true intent and content of Tūhoetanga (tribal identity), they are now on a path of articulating or fine tuning their knowledge(s). Understanding the fullness of what Tūhoetanga is and being firmly rooted to their values, principles and beliefs, people in Phase three are at the level of relating themselves to the outside world as they look to creating friendships and alliances within Māoridom, Polynesia and other Indigenous peoples. The focus of these people has become Tino Rangatiratanga (Māori independence) and Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe (Tūhoe self-determination), which they pursue with a rigor and passion that is reflective of whom they (Tūhoe) are.

Developing a personal sense of Tūhoe identity is an ongoing process. During each stage, individuals develop their own understanding of Tūhoe identity. While this process of individual decision making and identity analysis is essential, Tūhoe-ness also relies on the collective. It is this which I will now explore in Part Two.

8.9 PART TWO: Ehara I te mea poka hou mai nei, nō Hawaiki mai ano

(What you see here is not new, it originates from Hawaiki).

The proverb that introduces Part Two also has many connotations attached to it. One meaning could refer to the people: that they are not new; they have originated from Hawaiki³⁴. Another meaning could refer to the practices of the people: developing practices in order to sustain tribal identity is not a new practice; instead, it began in Hawaiki. For the purpose of this study I prefer the latter meaning and I use it to refer to the understanding

³⁴ The original homeland of the Māori.

that Māori made the long journey to Aotearoa from Hawaiki in search of land and food and at various stages Māori developed their practices and beliefs to accommodate their new surroundings and their new tribes.

Compared with Part One of this Chapter where processes are aimed at “developing tribal identity” through individual decision making, Part Two is centered on “developing tribal identity” through collective decision making.

Māori Performing Arts is but one of many tools used to identify and practice who we are as tribal members, and for Tūhoe, this arena is Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe. The Tūhoe gathering is not about one person or one family nor is it centered on one principle or another rather it is the combination of everything and everyone. What is different about Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe is the way that it is viewed by the people within the phases of learning who they are as Tūhoe in a collective sense:

1. People in Phase One see Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe as a place to learn who they are as Tūhoe;
2. People in Phase Two see Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe as a place to practice who they are as Tūhoe;
3. People in Phase Three see Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe as a place to challenge who they are as Tūhoe.

These three views set the stage for Part Two and are further situated within three stages: mōhiotanga (understanding), mātauranga (knowledge), and māramatanga (enlightenment) as shown in Figure 8.

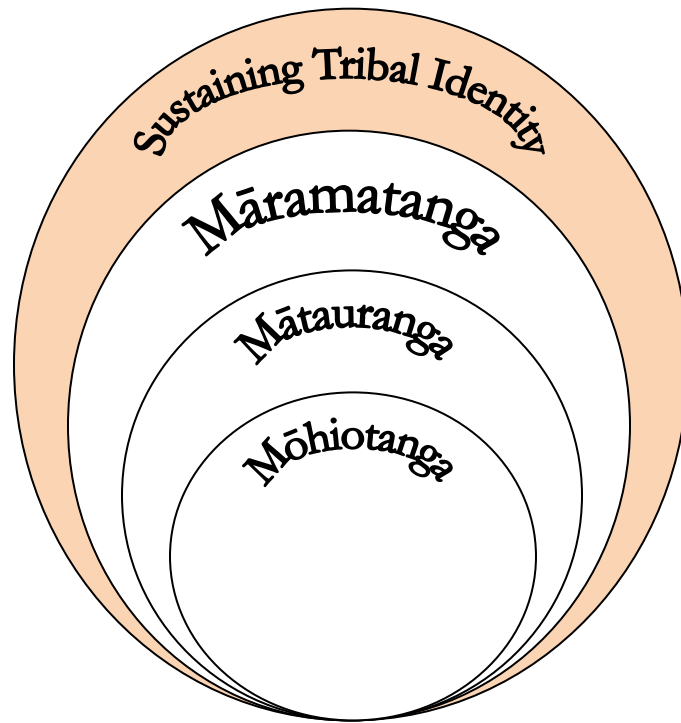


Fig. 8 – Sustaining Tribal Identity: Collective Development

8.10 Stage One: Mōhiotanga (understanding)

As explained in Chapter two, mōhiotanga (in this study) refers to knowledge that transpires between people we encounter on a regular basis or people that are familiar to us, which in this stage is within the constructs of whānau (family) and marae (tribal meeting places). Mōhiotanga is also about lessons that can be learned from, or taught at, Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe that are flexible in nature.

8.10.1 Learning who we are as a tribe: Whānau and Marae

The learning stage centers on the knowledge(s) held within constructs of whānau (family) and marae (tribal meeting places) and refer to lessons that are informal in their design such as whanaungatanga (family values) or tribal narratives. With the exception of Tūhoe groups located in other towns such as Tūhoe ki Pōneke in Wellington, Te Tira Hou

in Auckland and Te Hono ā Te Kiore in Hamilton, most haka groups who attend Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe are whānau and marae designed. In this stage, discussions are held amongst the members of the group with influences coming from tutors, composers, experienced performers and Elders. Groups generally use Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe as an opportunity to rebirth versions of tribal narratives that are held by families of each sub-tribe as suggested by Yvonne. However, groups are encouraged to learn sub-tribal events through the traditional chant chosen by the committee, explains TR. Practices in this stage are not set; rather, they are open to the interpretation or delivery of the individual. That is to say that how whanaungatanga is practiced, is up to the individual; there are no set guidelines. A person can practice matemateāone (respect) by encouraging another performer, cheering for another group, or simply by offering their seat to an Elder. The composition of songs and haka are also open to whanau or marae interpretation and the groups are able to present them in a way that they think best delivers their message, says Hōhepa. Rita explains that one year she used branches from the heuheu (thicket) bush so that the performers of Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu remembered the fatal attack on their ancestors. Because this attack only happened to the Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu people, the heuheu does not hold the same significance among other Tūhoe sub-tribes. Yvonne also introduced the terms ihi (inner essential force) and wehi (awe) and stated that Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe allows a person to practice and critique these personal expressions. A single definition for both ihi and wehi is impossible, as it can mean many things depending on the interpreter or the person who is projecting ihi and wehi. My personal description of ihi and wehi is that ihi can be described as an anxiety attack and wehi can be described as nerves or fear. When a person learns to draw the driving force out of an anxiety attack and fear, they possess a power that only they can control.

8.11 Stage Two: Mātauranga (knowing)

As explained in Chapter two Mātauranga, for the purpose of this research, refers to knowledge that is decided on in forums that may include people we do not see on a regular basis or people that are unfamiliar to us and includes members of hapū and iwi. Mātauranga is also about lessons that can be learned from, or taught at, Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe that are not flexible.

8.11.1 Practicing who we are as a tribe: Hapū and Iwi

The practicing stage centers on the protocols of the tribe which are more rigid in design, and ensuring that they are taught to the young. Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe rules state that a leader (male leader, female leader, female caller, male speaker and male challenger) must be 25 years of age or younger. This rule ensures that marae practices, protocols, and procedures are handed down to the younger generations. Although this rule contradicts normal protocol whereby these practices are normally performed by older generations, Tūhoe have identified Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe as an accepted arena for teaching and learning. Young women are taught to mimic the cry of the female Elders that is heard on the marae and young men are taught to mimic the speeches of the male Elders. Female leaders are taught to uplift the spirits of the women during a performance and male leaders are taught to do the same with the men. The young male warriors are taught to poise themselves so as to prepare for a battle if need be. Tribal practices, in this stage, are hapū and iwi designed. That is to say that the protocols of the marae are generally the same for all Tūhoe sub-tribes. Reiterating the comment made by TR, Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe Yvonne also believes that a person should learn Tūhoe practices at Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe before they stand anywhere else. The layout of a group's performance also mimics the layout of a

welcoming ceremony conducted on the marae: a warrior goes out to identify the intentions of the visitors while the female caller emits her cry; the women perform a haka pōhiri (welcoming haka) while holding leaves and the men will perform a haka whakatū waewae (haka challenge); a male speaker speaks, and the group supports by way of traditional chant. These are all processes that generally occur on the marae during a formal welcoming. As mentioned earlier, every group is required to learn and perform the same traditional chant, which changes with every festival and is taken from various sub-tribal regions and wānanga are held to teach group delegates the history of the chant, its meaning, and the tune. The delegates then return to their respective groups and teach what they have just learned. As TR states, Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe is designed to help reinforce the protocols and practices of the marae.

8.12 Stage Three: Māramatanga (enlightenment)

As explained in Chapter two, Māramatanga, for the purpose of this research, refers to decision making based on a greater level of understanding. Māramatanga centers on old knowledge(s) and narratives that have been created from a time before Tūhoe but after the arrival of the Mātaatua canoe to Aotearoa. Also included in this stage is collective decision making through the process of wānanga (Institutional instruction). In this stage people see the Ahurei as a place to challenge who they are.

8.12.1 Challenging who we are as a tribe: Waka and Wānanga

The challenging stage centers on the intentions of the people to change or shift tribal thinking. Some people challenge old knowledge(s) in hope of introducing new knowledge(s) and others challenge new knowledge(s) in hope of reinstating the old. Whatever the situation, challenges are made with the intent of further developing the tribe. Many tribal

protocols were established prior to the establishment of tribes, from the time of the waka (canoe). However, many of the protocols were adapted during tribal development.

Wānanga, in this study, refers to educational gatherings where people are brought together to discuss developments, protocols, and processes of the tribe such as the weekend live-ins held by the groups, Ahurei meetings held by the Tūhoe Festival committee and attended by delegates from each group, and symposiums held by the judges.

Although Tūhoe have always been in a state of resistance, as stated by Tame Iti, Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe has become a platform to practice that resistance. People are expected to be criticized for their views, perceptions, and stance but at Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe, criticism is seen as constructive discourse, in fact, Hera explained that she would rather be criticized by her own people before being criticized by others. Tūhoe view challenges in a positive way and according to Speakers 4 and 10, Tūhoe believe the process of challenging each other to be good for the heart, soul, body, and mind. While some may disagree with certain changes because it goes against what they were taught by their parents and grandparents, if it is accepted by the tribe then it is accepted by the person. TR noted many changes that have occurred at Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe since its inception, which are in contrast to the original suggestions made by his father who was the founder of Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe, however times have changed and the people have moved with the times. Even judges, who can be viewed as scrutinizers, use the Ahurei to challenge their knowledge(s), as suggested by Yvonne, who also stated that Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe has some responsibility of revitalizing the Tūhoe people and their ways. Speakers 8 and 10 both stated that Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe can be seen as a platform for cultural redress where each group gets to challenge ideals, customs, and protocols in the presence of the people concerned further adding that challenges are merely presented to the people and then left for

the people to decide on, which Hōhepa explains as enhancement made as a collective. Tame Iti believes that Tūhoe people need to also challenge themselves by asking questions such as: “What does it mean to be Tūhoe? What does it look like? What shape or form is it?” Tame Iti also believes that challenging ourselves is a good thing and further states that these challenges keep the people alive.

8.13 Informing our Future: Today’s Legacy for Tomorrow’s Progeny

Being able to inform our future, in part, depends on how we evaluate and assess where we are now. Having identified three different levels of learning and understanding amongst the people I interviewed, it can only be expected that there will be different levels of evaluation and assessment. As Tame Iti suggests, we, as individuals, must be open to frequent self-motivated “reality checks.” If we are to introduce new methods and processes, we must be able to justify them. If we are unsure of existing methods of approach or cultural practices, we must seek clarification or validation. We must be open to challenging ourselves as individuals and as a collective as we continue to seek our importance or relevance through the eyes of each other.

In the arena of the marae, the Elders are the evaluators and assessors. Within Kapa Haka practices the tutors are the evaluators and assessors of the performers but on the stage or during a performance the audience and judges become the evaluators and assessors. Through Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe the younger generations are afforded the opportunity to challenge the Elders and their way of thinking in an acceptable manner. However, people must also be aware that there are roles and responsibilities within each stage. Furthermore, each stage holds a variety of expectations for the self and others, such as being responsible to and for each other. People in Phase one need to see that there is a bridge between them

and the fluent; this link enables them to cross over to fluency with greater ease. Once this bridge is identified, Phase one individuals have a better understanding of where they need to move as an individual; they will also be able to see where the tribe is moving as a whole. While advancement is often made through trial and error, motivation is present at this stage if their sights are fixed on the long term goal, suggests Hōhepa.

If we are to look at the Ahurei and ask ourselves “what is the legacy³⁵ that we are leaving our future generations?” I would say that Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe IS a legacy; in fact, Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe is a legacy that is full of individual legacies. Speakers 3 and 4 state that people do not attend Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe simply to perform haka; they are there to carry on the legacies that were left behind by their forefathers: the culture, the language, and traditions. The young girl who wins the female leadership award leaves a legacy for her granddaughters; the young boy who wins the male leadership award leaves a legacy for his grandsons; the tutor and performers of the winning groups leave behind a legacy for their grandchildren; however, one does not necessarily have to be a winner to leave behind a legacy. As Daphne notes, being a first time performer at Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe is a legacy that she leaves for her grandchildren, so that long after she is gone her grandchildren will be able to look at Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe and say “my grandmother was a performer at that festival.” An old woman who regularly attends the festival and sits by her grandchild in the audience leaves a legacy because the child will be able to feel her presence at Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe long after she is gone and the child will remember how important this festival was to their grandmother. I know this because I am one of those grandchildren who attended the festival as a child with my grandparents and my father. Even now, at the age of fifty one, I can feel the presence of my grandparents and my father and I remember how important

³⁵ Identifying a legacy plan was suggested by Haromi Williams (Secretary of the Tūhoe Festival Committee) and Yvonne Hohipa (participant) upon reading a draft copy of this thesis, August 2008.

being Tūhoe was to them. Without the presence of Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe, leaving behind legacies will be made that much harder.

Because I can relate to the importance of communicating legacies with those who do not have daily interactions with Tūhoe traditions and performing arts, it is also essential to create a resource which can be accessed globally. Such a link will enable the creation of a Tūhoe legacy for those who, like my children, were not raised on the marae. Understanding and knowledge of Tūhoe culture and traditions ultimately form and shape individual and collective Tūhoe identities; this, in turn, ultimately creates a legacy. Therefore, I suggest that we (Tūhoe) start to collate the many compositions that are performed at the Ahurei as an archival resource.

The idea could be put forward during an Ahurei delegate meeting for discussion on how and why this project needs to be done. With reference to ‘why’ it needs to be done, a point could be made that there are already many traditional chants that, through time, have lost the composers’ true intentions or exact definitions of why the chant was written and what it’s deeper meaning is. In order to begin this process, initially groups would initially have to submit a copy of their lyrics on a disc to the Ahurei Committee possibly at the same time they are submitting hard copies of their brackets for the judges. This information would include the year the song was composed, the year the song was performed and by whom. The information would then be stored in a search engine with search related tags attached to make searching easier. Perhaps this task could be taken on by a researcher who would compile all the data and information regarding THAT into a virtual database, which would allow global access, and cultural knowledge retention and transmission.

This would be an effective approach on a number of levels. The following example illustrates how the approach could be implemented and used. If a person wanted to research

information on Te Rīwai Tapu (the sacred potato)'they would enter the words into a search engine which would then display the names of all the groups who have performed a composition regarding that topic. The person would then be able to click on a group's name and the page would display the words, translations, synopsis and possibly a foreword by the composer and could also be extended to include a digital video copy of that item as it was performed by that group, which will require the permission of the group and a copy of their DVD performance so that it can be edited and each item separated so that it would only play the item in question as opposed to the whole bracket.

If this proposition is accepted then it will ensure that many years from now songs are able to be accessed and viewed in the way they were intended and presented at the time and would also ensure that historical knowledge(s) are retained for those generations still to come. Obviously steps would need to be put into place to ensure that copyright or intellectual property rights continue to remain with the composers which will be good discussion starters during a delegate hui. The importance of leaving behind legacies should not require supportive discussion. We should already understand its importance. I can only hope that this document that I write for my children and grandchildren will also serve as a legacy for my people and indeed Indigenous peoples worldwide, for the struggles we all share are through the same cause and have the same desired outcome...the right to exist.

8.13.1 Assessment /Evaluation

This need for a "right to exist" was brought to the forefront during the 2007 Te Hui Ahurei āTūhoe. Every festival year, a different theme is chosen for Te Hui Ahurei āTūhoe, and the theme for the 2007 gathering was toku ora, toku Tūhoetanga (my existence, my

Tūhoeness). According to Hōhepa, each theme plays a critical role in the understanding and transmission of ‘old’ and ‘new’ knowledge(s), tribal identity and sustainability. Hence, to build onto the multiple sites of existing knowledge, a good place to start is the themes proposed by Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe committee. Rather than receiving the theme for the festival a mere three weeks in advance, Hōhepa suggests that themes be chosen and divulged two years in advance (with the theme of the subsequent festival announced at the end of the current one). This would enable the group to focus on the theme and clearly express their thoughts on what the theme means to them as performers, as Tūhoe (personal communication April 15, 2008).

After discussing the situation with another tribal member, Hōhepa discusses using the bi-annual theme as a tool for assessing or evaluating tribal success. In this, the festival committee would make it compulsory for the groups to choose one item from their bracket and to write their views on the chosen theme. As an example, if the theme is *tūku ora, toku Tūhoetanga*, each group would have to choose one of their items and compose a song expressing their opinions of what that theme means to them. If, for example, the group is pleased with the theme, then they would select the poi to express how they feel; if they are saddened by the theme, the group would utilize the ‘action song’ to convey their message; if they are angered by the theme, then they would develop a haka to express their emotions. Using this method, according to Hōhepa, would allow the committee a view of how each participating group views the theme. Given that the tribal groups are spread throughout New Zealand and Australia, with some groups living in the urban setting, while others reside on tribal lands, one can expect that the views would differ immensely. Under such circumstances, a forum for discussion could be created, which would assess or evaluate people’s views; decisions could then be made to address issues raised. A panel consisting of

Elders and group delegates could then be established to assess the group's views and who could, ultimately, take the information back to their respective groups. This process could also enable Tūhoe to introduce or challenge practices, both traditional and modern.

Since the debate portion of the festival allows the opinions and ideas of the groups to be heard in a direct manner, it is essential for each group to have a voice in the debate. A current flaw that I see is that not every group enters the debate section. Furthermore, those groups which do participate are told on which side they must speak; they are not allowed to choose the side they believe is correct or true. And because the only people who have their voice heard on stage are the finalists, only the views of these final two groups are likely to be heard by the majority of attendees.

That being said, Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe is still an ideal opportunity for communicating tribal identity. In order to create this sustainable identity and encourage the transmission of knowledge(s) between tribes, I have suggested a few possible themes for the next Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe (for 2011).

- 1 Te Mana Motuhake o Tuhoe (Tūhoe independence)
- 2 Tōku Ora, Toku Tuhoetanga (My life, my Tūhoeness)
- 3 Te Kotahi a Tūhoe (The unity of Tūhoe)
- 4 Tūhoe 2020 (Tūhoe in the future)
- 5 Tūhoe moumou tangata ki te po (Tūhoe wasters of men to the underworld)

Using these themes, future/potential researchers or PhD students could explore how these ideas are viewed by the Tūhoe, and how they come into being. Discussions could surround Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe, as well as other areas of traditional Tūhoe life and culture. Perhaps students could explore what it means to unite on the marae, or how the Tūhoe tribe displays its independence using the gathering as the catalyst. There are many avenues left to be

explored, and it is my hope that future researchers will continue to explore and record what creates the Tūhoe identity. Through this, the culture, traditions and knowledge(s) will live on for generations to come.

While these themes are valid points through which to conduct research and develop an understanding of tribal identity, they also present challenges to the development and sustainability to Tūhoe identity. As members of the Tūhoe tribe return to their urban settings after participating at the gathering, the biggest fear is that they will go back into their communities and lose what they have learned about Tūhoe identity. As Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe is only held every two years, over the course of one weekend, knowledge(s) gained during this time can be lost very quickly as people once more assume their daily, urban lives.

Further to this, our younger generations are not challenged to assume a daily Tūhoe identity; most do not speak the language or grow up on the marae. It is very easy for them to get lost in their urban environment and not return to their tribal roots. It is getting increasingly difficult for the tribe to engage the younger generations in traditional ways; cell phones, ipods, and other trends creep into every aspect of urban life, thereby negating any desire to understand a more traditional way of life. Ensuring that traditions and culture are transmitted to these younger generations is essential, as it is these individuals who will continue to develop and unite tribal identity.

8.14 Conclusion

Let us reflect back to the interwoven strands of the piupiu which unite Tūhoe identity and form the collective knowledge(s) of the tribe. Each individual member of the Tūhoe tribe is like a strand on the piupiu. Personal journeys and the lessons learned and taught on an individual level ultimately create a process of reflection, revision and

reclamation. Tribal identity would not exist without each of these stages: they are fundamental components of unity and – like each strand of the piupiu. As the strands come together and fall to rest, a collective identity falls into place. Each individual contributes to the unification of the collective Tūhoe-ness, which is expressed in through a progression through the stages of Mōhioetanga, Mātauranga, and Māramatanga. Tūhoe become identifiable through knowing who they are (as individuals) and through the collective development of the Tūhoe tribe (whānau, marae, hapū, iwi, waka and wānanga)

Through the course of this dissertation, I have not only learned a great deal about who Tūhoe are, I have learned more about who I am as a Tūhoe. Tūhoe people not only aspire to greater things, they physically, mentally, spiritually and emotionally move towards their aspirations. Once Tūhoe identify and understand where they are in a situation they move on refusing to sit still perhaps through fear of becoming stagnant; they are adamant in life being a “work in progress.” Firmly grounded in Tūhoe epistemology and ontology, these people bound forward in search of new ideas. Tūhoe use their own separate tribal identity (Tūhoetanga) as their foundational base for learning and teaching; everything outside this understanding is compared and appropriately adapted to fit in with Tūhoe identity. From my own upbringing, and as discussed in various chapters of my thesis, Tūhoe prefer to take ownership and responsibility for themselves and their knowledge(s) and I identify Tūhoetanga as the epitome of what being Tūhoe is all about.

The greatest lesson that I have learned through the course of this study is that nothing is successfully viewed or described in a singular form; rather, everything is influenced by a whole host of ideals and matter. A whānau is not a whānau unless it has family members; a hapū are not a hapū unless they have combinations of whānau; an iwi is not an iwi unless they have a combination of hapū, a performing group is not a performing

group unless they have performers. I also conclude that it is okay for an individual to make decisions but his/her decisions are not cemented unless they have been presented and validated by the collective (the tribe) in forums such as wānanga (educational forums) and Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe.

On an international level Māori are not that dissimilar to other Indigenous peoples whereby we all depend on our environment to sustain us, the values of our ancestors to ground us, tribal narratives to shape us, and everyday experiences to direct us as we continue to develop ourselves in a safe and appropriate manner that is respectful of both the ancestors and the present generations. I draw upon a statement given by a First Nations scholar Carolyn Kenny “Nang Jaada Sa-ěts” who concludes that:

As First Nations peoples we experience and define beauty in relation to the way we live. Our relationship to Mother Earth and to each other, the way we live together in a place, our appreciation of holistic aspects of life all coalesce to give a sense of coherence to our worlds. It is our ability to sense this coherence that can give us the confidence to express ourselves fully, define ourselves authentically, and assist us in the creation of our own stories. Through this sense of coherence, we know who we are and we can see the visions of who we might become in the future. This visionary landscape is rich in image, metaphor, symbol. It is punctuated by texture, song, color, story, prose. It is implied in the patterns of a basket, the shape of a carving, and reflects the lands that we inhabit, our experience on it, and the knowledge that we acquire because of our respect for place. This is our sense of art as First Peoples. (“The sense of art: A First Nations view,” No. 1, p. 77)

In all identity development, positioning is of utmost importance. And developing a coherent, resilient, sustainable tribal identity is a focus of Indigenous groups all over the world. While this dissertation focuses on the development of Māori-Tūhoe knowledge(s) (and therefore, identity), it is my hope that other Indigenous groups will be able to glean something from it as well. Perhaps the clans of Northern British Columbia will identify with

the lakes of the interior – the hunting, wildlife, trees and water – which are so a part of their identity. Perhaps these clans will express their identities using song and dance, or in the sharing of stories. Whatever the foundation of identity, however it is expressed, we, as Indigenous peoples, all have a common need to develop and ensure our identities live on. A sustainable and resilient tribal identity must begin with the individual. One can only explore the outside world if one first knows the self. From this point of self-understanding, one can move onto collective identity development.

The Indigenous identity should be about reflection, revision and reclamation, and these stages (as illustrated in Figure 7) are necessary for each Indigenous person to move through. Only then can a real understanding of the self be achieved. This may take years, but it is necessary. When individual identity is formed, each person is then able to move and develop the collective identity. This is a constant cycle: learning who one is; learning who the tribe/clan is; understanding the past, present and future of one's tribe, and how this identity works in union with the land; learning to think critically, and revise former understandings if necessary; and finally, consistently, will individuals and tribal groups reclaim their identity. All of these phases create a legacy for the future; they ensure that identity, culture and knowledge(s) will not be forgotten.

I would like to direct my closing comment towards my grandchildren: You may never get the chance to live amongst our people but I want you to know how much they mean to me and I need you all to understand the struggles that our people have been through. Read this document with your mind; understand it with your heart; acknowledge who you are with your soul; and your body will live well...for this is my legacy that I leave you.

“Back in Te Nga Wha”

The moment upon entering the Nga Wha
I felt the spirit of my ancestors
Running thru my body
Realigning me, exploring me,
This little girl who left 35 yrs ago
Had returned to this sacred spot
Where time has stood still
Untouched by the outside world
A tiny mythical bird came to guide us
Through the old growth forests
It was as though I floated along the paths
And across the slow flowing river of tears
Of my ancestors that trickled down
The rocky bluffs where they once lived in caves
They watched as we ventured onward
As they did centuries ago
When the colonizers marched inward
But gave up for their blood ran cold
The spiritual presence of Tūhoe
Can be felt thru every inch of one's being
And if anyone harbors ill thoughts
They will be banished from the Nga Wha
I sat in the presence of my ancestors
Soaking my feet in the hot pools
As they did centuries ago
Silently listening to them speak
Thru the slow moving river
My body was rejuvenated
Old pains healed and forgiven

Ancient knowledge baptized my spirit
And renewed my soul
I continued to sit in awe of the Nga Wha
Fairies danced and fluttered around the trees
My total being became transformed that day
Enlightenment continues to guide me
For now I know where I will go when I die
Back to my people, to who I am,
A maiden of the mist, a Tūhoe woman
And an ancient dweller of caves
In the sacred land of the Nga Wha.

By Charles Fraser, June 24, 2007

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APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY

1. Glossary of Māori words
2. Glossary of Māori terms
3. Acronyms

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI WORDS

A note on macrons will be employed. The convention for this thesis is to use macrons or line on top of a vowel to indicate the long vowel sound in spoken Māori language. Macrons are therefore used throughout this thesis.

Āhuatanga	Appearance, attitude
Ātea	The ground directly in front of the meeting house
Aōtea	One of the seven main, founding canoes
Aōtearoa	The original Māori name for New Zealand
Haere mai	Welcome, come here
Harakeke	A native New Zealand plant used for weaving.
Hawaiki	The original homeland of the Māori
Hapu	Pregnant
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Haurangi	Spiritual state of mind
Hinepūkohurangi	Mist maiden (Deity)
Hopuruahine	A river in Ruatahuna
Hui	Meeting
Huia	A certain species of bird
Ihi/ihiihi	Essential force
Īwi	Main tribe
Kae	A legendary ancestor
Kaiāwhina	Aide
Kapa Haka	A Māori performing arts group
Karakia	Prayer
Kaumātua	Elder
Kaupapa	Theme/topic (Māori Philosophy)
Kawa	Protocols
Kawerau	A Tuwharetoa township in the Eastern Bay of Plenty
Kenana	Refers to Rua Kenana, a Tūhoe prophet
Koha	Donation/contribution
Kōhanga Reo	Māori Early Childhood Centers
Kōrero	Speech/talk
Koroua	Male Elder
Kuia	Female Elder
Kūmara	Sweet potato
Kurahaupō	One of the seven main, founding canoes
Kura Kaupapa	School of Philosophy (Maori medium primary school)
Māia	Confident
Māmā	Transliteration of the word mother
Mana	Prestige
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa
Marae	Sacred gathering place
Matātua/Mataatua	One of the seven main, founding canoes

Māui	Demi god (deity)
Maungapōhatu	Ancestral mountain located in Te Urewera
Mauri	Life principle
Mihi	Acknowledgement/greeting
Mihimihi	A process of greeting
Moko	Traditional tattoo
Mōteatea	Traditional chant
Ngā	The (plural)
Ngāti Haka	A sub tribe of Tūhoe (Waiohau)
Ngāti-Kahungunu	A tribe of the Hawkes Bay/Wairarapa region
Ngāti-Koura	A sub tribe of Tūhoe (Ruatoki)
Ngāti-Ranginui	A tribe of the Mataatua region
Ngāti-Porou	A tribe from the East Coast
Ngāwha	Natural hot water spring
Otaota	Weeds
Pākeha	European
Panekire	Mountain range along Lake Waikaremoana
Pā tōtara	Medicinal plant
Patupaiarehe	A mythical forest fairy
Papanui	An area in the Waiohau Valley
Papatuanuku	Mother Earth
Patuheuheu	A sub tribe of Tūhoe (Waiohau)
Piupiu	Grass skirt made from the harakeke plant
Pōhiri	Welcoming ceremony
Poi	A Māori prop used in dance, best described as a ball on the end of a string.
Pōrangī	Insanity
Pūkana	A fixed glare
Putauaki	A mountain situated in Kawerau
Rangatahi	Youth
Ranginui	Sky Father
Rata	A man spoken of in Māori legend
Ringatu	Maori religious faith
Rongoa	Traditional medicine
Ruatoki	A Tūhoe community (double adze)
Tainui	One of the seven main, founding canoes
Takitimu	One of the seven main, founding canoes
Tama-ki-Hikurangi	Spiritual leader for Matātua
Tā moko	The art of tattooing
Tāne	Male
Tāne Māhuta	God of the forest
Tāngata Whenua	People of the land
Taniwha	Sea creature
Tānenuiarangi	A demi-god who acquired the three baskets of knowledge
Tāwera	Star
Tāwhirimātea	God of the Wind
Tauranga	A township in the Eastern Bay of Plenty
Te	The (singular)

Te Ana o Tikitiki	A cave of historical significance to Tuhoe
Te Arawa	People of the Rotorua district, also the name of their ancestral canoe
Te Hui Ahurei a Tuhoe	The Unique Gathering of Tuhoe
Te Kohanga Reo	The Language Nest (Maori early childhood centers)
Te Matau	The hook
Te Pae Mahutonga	The Southern Cross
Te Reo me ona Tikanga	Maori language and its customs
Te Rohe Pootae o Tuhoe	The Tuhoe region
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
Te Ture Whenua	Law of the land (pertains to the Maori Land Court)
Te Urewera	The forested region of Tuhoe
Tikanga	Custom
Tinirau	A legendary ancestor
Tino Rangatiratanga	Self independence
Tohunga	Māori shaman
Tokomaru	One of the seven main, founding canoes
Toku	My
Totara	Certain type of tree
Tuhoe	The main tribe
Tuhoetanga	The essence of being Tuhoe
Tu Te Maungaroa	Cliff on the side of Maungapohatu
Tutunui	Pet whale of the ancestor Tinirau
Urupa	Cemetery
Wahine	Woman
Waiata	Sing, song
Waikaremoana	A small Tuhoe community located in Te Urewera
Waimahana	Warm water
Waipapa	A cultural group based at the Waipapa marae at Auckland
Wana/wanawana	Inspirational feeling of awe
Wananga	Educational institute
Wehi/wehiwehi	A response of awe in reaction to ihi
Whakaaro	Way of thinking
Whakana	Rolling of the eyes
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakatane	A town in the Eastern Bay of Plenty
Whānau	Family
Whanaungatanga	Kinship, relationship
Whare	House
Wharenui	Large house or meeting house
Whare Wananga	University
Whakawhanaungatanga	The practice of family connectedness
Wharekura	College/High School
Whenua	Land
Whētero	Protruding of the tongue

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

Nga Kōrero Pūrākau	Stories/legends/myths
Nga Mahi ā Rēhia	Refers to Māori Performing Arts
Nga Tātai Whakapapa	Genealogical links
Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe	Tūhoe Festival/ Tūhoe Ahurei
Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe	Tūhoe Independence
Te Reo me ōna Tikanga	The Language and its Customs/Practices/Culture
Te Rīwai Tapu	The Sacred Potato (an event that occurred in Waiohau)
Tino Rangatiratanga	Complete autonomy (used in reference to Māori Independence)

ACRONYMS

ATMPAS	Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Society
CCIE	Cultural Centre for Identity and Education
IHKD	Indigenous Health, Knowledge and Development
MPA	Māori Performing Arts
NZTSA	New Zealand Terrorism Suppression Act
SAGE	Student Aboriginal Graduate Enhancement
TEA	Tūhoe Education Authority
THAT	Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe (also referred to as the Tūhoe Festival)
TKAT	Te Kotahi a Tūhoe
TOTT	Tōku Ora, Tōku Tūhoetanga
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolutions

APPENDIX B: ETHICS APPROVAL

The University of British Columbia
Office of Research Services
Behavioural Research Ethics Board
Suite 102, 6190 Agronomy Road, Vancouver,
B.C. V6T 1Z3

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL - MINIMAL RISK

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Jo-ann Archibald	INSTITUTION / DEPARTMENT: UBC/Education/Educational Studies	UBC BREB NUMBER: H07-00832
INSTITUTION(S) WHERE RESEARCH WILL BE CARRIED OUT:		
<small>Institution</small>	<small>Site</small>	
N/A		N/A
Other locations where the research will be conducted: New Zealand, Tuhoe Maori community, North Island - interviews will take place a community meeting house and at individual's homes.		
CO-INVESTIGATOR(S): Tina N. Fraser		
SPONSORING AGENCIES: N/A		
PROJECT TITLE: Transformation Through Maori Traditional Performing Arts		

CERTIFICATE EXPIRY DATE: May 25, 2008

DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPROVAL:	DATE APPROVED: May 25, 2007	
<small>Document Name</small>	<small>Version</small>	<small>Date</small>
<u>Consent Forms:</u>		
Consent form	N/A	April 4, 2007
<u>Questionnaire, Questionnaire Cover Letter, Tests:</u>		
Interview and Focus Group Questions/Guide	N/A	April 4, 2007
<u>Letter of Initial Contact:</u>		
Letter of contact for interviewees	N/A	April 4, 2007
letter of contact for focus group participants	N/A	April 4, 2007
The application for ethical review and the document(s) listed above have been reviewed and the procedures were found to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.		
<i>Approval is issued on behalf of the Behavioural Research Ethics Board and signed electronically by one of the following:</i> Dr. Peter Suedfeld, Chair Dr. Jim Rupert, Associate Chair Dr. Arminee Kazanjian, Associate Chair Dr. M. Judith Lynam, Associate Chair Dr. Laurie Ford, Associate Chair		

APPENDIX C:

LETTER OF INITIAL CONTACT FOR EXPERT INTERVIEWS

DATE

VIA FAX

ADDRESS

SUBJECT: Letter of Invitation

Dear

Please accept this letter as a formal invitation to participate as a key informant in an international study in New Zealand that focuses on the Transformation Through Maori Traditional Performing Arts. This research is being undertaken as part of my doctoral studies within the Educational Studies Program, University of British Columbia (UBC). As a graduate student I am a co-investigator on this research study with the Principal Investigator being, my PhD Supervisor, Dr. Jo-ann Archibald, Educational Foundations, UBC. She may be contacted by telephone at: 604-822-5286 or by mail: Educational Foundations, University of British Columbia, 2044 Lower Mall, Ponderosa "G", Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2.

The purpose of this research study is to critically examine how Tuhoe knowledge is transmitted through traditional performing arts (Kapa Haka) based on the upcoming "Te Hui Ahurei Ā Tūhoe" in Ruatoki, Aotearoa/New Zealand. The fundamental question propelling this research is what can be learned about liberatory and transformative leadership by undertaking an investigation of how Tuhoe knowledge is enhanced through Kapa Haka (performance).

The specific objectives of this research are:

- 1 to identify how Tuhoe and Maori knowledge is demonstrated and transmitted through performing arts (Kapa Haka);
- 2 to identify the leadership qualities of tutors, writers, composers, adjudicators, and previous and current performers who have access to traditional knowledge;
- 3 to identify leadership and change in contemporary times; and
- 4 to determine how traditional performing arts contributes to the continued transformation of Maori self-determination and self-government.

The implications of this research include: leadership and change (how we enhance leadership through performing arts), the importance of Kapa Haka, Maori cultural nuances of leadership, Tuhoe knowledge transmission is used to educate, politicize, neutralize, and

maintain language, and the social aspect of Tuhoetanga. Finally, what can educators learn, what are the lessons, and what are the teachings from Kapa Haka, its functions and practices that can inform our future?

More specifically this study will be undertaken in Tuhoe communities: Ruatoki, Waiohau and Kawerau in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Key informants will be interviewed from each of these communities. They will be identified on the basis of their experience and involvement with Te Hui Ahurei ā Tuhoe (Kapa Haka) and will include Elders, tutors, composers, writers, adjudicators, previous and current performers, committee members and helpers who are involved with Te Hui Ahurei cultural events.

All responses to key informant questions will be kept confidential. Any publication of key informant responses will be edited to avoid identification of the informant. In the event that you may wish to be identified relative to your responses that may be subsequently published, please advise me of your decision at our meeting, that is, if you are agreeable to participating.

If agreeable to participating, please let me know if I may interview you by recording your responses by tape recorder or whether you prefer to have your responses recorded in some other manner, for example, note taking.

I look forward to your response to this invitation of participation as a key informant in this research study. If you have any questions you may contact me at (telephone): 250-960-6721 or (fax) 250-960-5851.

Sincerely,

Tina Ngaroimata Fraser
Co-investigator

APPENDIX D:

LETTER OF INITIAL CONTACT FOR FOCUS GROUPS

DATE

VIA FAX

ADDRESS

SUBJECT: Letter of Invitation

Dear Mr. Chairman and Committee Members,

Please accept this letter as a formal invitation to participate as a key informant in an international study in New Zealand that focuses on the Transformation Through Maori Traditional Performing Arts. This research is being undertaken as part of my doctoral studies within the Educational Studies Program, University of British Columbia (UBC). As a graduate student I am a co-investigator on this research study with the Principal Investigator being, my PhD Supervisor, Dr. Jo-ann Archibald, Educational Foundations, UBC. She may be contacted by telephone at: 604-822-5286 or by mail: Educational Foundations, University of British Columbia, 2044 Lower Mall, Ponderosa “G”, Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2.

The purpose of this research study is to critically examine how Tuhoe knowledge is transmitted through traditional performing arts (Kapa Haka) based on the upcoming “Te Hui Ahurei Ā Tūhoe” in Ruatoki, Aotearoa/New Zealand. The fundamental question propelling this research is what can be learned about liberatory and transformative leadership by undertaking an investigation of how Tuhoe knowledge is enhanced through Kapa Haka (performance).

The specific objectives of this research are:

- 1 to identify how Tuhoe and Maori knowledge is demonstrated and transmitted through performing arts (Kapa Haka);
- 2 to identify the leadership qualities of tutors, writers, composers, adjudicators, and previous and current performers who have access to traditional knowledge;
- 3 to identify leadership and change in contemporary times; and
- 4 to determine how traditional performing arts contributes to the continued transformation of Maori self-determination and self-government.

The implications of this research include: leadership and change (how we enhance leadership through performing arts), the importance of Kapa Haka, Maori cultural nuances of leadership, Tuhoe knowledge transmission is used to educate, politicize, neutralize, and

maintain language, and the social aspect of Tuhoetanga. Finally, what can educators learn, what are the lessons, and what are the teachings from Kapa Haka, its functions and practices that can inform our future?

More specifically this study will be undertaken in Tuhoe communities: Ruatoki, Waiohau and Kawerau in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Key informants will be interviewed from each of these communities. They will be identified on the basis of their experience and involvement with Te Hui Ahurei ā Tuhoe (Kapa Haka) and will include Elders, tutors, composers, writers, adjudicators, previous and current performers, committee members and helpers who are involved with Te Hui Ahurei cultural events.

All responses to key informant questions will be kept confidential. Any publication of key informant responses will be edited to avoid identification of the informant. In the event that you may wish to be identified relative to your responses that may be subsequently published, please advise me of your decision at our meeting, that is, if you are agreeable to participating.

If agreeable to participating, please let me know if I may interview you by recording your responses by tape recorder or whether you prefer to have your responses recorded in some other manner, for example, note taking.

I look forward to your response to this invitation of participation as a key informant in this research study. If you have any questions you may contact me at (telephone): 250-960-6721 or (fax) 250-960-5851.

Sincerely,

Tina Ngaroimata Fraser
Co-investigator

APPENDIX E:
TRANSFORMATION THROUGH MAORI TRADITIONAL
PERFORMING ARTS

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

(for Individuals Interviewees and Focus Groups)

March 26, 2007

1. How long have you been involved with tribal performing arts?
2. What skills do you feel your ancestors have taught you that would enable you to become a teacher in Traditional Performing Arts?
3. Are recognized qualifications important when you become a performing arts teacher?
4. What experiences, good or bad, with Traditional Performing Arts have impacted the way you teach or lead?
5. What methods do you use to synchronize a group of performers in their performance level?
6. What qualities do you as a teacher look for in an individual to warrant them leading a group in performance?
7. How do you as a teacher identify the levels of an individual's performance?
8. What skills do you have and that you learnt through operant conditioning in performing arts?
9. What skills do you have and that you learnt through classical conditioning in performing arts?
10. What aspirations do you have for any group that you work with?
11. Have you come across any barriers in teaching and how did you overcome them?
12. Is there a significant difference in styles between Traditional Performing Arts and Contemporary Performing Arts?
13. What developments has Traditional Performing Arts made within the last 20 years?
14. What knowledge and skills do you think a person should have before teaching a performing arts group?
15. What role does Traditional Performing Arts play in today's society?
16. Is there a need for Traditional Performing Arts?
17. To what extent is 'traditional' practiced in today's Performing Arts arena?
18. Have you noticed any life changing experiences with any of your performers?
19. How do you prepare a group emotionally, physically and spiritually?
20. With everything that a teacher does in Traditional Performing Arts, what skills could be identified as leadership quality?

PhD Interview Questions – Transformation

1. What skills do you feel your ancestors have taught you that would enable you to become a tutor in Traditional Performing Arts?
2. Are recognized qualifications important when you become a tutor?
3. What experiences, good or bad, with Traditional Performing Arts have impacted the way you teach or lead?
4. How do you, as a tutor, identify the levels of an individual's performance?
5. What methods do you use to synchronise a group of performers in their performance level?
6. What qualities do you, as a tutor, look for in an individual to warrant them leading a group in performance?
7. What skills do you have that were learnt through operant conditioning?
8. What skills do you have that were learnt through classical conditioning?
9. What aspirations do you have for any group that you work with?
10. Have you come across any barriers in tutoring and how have you overcome them?
11. Is there a significant difference between Traditional Performing Arts and Contemporary Performing Arts?
12. What developments has Traditional Performing Arts made within the last 20 years?
13. What knowledge and skills do you think a person should have before tutoring a group?
14. What role does Traditional Performing Arts play in today's society?
15. Is there a need for Traditional Performing Arts?
16. To what extent is 'Traditional' practiced in today's Performing Arts arena?
17. How would you encourage someone to take part in a Traditional Performing Arts group?
18. Have you noticed any life changing experiences with any of your performers?
19. How do you prepare a group, emotionally, physically and spiritually?
20. With everything that a tutor does in Traditional Performing Arts, what skills could be identified as leadership quality?

APPENDIX F: CONSENT FORM

TRANSFORMATION THROUGH MAORI TRADITIONAL PERFORMING ARTS

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Dr. Jo-ann Archibald, Educational Studies, University of British Columbia, 2044 Lower Mall, Ponderosa 'G', Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2
Telephone: 604-822-5286

CO-IVESTIGATOR: Tina Ngaroimata Fraser, Ph.D. Student, Centre for Cross Faculty Inquiry in Education, University of British Columbia. Telephone: 250-960-5842

This research is being undertaken as part of my doctoral studies and will result in a doctoral dissertation that is a public document.

PURPOSE: A study with the Maori performing arts group of New Zealand will critically examine the retention and development of oral traditions and knowledge through the delivery and expression of performing arts specifically, the Tuhoe tribe of New Zealand in order to suggest changes in Aboriginal curriculums in Canada. The broad goals of this research are to investigate what the role of language is and how is it transmitted through performing arts, and for teachers and learners to have an understanding of how performing arts can be transformed in education.

The specific objectives of this research are:

- 1 to identify how Maori knowledge is demonstrated and transmitted through performing arts;
- 2 to identify the leadership qualities of participants who have access to traditional knowledge;
- 3 to identify leadership and change in current educational curriculums;
- 4 to determine how traditional performing arts contributes to the continued transformation of Maori self-determination and self-government

The expected implications or applications of this research include raising the awareness of teachers and learners of the roles and possibilities of Maori and Indigenous knowledge in leadership and change, mentoring the importance of knowledge transmission and cultural nuances of leadership, giving voice to otherwise marginalized people, informing community and educators. Finally, what can educators and learners learn, what are the lessons, and what are the teachings form Maori/Indigenous performing arts, its function and practices that can inform the future?

Information for this study will be gathered by reviewing documents, interviewing individuals, and conducting focus groups. Interviewees have been identified on the basis of their knowledge, experience, and involvement with the care and education of young Indigenous

children and will include Elders, parents, frontline practitioners, administrators, and government officials.

STUDY PROCEDURES: Individual interviews and focus groups will be conducted in one visit and are expected to take one to two hours, and two to three hours respectively. Please let me know if I may record your responses by tape recorder or whether you prefer to have your responses recorded in some other manner, for example, note taking. Once transcribed, recordings and/or notes will be returned to you for your verification and editorial comment.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Participant identities will be kept confidential. All documents will be identified by code numbers and kept in a locked filing cabinet. Subjects will not be identified by name in any reports of the completed study. If the data records are kept on a computer hard disk they will be password protected.

If you are participating in a focus group only limited confidentiality may be offered. We encourage all participants to refrain from disclosing the contents of the discussion outside of the focus group; however we cannot control what other participants do with the information discussed.

The only people to have access to the data will be a professional transcriber, co-investigator Tina Ngaroimata Fraser, and Principal Investigator Dr. Jo-ann Archibald. All individuals will be made aware of and abide by the terms and conditions outlined in the Consent Form and upon which participants agree to participate.

If you wish to have your comments attributed to yourself please sign both signature places at the bottom of this form or you may wait and sign your attribution consent upon review of your transcriptions.

RISK: There are limited risks (for example, breach of confidentiality) associated with participating in this research. Confidentiality is discussed in the previous section including measures to ensure it. While we do not anticipate psychological or cultural risks, for those individuals who may experience some discomfort as a result of the interview questions, community resource information will be provided to them.

CONTACT FOR INFORMATION ABOUT THE STUDY: If you have any questions or desire further information with respect to this study you may contact the principal investigator or co-investigator at the aforementioned address and telephone numbers.

CONTACT FOR CONCERNS ABOUT THE RIGHTS OF RESEARCH

SUBJECTS: If you have any concerns about your treatment or rights as a research subject, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598.

CONSENT: Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without jeopardy to your personal well-being, employment or standing within the community.

Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Your signature also indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

Subject Signature

Date

Printed Name of the Subject

Your signature below indicates that you wish to have your comments attributed to yourself.

Subject Signature

Date

Printed Name of the Subject

APPENDIX G:

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARTICIPANTS

1. Chapter 1 looks at Theory and introduces a Theoretical Framework. Do you have any questions or comments regarding this Chapter?

2. Chapter 2 is a review of literature based on what has been written by various scholars and looks at how Indigenous knowledge(s) are positioned and transmitted. Do you have any questions or comments regarding this Chapter?

3. Chapter 3 is based on methods of research and introduces the Ethical Framework and the Māori Paradigm Net. Do you have any questions or comments regarding this Chapter?

4. Chapter 4 is a personal introduction to the researcher and touches on Māori worldviews as she interprets them through what she has been told, seen and experienced growing up Tūhoe. Do you have any questions or comments regarding this Chapter?

5. Chapter 5 is a brief introduction to Māori and begins the introduction to Māori Performing Arts. Do you have any questions or comments regarding this Chapter?

6. Chapter 6 is a brief introduction to Tūhoe and introduces Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe and its origins. Do you have any questions or comments regarding this Chapter?

7. Chapter 7 is the points taken from what was told to the researcher in her interviews. Are there any points from your interview that you feel were either left out or misunderstood?

8. Do you have any comments or questions regarding information from the other Speakers?

9. Chapter 8 is where the findings are presented and introduces the Conceptual Framework. Do you have any questions or comments regarding this Chapter?

10. Do you have any other questions or comments to add?

APPENDIX H

LETTERS OF INVITATION

1. School of Māori Studies
Massey University
2. Secretary
Tūhoe Festival Committee
3. Tutor
Te Roopu Kapa Haka ō Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu



Massey University

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

2 March 2007



Tina Ngāroimata Fraser
Lecturer
First Nations Studies
Education and Aboriginal Health
University of Northern British Columbia
Canada

**A letter of invitation to Tina Ngāroimata Fraser
Ph.D student University of British Columbia to attend Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe
and to support Ngāroimata Ethics Application**

Subject: Transformation through Māori Traditional Performing Arts

It is with much gratification and pleasure to support and invite Ngāroimata Fraser Ph.D student University of British Columbia to Aotearoa New Zealand April 2007 to attend Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe to be hosted in one of the five distinctive valleys of Tūhoe in Rūātoki. The visit by Ngāroimata Fraser will enable her to undertake a research project that will effectively look at Te Ahurei a Tūhoe Tūhoe with respect to bench marking tribal tūrangawaewae (the place of ones birth and origins) which is an important consideration that has the potential to make substantial contributions to six heritage development outcomes below that will contribute to Ngāroimata's Ph.D thesis;

- the retention and development of old and new Tūhoe oral traditions and knowledge through the delivery and expression of performing arts;
- to provide an iwi (tribal), hapū (sub-tribal) and whānau (family) attention and focus for a distinctive Tūhoe dialectical *reo Māori* and indigenous language promotion, retention and maintenance;
- the transmission of inter-generational oral tribal tradition based on customary evidence and practices, to support tribal resource development;
- forming integrated alliances between Tūhoe rural and urban dwelling Tūhoe disciplines, sectors, and learning institutions (marae);
- the sharing of multiple heritage tribal research methodologies;
- integrating progressive thoughts and behaviour, communication styles and identity formation;

A number of broader benefits can be gained with Ngāroimata Fraser's visit to Te Ahurei a Tūhoe in Rūātoki Aotearoa:

- to support and provide an academic focus for Ngāroimata's Fraser's doctoral studies at the university of British Colombia from a Tūhoe tribal perspective linked strongly to measuring Tūhoe tribal excellence, relevance and accessibility of oral traditions in performing arts;
- to establish international indigenous links in academic, social, cultural and economic developments of mutual benefit to First Nations People, Tūhoe tribe and Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand;
- to establish and identify other potential research opportunities between Tūhoe, University of British Colombia and Massey University School of Māori Studies;

Ngāroimata Fraser is a visiting indigenous scholar belonging to her people of Tūhoe. She will be under my guidance and it will be a pleasure to host her as a guest of Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, and her iwi Tūhoe.

I look forward to having Ngāroimata Fraser visit Aotearoa New Zealand in April 2007 and beyond.

SIGNATURE CONTAINED IN THE ORIGINAL

Aotearoa New Zealand



LETTER OF ENDORSEMENT

19 March 2007

Tēnā anō koutou katoa

I am pleased to provide Tina Ngaroimata Fraser with a written endorsement to include as part of her research for her PhD degree re: Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe (Tūhoe Cultural Festival) that will be held in Rūātoki 6 – 8 April 2007.

This iwi festival is a time for all Tūhoe to participate and celebrate being Tūhoe.

Tūhoetanga is the language, identity and culture that makes an iwi different from another.

It is a time to celebrate our ‘uniqueness’ with NZ and the world.

Between 15,000-20,000 are expected to attend the 3 day festival.

It is also a time for whānau (family members) to catch up with one another and for kaumātua (Elders) to reminisce about past Ahurei.

The committee are pleased that Tina, one of their own, will capture the kōrero, the stories associated with Te Ahurei ā Tūhoe.

This study will help to inform future Ahurei for Tūhoe.

Address Contained in Original



Ko Hikurangi te maunga
Ko Rangitaiki te awa
Ko Tama-ki-Hikurangi te whare tipuna
Ko Te Hina te tangata
Ko Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu nga hapu
Ko Tuhoe te iwi

Te Roopu Kapa Haka o Ngati Haka - Patuheuheu

05 January 2007



Address contained in the original

ATTN: Tina Ngaroimata Fraser

Nei ra te tangi a te haukainga, nei ra te reo a nga manu a Tāne, nei ra te karanga a tō iwi, e karangahia koe kia hoki mai ki te haukainga nei. Hoki mai ra kia pūrea koe e nga hau a Tāwhirimātea, hoki mai ra kia ūhia koe e Hinepūkohurangi, ko te hā tēnei o to iwi e tatari ake nei mōu.....hoki mai ra.

Here is the cry of your homeland, here is the voice of the forest birds, here is the call of your people that beckons you to return home. Return; that you may be caressed by the winds of Tāwhirimātea, return; that you may be clothed by the mist maiden, for this is the breath of your people that awaits your arrival.....return home.

Te Roopu Kapa Haka o Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu is a cultural group that competes at the bi-annual Tūhoe festival, representing the sub tribes Ngāti Haka and Patuheuheu which are found in the Waiohau Valley of the Tūhoe region.

On a personal level, I have had 20 years experience tutoring, composing and performing within the medium of Traditional Māori Performing Arts, both here and overseas. I have been the sole tutor for Te Roopu Kapa Haka o Ngāti Haka – Patuheuheu, for the past 7 years alone.

I understand the research that you are undertaking and the importance of it being recorded. This can only be seen as an excellent future resource for not only our people, but also Indigenous people alike.

Therefore, it is without hesitation, that I extend this invitation to you, on behalf of our group, to join us in rehearsals leading up to ‘The Unique Gathering of Tūhoe Festival’, commonly known as ‘Te Hui Ahurei o Tūhoe’, as well as at the festival itself.

I invite you to interview, research and be a part of our group as we make this journey to train our tribal members, young and old, in Traditional Māori Performing Arts that are specific to the Tūhoe nation.

Nāku noa



Contact information contained in original

APPENDIX I

MĀORI PERFORMING ARTS IN THE CURRICULUM

1. Māori Performance
2. Tāonga Puoro
3. New Māori Music
4. New Māori Dance
5. Mau Rākau
6. Māori Performing Arts Creation
7. Māori Performing Arts Teaching

MĀORI PERFORMING ARTS IN THE CURRICULUM

MĀORI PERFORMANCE

Level 1

- Demonstrate performance components of Māori Performing Arts
- Demonstrate knowledge of people associated with Māori Performing Arts
- Demonstrate knowledge of the origins of Māori Performing Arts
- Demonstrate knowledge of a Māori Performing Arts costume ensemble

Level 1 contains 13 credits.

Level 2

- Demonstrate knowledge and skills of waiata
- Demonstrate knowledge and skills of waiata-ā-ringa
- Demonstrate knowledge and skills of poi
- Demonstrate knowledge and skills of haka
- Demonstrate knowledge and skills of whakaraka

Level 2 contains 27 credits

Level 3

- Perform whakaraka
- Perform a Māori Performing Arts bracket
- Demonstrate knowledge of the historical development of Māori Performing Arts

Level 3 contains 22 credits

Level 4

- Perform waiata
- Perform waiata-ā-ringa
- Perform poi
- Perform haka
- Perform haka wahine

Level 4 contains 77 credits

A total of 80 credits must be accumulated in order to receive the National Certificate in Māori Performing Arts.

In order to receive the National Diploma in Māori Performing Arts, students must attain the following:

TAONGA PUORO (Māori instruments)

- Demonstrate knowledge and skills of taonga puoro
- Make taonga puoro

NEW MĀORI MUSIC

- Describe the history of New Māori Music performances and composition styles
- Develop and stage a live performance of a New Māori Music composition
- Create, explain and perform an original New Māori Music composition
- Produce an audio-visual recording of a New Māori Music composition
- Develop and stage a live performance comprising a variety of New Māori Music compositions
- Explain New Māori Music composition and analyze composition styles over time

NEW MĀORI DANCE

- Describe New Māori Dance
- Demonstrate New Māori Dance
- Perform New Māori Dance
- Create and produce New Māori Dance

MAU RĀKAU (Māori stick games and weaponry)

- Demonstrate knowledge and skills of tī rākau
- Demonstrate knowledge and skills of tūwaewae
- Demonstrate knowledge of toroparawae and perform toroparawae
- Demonstrate knowledge of koikoi and perform koikoi
- Demonstrate knowledge of taiaha and perform taiaha
- Perform tikawe

- Demonstrate knowledge of te taki and perform te taki

MĀORI PERFORMING ARTS CREATION

- Create waiata
- Create waiata-ā-ringa
- Create poi
- Create haka
- Create whakaraka

MĀORI PERFORMING ARTS TEACHING

- Teach waiata
- Teach waiata-ā-ringa
- Teach poi
- Teach haka
- Teach whakaraka
- Research and compile resource material for the teaching of Māori Performing Arts

A total of 125 credits must be attained in order to receive the Diploma of Māori Performing Arts.

APPENDIX J

OTHER RELEVANT MATERIAL

1. Email
Lawyer, NZ
A primer on the allegations of terrorism
2. Letters
Letter to NZ Minister of Police
Raids undertaken in Tūhoe
3. Minister of Police
New Zealand
Letter of response
4. New Zealand Newspaper Clippings

Weekend Herald – October 20, 2007
The Dominion Post – October 16, 2007
The Dominion Post – October 17, 2007
5. Canadian Newspaper Clippings
Prince George Citizen – December 18, 2007

BACK IN THE MISTS OF FEAR.

**A PRIMER ON THE ALLEGATIONS OF TERRORISM MADE
DURING THE WEEK 15-19 OCTOBER, 2007.**

“I weep for what has just happened at Maungapōhatu in Tuhoe. The Police raid seems to be about punishing Kenana for questioning the Crown and will only take us back in the mists of fear and doubt...I wonder if we will ever stop worrying when it might happen again”.

ABSTRACT:

The events that have unfolded since the recent “anti-terrorist” Operation Eight in Tuhoe and elsewhere have left many whānau and communities confused, hurt and traumatised.

Politicians have urged people to withhold comment or criticism until the judicial process has been played out but the flaws in the process to date plus the very real hurt that has been caused, particularly in the Māori community, calls for some clarification.

Indeed the fact that the Crown and other agencies such as the Police Association have continually made self-serving and often inaccurate comment has increased the confusion and made the need for clarity even more pressing.

This Primer therefore attempts to address the concerns of many people, Māori and Pākehā, and to clarify some of the major issues involved. It accepts the need to be vigilant against the prospect of genuine harm to the community but questions the veracity and motives for labelling Māori and other activists with the fear-laden term “terrorist”.

THE QUESTIONS:

Is there a law about terrorism in New Zealand?

Yes.

After the attacks of 9/11 the government followed United Nations resolutions and passed the Terrorism Suppression Act, 2002.

Amendments which expand some of the definitions of terrorist organisations are due in Parliament this month.

Are “terrorists” defined in the Terrorism Suppression Act?

Yes.

Under Section 22 of the Act the Prime Minister may name or designate certain individuals or organisations as a terrorist entity.

What does a person or group have to do to be on the list?

The Act defines terrorist activity as terrorising a population, bombing, and other acts of violence.

Are there any Māori or other people in New Zealand on that list at the moment?

No.

What kind of people are on the list?

The list mainly consists of groups such as Al Qaeda and similar organisations or people like Sulaiman Jassem Sulaiman Abo Ghaith, a spokesperson for Al Qaeda.

How did Operation Eight become an “anti-terrorist action” then?

The Crown chose to call it an anti-terrorist operation in initial press releases and politicians and most sections of the media then uncritically did the same.

Did the Police actually use any of the procedures under the terrorism legislation?

No.

Under the legislation Police must get approval from the Attorney General to lay any terrorism charges and a logical three step process would appear to have been in order –

1. Gather the appropriate “terrorist” evidence to warrant charges being laid.
2. Present that evidence to the Attorney General.
3. Charge people accordingly.

What happened instead?

Almost the opposite.

Most search warrants were granted under the Summary Offences Act and most arrests were made under the Firearms Act.

People are now being held in custody while cases are prepared for the Attorney General.

Such an approach raises serious legal and ethical issues including whether detention is being used merely so that the authorities can “fish” for proof of terrorism. It also smacks of holding for an undisclosed or dishonest cause which has raised some comparisons with Guantanamo Bay.

Are breaches of the Firearms Act normally labelled as “terrorist” actions?

No.

People are charged nearly every day with breaches of the Firearms Act but for the first time ever the Crown chose to label these particular arrests with the term “terrorist”.

Why did the Authorities label them as terrorist?

The Police maintain that the Operation has uncovered a series of camps in Tuhoe over the last eighteen months which amount to “credible intelligence” of terrorist activity.

The Police also announced that they needed to enter the Ruatoki Valley fully armed because intelligence on potential terrorists had warned of possible resistance, although the claim does

appear to contradict another statement that they decided to launch the raid on Monday morning after participants at a weekend camp had left for home.

Some media have been critical of the process and the limited evidence disclosed to date but others have betrayed the historic bias of their reporting on Māori issues. Indeed their willingness to accept the term “Māori terrorist” is similar to the ease with which they label Māori as the majority of child abusers when the evidence actually proves otherwise.

The willingness of many politicians to also characterise the raids as “anti-terrorist” is a regrettable act of fear-mongering and many Māori sympathise with the comedian Mike King’s comment that low poll ratings prompted the need to “bash some more Māori”.

What are some of the concerns raised by the operation?

The arrests raise fundamental human rights issues because they seem to equate activism with terrorism and thus have the potential to inhibit a basic democratic right.

The briefing given by the Security Intelligence Service to the Leader of the Opposition also rekindles an earlier concern that the expanded definition of “threat to national security” in the SIS Amendment Act could become a mandate to limit political dissent.

The fact that most of those arrested are Māori and the nature of the incursion into Tuhoe raises particular concerns.

It was only in Tuhoe that the Police chose to blockade and lockdown an entire community. Although only four arrests were made, Ruatoki was in fact subjected to a quasi-military dawn raid that did not occur anywhere else.

As the mother of one young Tuhoe family stated, her inability to leave the area and the appearance of the black-garbed officers “was like being terrorised when we were innocent”.

The result has been a particular trauma and suspicion which now has the very real potential to damage broader race relations.

The blurring in official accounts of what transpired is also of concern because it can be seen as a minimising of the hurt done to innocent parties. For example the denial by officials that armed officers boarded a vehicle carrying Tuhoe children dismisses the evidence of the whānau and driver involved and thus belittles the extent of the trauma.

The experience and perception of injustice is consequently increased among the people concerned and adds to the historical burden of grievance.

Are there historical parallels?

Yes.

Māori see symmetries between the Terrorism Suppression Act and the 1863 Suppression of Rebellion Act. The targeting of mainly Māori as “terrorists” in fact mirrors the earlier legislative labelling of those Īwi who resisted the land confiscations as “rebels”.

Tuhoe see particular parallels with the fatal Police raid on Maungapohatu in 1916. The unthinking or deliberately provocative setting up of the latest Police roadblock on the confiscation line simply added to the grievance and the sense of colonising déjà vu.

Indeed there is a sad resonance in the submission made in the Urewera claim before the Waitangi Tribunal that even though Tuhoe never signed the Treaty of Waitangi they have always known that any questioning of the Crown would be met with a “harsh and prejudicial whim...that has characterised them as treasonous enemies”.

Where to now?

The court process will unfold and claims may also be laid with such bodies as the Human Rights Commission and the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

The possible human rights abuses may also be linked to the Crown’s failure to support the Declaration on Indigenous Rights and to encourage international opposition to the government’s lobbying for a seat on the UN Human Rights Council.

Conclusion –

Regardless of whether any substantive evidence of terrorism is uncovered the operation has created division and unnecessary upset for hundreds of ordinary people.

As ██████████ has noted, many commentators also worry whether the operation is merely a softening up exercise for even more hard-line security measures and greater infringement of human rights. That is untenable in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, and unacceptable in terms of good relationships between Māori and others.

Vigilance and genuine security should never be at the expense of human rights, and concerns about any Māori activity should never be used to justify the overt use of colonising power.

██████████ once said that Māori have come too far not to go further, and there is no justice in forcing our people back into the old mists of fear and doubt.

Oct. 19, 2007

To Whom It May Concern;

I am writing this letter in total disbelief of the recent heavy handed police/state raids on a small group of New Zealand citizens. I am sure this misguided effort cost the tax-payer millions of dollars. The very idea of using American style policies like the Terrorism Suppression Act to intervene in a domestic dispute involving a group of Indigenous people concerned for the last 200 years of colonization and the negative impacts it had on their culture, language, and having their traditional lands unfairly confiscated, is another insult added onto other insults since First Contact. Although I am sure the likes of Neo-republican president George Bush, would have been impressed by the way you shocked and awed those innocent children and community members.

I am sure the Maori people would have liked to have had such terrorist legislation in place for when the Europeans first set foot on Aotearoa. Now the First Nations people are being referred to as terrorists. After hearing that New Zealand recently voted against the UN Indigenous Human Rights declaration (along with Canada and the United States) I'm not surprised at these recent events. Could it be that the Maori people are internationally inspiring other Indigenous people in their struggles for self-determination and self-government that the NZ government was persuaded by neo-conservative and neo-liberal right-wingers to invoke the TSA to bring Maori self-determination efforts to a halt? It just so happened that my Tuhoe wife of 30 years and some Canadian friends were attending a world Indigenous conference in Rotorua when this outrage took place. She was attempting to visit her community of Ruatoki when she and her friends were stopped by heavily armed police and asked to step out of their vehicle while it was searched. From personal accounts and reading newspaper articles it was obvious that this was an unprovoked and not a thought out plan by police and government officials. Another agenda was at play.

Perhaps it was the terrorist organization name in Wellington that tipped off the secret police: Save Happy Valley Coalition. A well known Peace Activist home, containing four peace activists, who also had the slogan hanging from their window: Save Burma. Or was it because the police wanted to prevent any Maori militants from escaping because after all, this peace place also advertised: Free bicycle maintenance, which could equate to free bikes. Also mentioned as a reason for these raids were the words activists interested in self-determination events.

Indigenous people the world over have a right to self-determination against imperialist policies that have left them reeling from the last 500 years of colonization that stripped them of their lands, culture, and languages. The American invasion of the Middle-East And forcing foreign polices of world dominancy upon other countries has caused a world state of paranoia that is currently being played out in New Zealand. The increasing forces of the new "global royalty" of globalization threaten Indigenous efforts of self-determination and self-government. In fact, current globalization efforts of giving corporations more rights then the constitutions of people is considered to be a post-modern form of colonization, which means, colonization has never left. The Terrorist Suppression Act is another example of a Euro-centric legislation to support the ruling elites, and its strategies

like the TSA that causes a backlash from citizens concerned for their rights and the rights of communities, and families.

As a concerned citizen/ally who has written letters around the world on behalf of prisoners of conscience and peace, I strongly urge the New Zealand government to reconsider the recent actions of the police under the TSA, and to only use such an act for the intentions it was meant for. A healthy democracy is made evident when its people are allowed to use any peaceful means of protest necessary at their disposal. Also bear in mind that Indigenous rights are contentious issues at best, and can become volatile, but no way should be considered, or in this case, treated as terrorist threats.

I remain yours for social justice.

An ally



address contained in original letter



Hon Annette King, M.P.

Minister of State Services

Minister of Police

Minister of Transport

Minister for Food Safety

MP for Rongotai including the Chatham Islands

7502855



Dear Mr Fraser

Thank you for your correspondence of 19 October 2007 about the police operation that resulted in around 17 arrests for alleged firearms and other offences. I appreciate your interest in, and considered comments on, this matter.


I must emphasise that the Government has had no involvement whatsoever in this operation. It is simply not possible in New Zealand for a Minister of the Crown or a politician to tell the Police to arrest a person or to direct the Police in any way in their conduct of a police operation.

This separation between Police and politicians in operational police matters is an important convention that has applied in New Zealand for a very long time. It exists to ensure that law enforcement and investigation by the Police remain free of any political influence or interference. The convention has been consistently upheld by the courts and was the subject of an authoritative opinion by the then Solicitor-General in 1993 (a copy of *The Constitutional Relationship between the Commissioner of Police and the Minister of Police* is available at www.crownlaw.govt.nz/publications/opinions). It is a principle that this Government is committed to upholding and we expect other political parties to do likewise.

If any member of the New Zealand public is dissatisfied with any action of the Police, the proper and appropriate body to go to is the Police Complaints Authority, the civilian oversight body created to deal with complaints of misconduct or neglect of duty by the Police.

I do appreciate that the actions taken by police have surprised many people. I think this reaction demonstrates how unusual it is for New Zealand Police to undertake an operation of this nature and scale. As I have publicly stated, I urge people to wait to see and consider the evidence Police provide before deciding whether such action is warranted. While I have noted your personal views, I cannot comment further on these matters while they are under investigation and before the courts.

Yours sincerely



Hon Annette King
MINISTER OF POLICE

GUERRILLAS *in the mist*

The Tuhoe people believe they were particular targets of this week's police raids. Catherine Masters visited Tuhoe country and heard why they think this way

IN RUATOKI this week a hui was held at a marae with a plaque out front which perhaps sums up 150 years of Tuhoe relations with white authority.

There's nothing bad written on the plaque. In fact, it's the opposite, and that may be a surprise given the level of anger in this tight-knit community.

The plaque commemorates one of the last great paramount chiefs, 'akarau Tamarau, who died in 1958 aged 96. It reads: "Tamarau was a protector and guide to his Maori people and a loyal supporter of the British flag."

The memorial at little Otenuku Marae, the last of the many marae which dot Ruatoki Valley Rd was erected by the Commonwealth Covenant Church "in high personal esteem and as a token of arohanui between the Maori and Pakeha peoples".

But in one fell swoop on Monday the police — say Tuhoe people — badly wounded those relationships.

At the hui, Maori police liaison officers, who locals say were left out of the loop about the massive police operation, were having to explain why armed police descended on this tiny town of only a few hundred people in such force. Locals believe they were treating an entire community as criminals in their hunt for a few.

People say they saw a sniper leaning out of a circling helicopter as heavily armed police blocked off the only two roads in, scaring children and making young and old stand in front of their vehicles holding a number in front of them so criminal-style mugshots could be taken.

At the marae, media gathered for the hui and it appeared some Maori press were allowed on to the grounds but not Pakeha.

When people spilled out of the marae after emotional talks, media invaded the grounds. Most Tuhoe ignored the protocol gaffe but one woman was yelling "you Pakeha ones, get out of the gate!"



It's history repeating. That probably goes over the top of the head of the police commissioner.

TAMATI KRUGER
TUHOE HISTORIAN AND LECTURER

Waitangi Tribunal members who came to town to hear their treaty claims, among them a constitutional claim to govern themselves according to their own customs.

Tuhoe have always been steadfast: they say they never signed the Treaty of Waitangi and they never gave up their sovereignty.

THE day after the hui Tamati Kruger's fish and chips are getting cold as he talks about the past and how the police action this week has affected the people, once again.

Kruger is a kaumatua, historian and teacher, and is highly respected. He has spent the day at a district health board meeting on which he is a Crown appointee. He now sits in a bright orange T-shirt at the Te Kohati A Tuhoe office, tired from the past days' events, yet talking eloquently about the long and troubled history between Tuhoe and the Crown.

from tribes whose ancestors were Crown sympathisers and helped lead the soldiers into Tuhoe land.

The symbolism is important. Children are raised with strong oral traditions about the injustices of the past and on Monday Tuhoe believe they saw it for themselves in 2007.

For some reason, there is an automatic heavy-handedness used by the Crown when it deals with Tuhoe, says Kruger.

He thinks this is because Tuhoe have always been quarrelsome, whether about national or local politics or the fact people refuse to register their dogs on their own land.

"I guess if you draw those things together it paints a picture of contempt and disrespect for the Crown and its authority; we question it all the time, we mock it and we jeer at it because we don't believe that they have authority in our rohe [iwi territory]."

There will be long-term impacts from this latest conflict, he says.

go hunting. The grass is green and lush and across the river where the valley flattens out a road, seemingly going nowhere, leads to tiny enclaves of homes, marae and schools and well-tended fields of asparagus.

Towering around Ruatoki are the Ureweras, covered in mist, the mystical mountain range full of history and importance to Tuhoe.

And it is the Ureweras that are said to link all the people arrested around the country this week with some kind of connection to a military or possibly terrorist organisation.

From Tuhoe, police have arrested one of their most often arrested activists, Tame Iti, who is still in custody.

There are key questions people out here do not understand. One is why their entire community was made to feel like criminals whereas other raids — in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch — were targeted at individual houses.

The police knew who they were after in Ruatoki so why didn't they just target individuals? Many said all they needed to do if they wanted Iti was to ask him to call into the police station. Iti's personality is such that he would have. Instead, he and others were raided in the early hours while the community was asleep.

People can't comment about the charges Iti faces but they point out it's no secret in these parts, where everyone has rifles for hunting, that he has a semi-automatic weapon. He brings it out at tangis in front of hundreds of people, including an out-of-town police officer at the last one.

As to molotov cocktails, most people say they have no idea about that. But there is no petrol station in either Ruatoki or Taneatua and people store petrol in all kinds of containers.

Despite the sense of unease, life in the two communities seems to have returned to normal after the raids, except for the presence of numerous police cars.

As the Taneatua Bowling Club is

History repeats for Tuhoë

BY PATRICK GOWER
IN THE UREWERAS

In the remote Waimana Valley, the descendants of Maori prophet Rua Kenana need no reminder of the division a police raid can have on the Tuhoë people.

It is 91 years since the unarmed Rua was arrested at Maungapohatu by an armed force of 70 constables who killed two Maori in a subsequent gunfight, the worst clash between police and a Maori community that century.

The Herald visited Rua's grave this week and found his relatives and present-day followers angry at the parallels between his treatment and that received by their tribespeople on Monday in the neighbouring Ruatoki valley.

Their collective message: 91 years is not enough time to forget, let alone be scarred again.

Rua's great-granddaughter Tangi Munn said the Government needed to think about whether the latest raids had solved problems or caused them.

The similarities with the fatal raid on Rua were "overwhelming".

"Seventy police went in to get my koro back then, and 70 police went in to Ruatoki," she said. "It solved nothing then, and from what I am hearing from our people, it will solve nothing now."

Rua believed himself to be the successor to warrior and religious leader Te Kooti and gained a popular following after setting himself up as a New Testament-style prophet at the turn of the century.

He wanted the return of Maori land to Maori and to remove the Tuhoë people from Pakeha influence. He clashed with the prime minister of the time and became a political embarrassment — leading to a crackdown on him that included trumped-up charges.

This culminated in the 1916 shootings at Maungapohatu, which began after a shot was fired as he was arrested — initially blamed on

Munn said though the campaign against Rua had targeted him directly, "these police raids are hitting and hurting all of Tuhoë, and all Maori".

Similar feeling were expressed throughout the 20km valley which has a blockade at the bottom to stop American forestry company Rayonier coming in.

A man drew a long screwdriver in a threatening manner when the *Weekend Herald* approached.

Signs declare you are entering the "Tuhoë Nation" and visitors are allowed only as a "courtesy".

The council is refused access here in relation to the dispute and many residents refuse to pay rates let alone register their dogs or get firearms licenses.

The upper reaches of the valley has a 10-student Maori language school, four marae and 40 homes.

There is little to mark Rua's grave, just a concrete tomb behind his final home at Matahi.

Munn works as a Maori spiritual healer and has set up the Te Wairua Ote Ora Trust in Waimana. She is a descendant of Rua by his first wife Pinepine, with whom he had 17 children. He had 10 wives in total.

Munn said Rua had predicted the complexities of modern life Maori would come to face, and advised his followers not lose touch with their Maoritanga. She believed Rua would be disconcerted by the way many Maori lived their lives today away from their land, family and traditions.

He had always believed that Maori and Pakeha could live harmoniously side-by-side, but that the colonists should not act as if Maori were there to be "tamed".

Munn said Rua would be worried about the events of this week, but would have a simple message for his people. "He would be saying: 'no matter how things are, love one another and love your enemies. Find strength in yourselves.'"

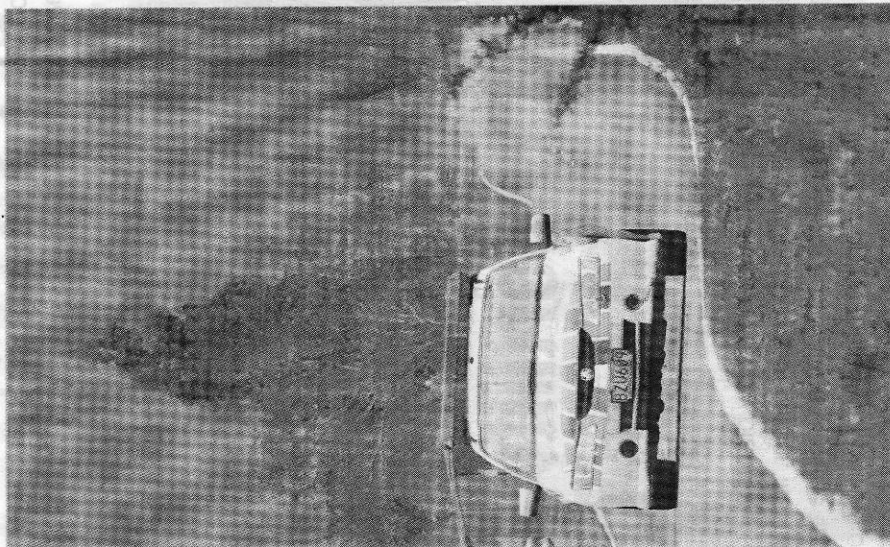


EERILY SIMILAR: Maori prophet Rua Kenana
PICTURE / ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

Maori, although historical argument now says it was the police themselves.

"The police were found wrong then, but they never admitted it," Munn said. "What scares me is that they were different times. We are in the 21st century now and as a country we should be beyond all this."

Munn did not believe that the "hocuspocus up in the bush" police were describing was true. Camps and bushcraft were Tuhoë tradition, and New Zealanders should not be concerned. If some "silly buggers" had taken it too far, it was unfair an entire community had to be targeted for the actions of a few.



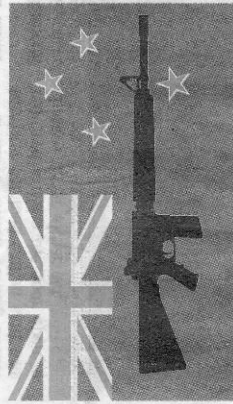
BUSINESS AS USUAL: Ruatoki has returned to normal after the raids except for

driving to work in Whakatane on Monday and was ordered out of her car. She thinks she was the third to leave town that morning because she was made to stand in front of her car holding a white card with the number three on it.

She organised the march yesterday however children had been frightened

The Dominion Post October 17, 2007

RA-style arplan



TERROR RAIDS

Documents claim
Tame Iti prepared
to fight for an
independent
Tuhoeh nation



Message: Sarah Sparkle, a supporter of Tame Iti, makes her feelings known. Picture: WAIKATO TIMES



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Prince George Citizen - December 18, 2007

OPENING OLD WOUNDS

Police raid on Maori village shocks New Zealand

by RAY LILLEY
Associated Press

RUATOKI, New Zealand — Armed police stormed into this quiet village at dawn, threw up roadblocks, shot out truck tires and forced families out of their homes at gunpoint.

The rare show of force, with its dark subtext of terrorism and assassination plans, stunned this placid country where beat cops don't even carry guns, and has since sparked charges of racism and inflamed historical resentments.

The October raid was part of a nationwide sweep in which 16 people were arrested and authorities said they shut down military-style camps on Maori ancestral lands where both Maori militants and environmental activists trained.

But a bid to charge 12 of the 16 with terrorist activities unravelled on technical grounds, triggering complaints of police heavy-handedness. While the facts remain unclear, the way police handled the case has strained relations with the 540,000-strong Maori community, which makes up 15 per cent of the country's population.

What many found most appalling was the tactics used to arrest three of the suspects in Ruatoki and the nearby town of Whakatane, both are home to the uncompromising Tuhoes — the only Maori tribe that still rejects the government's sovereignty, 167 years after the British colonized the islands. For some, the raids stirred memories of repression of Maori more than a century ago.

"They came in here like in a B-grade film," said Tame Iti, a well-known Tuhoes activist arrested in the Ruatoki raid. "It was an attack on the community. It was an attack on me as a freedom fighter, and as a sovereign person of this country."

Ruatoki — small houses, some just sheds — lies in flat fields by a rural highway on the northern of New Zealand's two main islands.



AP photos

Tuhoes activist Tame Iti, who was arrested in an October police raid, poses for a portrait in Whakatane, New Zealand. The October police raid on Ruatoki was part of a nationwide sweep in which 16 people were arrested amid allegations of assassination and bombing plots. Authorities said they shut down military-style camps in Maori ancestral lands, where both Maori and environmental activists trained.

In a dozen towns and cities and abroad in the United States, England and Australia, itself home to 250,000 Maori.

The police actions against the Tuhoes "set back relations between Maori and the government 100 years," said Pita Sharples, co-leader of the Maori Party and a member of Parliament.

Authorities said that during 18 months of covert monitoring, they had heard armed activists at the camps — in the forested hills of Te Urewera, of the Tuhoes ancestral lands — talking of terrorism.



A welcome sign to the Tuhoes Nation, Waimana, New Zealand.

it was an Australian flag and that he had fired into the ground.

The Tuhoes said four weapons were seized in the raids, but Det. Insp. Bruce Good told The Associated Press there were 20, including AK-47 assault rifles, shotguns, rifles and pistols, plus silencers, scopes, ammunition and firearms parts.

The government planned to charge 12 suspects under the Terrorism Suppression Act, enacted following the 9/11 attacks. But Solicitor General David Collins, the country's top justice official, ruled the law was incoherent and too complex to apply in this case.

The arrested, now free on bail, face lesser charges of illegal possession and use of firearms.

The Maori are descendants of Polynesian who migrated to New Zealand about 1,000 years ago.

Those the most isolated and poorest

The treaty guaranteed the Maori could keep their lands, forests, fisheries and culture — commitments settlers flooded in.

In 1867, colonial troops invaded Tuhoes territory and confiscated much of its land. Twenty years of guerrilla fighting ensued.

The Tuhoes resistance has won respect from other Maori, who remain proud of their fierce warrior heritage. Other Maori have been "colonized" European culture, the Tuhoes say.

Prime Minister Helen Clark said police and the government will need start building bridges over the divide. They face an uphill battle, particularly with the Tuhoes.

Sharples, the Maori Party co-leader said invoking the Terrorism Suppression Act has branded all Maori as possible terrorists with international link