Te Waihotia o Whakaotirangi: What Whakaotirangi Left Behind

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(Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Hikairo, Ngāti Whāwhākia)

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Abstract

Wāhine Māori have always been significant within te ao Māori. They held mana and rangatiratanga, the authority to act for themselves. Many wāhine Māori were instrumental to the wellbeing of their communities, played considerable roles in the building the identity of their whānau, hapū and iwi and were leaders in their own right. However the mana and significance of wāhine Māori was severely impacted and detrimentally transformed through the introduction of colonial patriachial systems.

This thesis is located in Kāwhia and tracks the Māori perspective and histories of significant wāhine tūpuna by exploring the pūrakau within cosmology, ancestral landscapes and the roles of grandmothers. I then review these stories to understand how wāhine tūpuna actions influence the lives of wāhine Māori of Kāwhia today and the actions they take as kaitaiki of the area. These understandings are framed from interviews held with three wāhine Māori, who whakapapa to Kāwhia and are active kaitiaki within the area. I also draw upon Mātauranga Māori to illustrate the strength and resilience of wāhine Māori who continue to practice Māori ways of being and doing.

He mihimihi

Ka huri aku mihi ki ngā tūpuna wāhine, arā, ngā ki ngā Atua Māori me ngā kōrero tuku iho, i waiho hei pupuru mā tātou. Kei te wāhi ngaro koutou, heoi anō, e tika ana kia mihia koutou i runga i ngā tini āhuatanga i homai ki te ao mārama e noho nei mātou.

Ka mihi tae noa hoki ki taku tupuna ake ki a Nana Ani e karangatia nei ko Big Nana. Nāna au i hari haere ki ngā hui ki roto o Waikato whakawhiti atu ki te Hau-ā-uru ki reira rongo ai te wairua o te Kīngitanga i te wā e ora ana ngā kaumātua o taua taima. He koanga ngākau tēnei i tae atu au nō te mea koirā te whakatōngia o tēnei mea te hiahia ki te whai i ngā mātauranga o rātou mā.

Ko te mihi tuatoru ki a Whaea Ngapare Hopa (Tākuta), nāna i tapa taku tuhinga nei. Nāna ka hihiko taku ngākau ki te rapu i te mea ngaro, arā, ngā kōrero tūpuna nei – e kore ō kōrero āwhina e warewaretia.

Ka nui taku mihi aroha ki ngā whaea o Ngāti Mahuta o Te Tai Hau-a-uru nui tonu! E kore e mutu taku mihi ki a koutou i te mea i hora haerehia e koutou ā koutou pakiwaitara purākau e pā ana ki ngā taonga o te moana o Kāwhia, whakawhiti ki ētehi atu wāhi, ka wai taima tātou ki te kōrerorero tū te ao tū te wānanga. Ngā nohotanga i nōhia e tātou mātakitaki ai i ngā whenua me ngā tai māia o te moana. Kua tae ki te wā e puta ai tēnei tuhinga ki te ao mārama – ka nui te aroha ki ā tātou mahi rangahau.

Nā Marama Muru-Lanning au i tohutohu i ārahi kia ū ai te tuhinga nei ki tā Te Whare Wānanga i pai ai – me tuku mihi, ka tika! I konā koe i te tīmatanga o taku hīkoi rangahau, ā, i rangahaua e tātou ngā kōrero mō ngā moana o te motu e mārama pai ai te otinga o tēnei mea te tiaki taonga.

Kei aku whānau kei aku hoa, ki te kore koutou, kua pēwhea rā au? Ka aro atu au ki tā koutou i manawaroa ai, i manawaroa ai i roto i ngā piki me ngā heke, ngā hāora e whia e āta tari ana au – ka wahakarērea ētehi atu o aku mahi, ā, nā koutou i kawe ake kia wātea ai au. Me kī, kua tutki, kua oti – tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou.

Ko Tainui te waka

Ko Kawhia te moana

Ko Waikato te awa

Ko nga kārangatanga ko Ngāti Hikairo, ko Ngāti Mahuta,

ko Ngāti Maniapoto, ko Ngāti Whawhakia hoki

Ko Charmaine Tukiri ahau

Contents

Introductions

The seeds of my kaupapa were sown while at a wānanga in Kāwhia. The wānanga involved a number of people from the the different marae in Kāwhia all of whom are kaitiaki. The kōrero turned towards the issues of managed retreat of marae due to the coastal erosion in the area. Maketū marae sits right next to the harbour coastline which is eroding at a rapid rate. During the managed retreat discussion one of the kaumātua stated “If Tainui is trouble then Tainui is in trouble”. The kaumātua was referring to the Tainui waka buried on the coastline in Kāwhia. This statement resounded in my mind.

The following day at Mokai Kainga, a marae situated on the hills between Kāwhia and Aotea harbours, the marae kaumātua told us about the hui they had held the day before with Pouhere Taonga Heritage New Zealand in relation to protecting Hawaiki Iti - Whakaotirangi’s garden. Whakaotirangi is a prominent tupuna wahine who was instrumental in the construction of the Tainui waka. She was charged with the care of the mauri stone on the journey to Aotearoa New Zealand along with taro, yam and kūmara (Jones and Biggs 1995). It is her garden that established kūmara in the Waikato region leading her to be recognised as the first female scientist in Aotearoa New Zealand by the Royal Society of New Zealand Te Apārangi (Royal Society 2023). The fact that her māra still exists and her whānau continue to work towards protecting this space also resonated with me.

Being in Kāwhia and hearing these stories also bought to mind my maternal great grandmother Ani Tahakura-Edmonds (nee Armstrong) of Ngāti Mahuta and Ngāti Maniapoto. She was affectionately known by her mokopuna as Big Nana. Big Nana (also referred to as nana) was born in 1901 with te reo Māori as her first language and predominantly within the principles, practices and worldview of te ao Māori. It is a privilege to me that she was in my life for twenty years. She did not teach me te reo Māori but she did teach me what I know of tikanga, mātauranga Māori and mātauranga wāhine which I still practice today.

I have many fond memories of my nana. I remember the many early mornings before the sun rose when I would hear a murmer above me while I was sleeping. I knew it was nana reciting karakia over me as I slept. The coal range that she used for cooking in her home always had red embers in it ready to be stoked back to life if needed, and pots of food sitting atop the warming racks for any manuwhiri that might turn up that day. There would sometimes be shark, eels or different types of seaweed drying on the washing lines outside. When possible we would collect rongoā such as kawakawa and kūmarahou from the bush so she could make her drink which she said was "good for the blood". I was always helping her in the vegetable garden and preparing food with her. As I grew older my nana started to talk to me about times I would not be able to enter the garden or swim. Nana was a very pragmatic and stoic person, so when I asked why, I received pragmatic answers. In this instance she told me the plants would not produce their flowers or fruit and shellfish would move away to new beds. She explained I would be in a state of tapu and that the scent of blood is likely to attract predators and so nature would retreat. All of these moments taught me about aroha, manaaki, rangatiratanga, and mātauranga wāhine. All important concepts within te ao Māori which I continue to practice.

These few days in Kāwhia reminded me of how our tūpuna are still with us, shaping our identity and the actions people take today. It was all of these moments combined that set the topic of of my thesis - how the actions of tūpuna wāhine have shaped wāhine Māori identity today. I am exploring this through the lens of kaitiakitanga and the diverse realities and experiences of wāhine from the rohe of Kāwhia moana.

I use a range of methodologies and methods which privilege mātauranga Māori and mātuaranga wāhine. I use auto-ethnography, storytelling, interviews and literature to illustrate these understandings.

The title of my thesis Te Waihotia o Whakaotirangi: What Whakaotirangi Left Behind reflects this topic. This title was gifted to me by Dr Ngapare Hopa and my supervisor Associate Professor Marama Muru-Lanning after I had spoken to them about the topic. Whaea Ngapare reminded me of the importance of starting with Māori cosmology and Whakaotirangi as it is from them that the women of Tainui iwi receive their mana and strength as women.

Contributors

The women who have contributed to this thesis are Whaea Horahaere, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna. I have chosen to call them Whaea throughout this thesis as they are not only participants, they are also my Whaea through whakapapa. During their kōrero each of the whaea spoke about the women in their whānau and other significant wāhine Māori who have shaped them in their lifetime. It is their experiences and mātauranga that have shaped my thesis. I introduce you to each of my whaea here as they are examples of women who embody the legacy of womenhood in Kāwhia.

Whaea Horahaere was born in Kāwhia and attended Queen Victoria Māori Girls College in Auckland. She has five children and numerous mokopuna and mokopuna tuarua. Whaea Horahaere is kaikaranga and performs the kopikopi for both of her marae in Kāwhia. She also actively teaches these wāhine Māori arts to the next generation. Additionally, Whaea Horahaere has been the president of Aotearoa Māori bowls, is the president of the Kāwhia Māori Womens Welfare League and a Justice of the Peace.

Whaea Maea grew up on the family farm in Marokopa and she too is a grandmother. Whaea Maea is also kaikaranga for both of her marae in Kāwhia and has recently been the face of an immunisation campaign in the Waikato area. Whaea Maea was bought up within the Kīngitanga movement which taught her how important “service to your marae, service to your whānau, service to your hapū, service to your Ariki” is to the people of Tainui. Whaea Maea passes on her mātauranga of the area through the publication of children’s books.

Whaea Verna was born in Kāwhia hospital and like the other Whaea has a number of mokopuna. Whaea Verna is a teacher and has taught at university level in Hawai’i. Additionally, Whaea Verna is an active Waitangi Treaty Claims negotiator for her hapū. She is also an avid gardener and continues to grow descendant taro and kūmara plants from Hawaiki-iti, Whakaotirangi’s garden. Whaea Verna shares her mātauranga through telling stories of Whakaotirangi to her children and mokopuna in the garden and through the publication of children's books.

Each of these women are also active kaitiaki in the Kāwhia area. All are concerned about the loss of kai moana, pollution in the area and the erosion around the harbour. Their concerns

led to actions around the harbour coastline, such as seeking alternative access ways to the beach and possible rāhui of specific areas which has resulted in the formation of Te Taiao ō Kāwhia (see Kaitiaki chapter). Each are leaders and teachers in their own right who role model what it means to be wāhine Māori of Kāwhia. This is mana wahine in action.

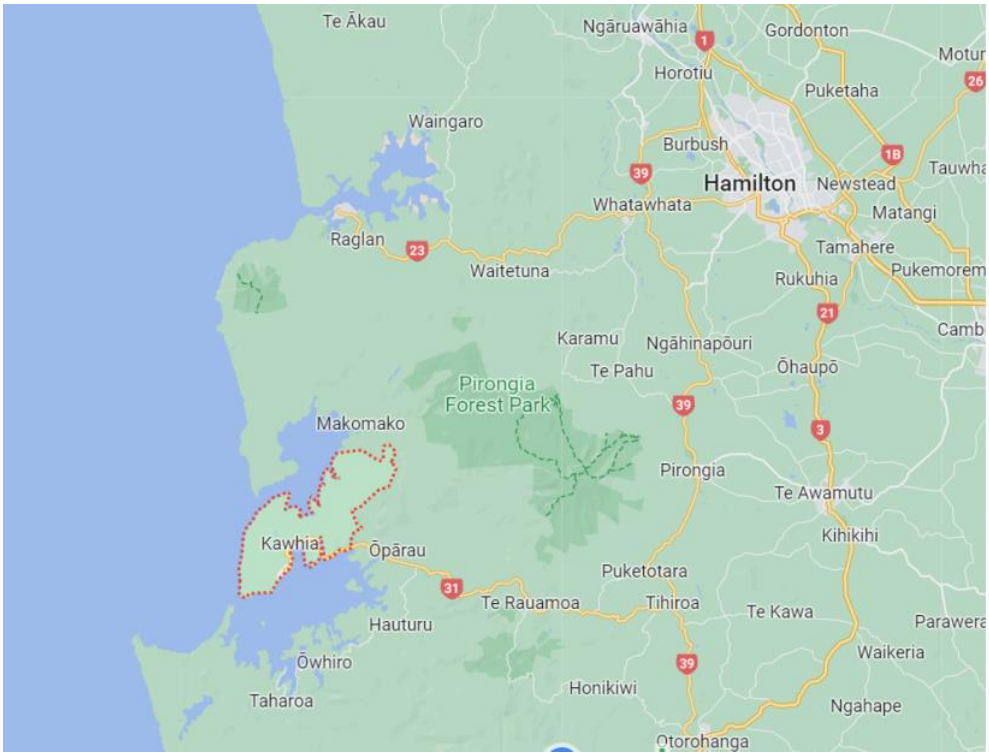
Kāwhia

The early morning sun is still low in the sky when we gather in front of the flag pole at Maketū Marae, Kāwhia. We stand in silence as the flags are raised, one for the marae and the other for the poukai, accompanied by the gentle voices of the marae's senior women as they perform the karanga.

Today is the poukai for the marae, an annual hui held on the same day every year, the day the Māori King attends to discuss important matters with the people of the marae. Today marked the 102nd year of poukai hosted at Maketū Marae. But it is a little different this year. Covid-19 has prevented the attendence of the hapū, but the home people of Maketū marae choose to mark the day by conducting the flag raising ceremony.

I am privileged to be standing here. I look around at the small gathering. These are the ahi kā – the home people that keep the fires burning. They are the kaitiaki, the ones who protect and care for the marae and its surrounds, keeping it alive. The ahi kā also maintain the kawa and tikanga of the marae. They are the repositories of knowledge here, they know the history of the marae, its people, and the area of Kāwhia. They know the kōrero tuku iho, waiata, stories and narratives, all of which began with the orginal crew of the Tainui waka. All of these stories, the people who came before us and those yet to come are remembered in this moment in front of the flag pole as the voices of our aunties connect us to the past, the present and the future.

Kāwhia Moana
Kāwhia Kai
Kāwhia Tangata



The boundaries of Kāwhia marked by the dotted red line.
map source: Google maps.

Kāwhia is on the West Coast of the North Island, just south of Whaingaroa (Raglan) and just over one hour's drive from Hamilton. The coastal township is nestled between the Kāwhia and Aotea Harbours with many marae, hapū and iwi still residing around the harbours.

Kāwhia Moana, Kāwhia Kai, Kāwhia Tangata translated as *The Sea of Kāwhia, The Food of Kāwhia and The People of Kāwhia*. According to Thorne (2012) the whakatauki can be interpreted in two ways; *Kāwhia Moana* as the source of identity, life and sustenance, *Kāwhia Kai*, an area of abundance and *Kāwhia Tangata*, the heavily populated. The second way is more political, declaring autonomy of Kāwhia, meaning the moana and resources of Kāwhia belong to Kāwhia and the authority belongs to the hapū of Kāwhia. Both interpretations inform the collective and personal identities of the people here and signals the significance and connection of the area to the many hapū of Kāwhia.

The stories held within the land binds hapū and whānau to the whenua and waters surrounding it. The landscape and its stories inform us of how we become tangata whenua, establishing whakapapa "as the source of relationships and knowledge." (Jackson, 2020:137). For the descendants of Tainui waka, their relationship and whakapapa with Aotearoa was founded in Kāwhia.

Kōrero tuku iho tells us that the Aotea waka arrived within the area of Kāwhia first, landing in the harbour named after the waka, Aotea Harbour. According to oral tradition, it was Turi, the rangatira of the Aotea waka who named Kāwhia (Shadrock, 2020). On arrival at Aotea Harbour, Turi conducted a rite known as Awhiawhi, a karakia performed on new lands as a protection against any unknown influences within the area. Each section of Turi's karakia began with 'ka'. Kāwhia is a contraction of Ka-awhia (Reed 2010). Some time later, leaving the Aotea waka behind, Turi, along with his wife Rongorongo and the crew continued their journey on foot, eventually settling in Patea at Taranaki (Hiroa, 1970). According to tradition the Aotea waka remains buried at the head of Aotea harbour (Shadrock, 2020).

The Tainui waka arrived in Kāwhia not long after the people of the Aotea waka had left. The Tainui waka was constructed in Hawaiki, now believed to be Ra'iātea, under the expertise of the tohunga, Rakātaura. Oral tradition explains that the waka was built at the request of Whakaotirangi, daughter of the chief Memeha-o-te-Rangi and tuakana (senior) wife of Hoturoa, commander of the Tainui waka. Once built the waka and its crew sailed from Hawaiki to Rarotonga, then, guided by the great fishes of the sea summoned by the navigator Riu-ki-uta, traversed across the Pacific Ocean arriving in Aotearoa New Zealand shortly before 1350 (Jones and Biggs 1995).

Iwi history tells us that the waka first arrived at Whangaparāoa, commonly known today as Cape Runaway, Bay of Plenty. From there the waka makes its way along the coastline. There are some who say the waka traveled to the top of the country and down along the West Coast while others say it arrived in Auckland, crossed the isthmus at Otahuhu and continued its journey down the West Coast of Aotearoa. Throughout the journey various members of the crew chose to to settle in different areas and did not continue to Kāwhia (Jones and Biggs 1996). These settlements have contributed to the boundaries of the Tainui territory.

The term Tainui or Tainui waka refers to a confederation of Tainui iwi which are Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Hauā, Hauraki, Ngāi Te Rangi and the tribes of Waikato (Muru-Lanning 2016) all of whom descend from the Tainui waka. The boundaries of the Tainui region are recited as:

Mōkau ki runga,	From Mōkau in the south,
Tāmaki ki raro,	To Tāmaki in the north,
Mangatoatoa ki waenganui,	Mangatoatoa in the centre,
Ki te Kaokaoroa-o-Pātetere,	The long armpit of Pātetere,
Ki Te Nehenehenui,	The big forest of Maniapoto,
Pare Waikato,	From the mouth of the Waikato River in the west,
Pare Hauraki.	To all of Hauraki.

Regardless of which pathway Hoturoa took, the crew of the Tainui waka chose to settle in Kāwhia when they saw the blossoming Pohutukawa trees along the coastline and observed the abundance of food in the harbour. The waka was tied to Te Papa o Karewa, a Pohutukawa tree that still stands in Kāwhia today.

Tainui waka now rests in an area known as Te Tumu o Tainui – The Cradle of Tainui. The waka is marked by two stone pillars: Hani-a-te-waewae-i-kimi-atu, named by Rakatāura, represents the warrior spirit (Kelly 1949), marks the bow of the waka. Hoturoa, placed the stern marker naming it Puna-whakatupu-tangata - the source or spring of mankind – representing female fertility (Jones & Biggs 1995). Women who wish to become pregnant are often told to touch this stone. These are powerful iwi landmarks for the people of Tainui as they embody the mauri of the ancestral waka and are an “unbroken link to the past” (Thorne 2012:40,).

The arrival of the Tainui waka and its crew is the beginning of the story and identity of the people within Kāwhia with many of the key roles being attributed to wāhine Māori. For instance a number of place names still used today are credited to women. These include Hawaiki-iti, the kūmara and taro gardens established by Whakaotirangi which remains a productive garden today producing taro and watercress (see the Whakaotirangi chapter). The significant maunga of Pirongia-o-Te-Aroaro-ō-Kahu, commonly known as Mount Piriongia today, was named for the journery of Kahupeka as she traveled inland from Kāwhia while mourning the death of her husband while ill after possibly suffering a miscarriage (Thorne 2012, Jones and Biggs 1995). The full name Pirongia-o-Te-Aroaro-ō-Kahu translates to the scented pathway of Kahu. It is believed Kahupeka may have had an infection as a result of the miscarriage. Kahupeka sought relief and experimented with a number plants as she travelled. Oral tradition tells us she experimented with flax, kawakawa and koromiko. In this way Kahupeka is considered a healer and a medical pioneer (Royal

Society of New Zealand 2023). Additionally the fresh waterways of Kāwhia are known as Te-Wai-ā-Rona. Rona is known by Māori as the lady in the moon. According to Kāwhia tradition Rona was taken from Kāwhia and therefore holds whakapapa in Kāwhia (see the Whenua and Ancestral Landscapes chapter).

The people of Kāwhia flourished for many generations after the arrival of the Tainui waka however this changed with the arrival of Europeans. Traders began to arrive in the early 1800's and the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries establishing mission stations in the 1830's (McCan 2001, Thorne 2012). The area flourished with hapū thriving within the flax trade and establishing at least four flourmills around the harbour. Additionally hapū purchased a number of trade ships as Kāwhia harbour became a central trading point during the 1840's and 1850's.

Throughout this time Māori continued to practise customary law to assert control over their future in which, they knew, their daughters were of central importance (Brookes 2016). A number of early traders were 'appropriated' by various Rangatira in the area, matching traders with wives from prominent Māori families and settling them around the harbour. Their primary role of the men was to facilitate trade, negotiate and barter to trade flax for firearms and make a profit (Kelly 1949, Francis 2011). The primary role for wāhine Māori would have been as mediators between Māori and Pākehā.

It must be pointed out here that wāhine Māori still held the same agency as they did in pre-contact times. As individuals they still held rights over land and resources and would have been able to decline marriage. Wanhalla (2019) explains marriage was highly valued by Māori as marriage is linked to collective futures. Whānau and hapū would have taken an interest in ensuring suitable marriages occurred, nonetheless personal choice was also an option. The women who married the Kāwhia traders would have been aware that their marriage would bind the two communities together (Wanhalla 2019) and hold the potential of future opportunities.

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and the growing demand for land from the ever growing settler colonies soon bought this prosperity to a halt. The increased demands along with dissatisfaction of how the the government of the day was dealing with the matter caused dissent amongst Māori. These issues led to the formation of the Kīngitanga

movement in 1858 (Kelly 1949) with Pōtatau Te Wherowhero whose whakapapa linked him to Kāwhia and all iwi across the North Island, being named the first Māori King. The election of the King was to unite the Māori people, stop the uncontrolled sale of land and cease any bloodshed (Barton and Thorne 2010). The Kīngitanga movement was the first effort to create a Māori nation with a new institution to confront the onslaught of colonisation (Ballara 1996:1) and to reisist settler appropriations of Māori land (Muru-Lanning, 2016:10).

Only two years after his inauguration, King Pōtatau Te WheroWhero died. He was succeeded by his son, King Tāwhio Matutaera Pōtatau Te Wherowhero. Soon after his coronation, the aukati, the boundary between Queen Victorias authority and the Māori Kings (Belgrave, 2017), was declared by King Tāwhiao. The aukati line was drawn along the Mangatāwhiri Stream, a tributary of the Waikato River at the base of the Bombay Hill near Pokeno. Land behind the aukati line remained Māori land under Māori control, independant from the government, police, land surveyors, tax collectors and railway constuction (Muru-Lanning 2016, Belgrave 2017). Settlers were warned that their safety was not gauranteed should they cross the boundary (Belgrave 2017). The Kāwhia harbour was also closed to all Europeans from 1860-1880.

After the harbour re-opened and the town was re-established, Māori families continued to maintain their lands, grow produce, farm and tiaki the wāhi tapu, the harbour and its surrounds.

For many years after the re-opening of Kāwhia many of the whānau and hapū stayed together in the area but like many other whānau Māori in the Waikato they had been affected by the on-going colonial project of raupatu, assimilation policies and in the later years urban migration. The once thriving Māori population of Kāwhia quickly declined. With many young Māori moving to the city for job training and employment.

However wāhine Māori continued to actively practice mātauranga wāhine, knowledges of women, and care for and protect the harbour and its surrounds. This can be seen through the wāhine Māori who have contributed to this thesis, each of whom are founding members of Te Taiao ō Kāwhia. This community group consists of hapū and marae to general community members. Everyone in the group has expertise including mātauranga Māori,

architecture, dotterel specialists, environment experts, district and regional council members and Coastcare group members.

Questions and Aims

This thesis looks to answer the following questions:

a. Who are significant tūpuna wāhine in Kāwhia for my participants and why?
b. In what way have these tūpuna wāhine shaped the lives of my participants and the actions they take today?

This thesis also has three overarching themes:

1. To highlight the voices of my participants as holders of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga wāhine
2. To privilege Māori worldviews and naturalise and prioritise Māori concepts and ways of being and doing
3. To demonstrate Māori ways of being and doing remain relevant today.

Te Reo Māori

Privileging Māori concepts and ways of being and doing includes the normalisation of te reo Māori which I use consistently within this thesis. I provide the translation in a glossary at the end of the thesis. There will also be some concepts discussed and explained within the thesis.

Additionally, there will be times when I do not use a tohutō or macron. This will be due to a tohutō not used either within a quote or a reference. This is because I have kept the style true to the original source.

Regional differences

Throughout this thesis I provide outlines of pūrakau and discuss different Māori values and concepts as I know and understand them. Māori whānau, hapū and iwi are discrete groups therefore each group will have their own distinct perspectives and versions and interpretations of histories, stories and tikanga (Roberts et.al 1995). Every whānau, hapū and iwi version is correct.

Chapter Outline

The first chapter has given an introduction to this thesis, the contributers who have helped to frame the discussion, a brief introduction to Kāwhia along with the questions and aims of this thesis.

Chapter two - I discuss the theoretical frameworks, methodologies and methods I use to explore my topic and themes. My methodologies are in response to "research being one of the dirtiest words" and understanding the harmful affects of research done on Māori in the past (Smith 2012). The methodologies are based on Kaupapa Māori, Mātauranga Māori and Wāhine Māori, all of which make space in western academic practice for Māori ways of being and doing. These methodologies require cultural practices be observed throughout the research process and so I rely on tikanga Māori and Māori concepts throughout.

Chapter three – I begin to track the Māori perspective and histories of significant tūpuna wāhine by exploring the pūrakau within cosmology. I recount the stories of Papātuānuku and Ranginui, Hine-ahu-one, Hine-tī-tama and Hine-nui-te-pō. I begin the discussion of how colonial frameworks render wāhine Māori as passive or minor actors, which is the beginning of the detrimental impacts experienced by wāhine Māori.

Chapter four – I discuss Whenua and Ancestral Landscapes and examine the meaning of place and how the actions of wāhine tūpuna contribute to the meaning. This discussion is later connected to the Kaitiaki chapter. I show how these meanings inform identity and belonging for Māori and how mana and tikanga are transmitted through generations through landscape.

Chapter five – I introduce Whakaotirangi, a significant tūpuna wāhine of the Tainui waka. As this thesis bears her name I outline her significance to both the people of Kāwhia. I maintain her mana by giving Whakaotirangi her own space.

Chapter six – In this section I highlight the importance of Matriarch and grandmothers throughout time. I bring forward the voices of Whaea Horahaere, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna who emphasize how imperative they are to the transmission of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga wāhine. Through this discussion we see how they directly shape the lives of wāhine Māori.

Chapter seven – In this section I discuss how history and knowledge production along with early ethnographic accounts can and have impacted Māori social organisation. I use primogeniture as an enduring example of how wāhine Māori continue to be impacted today.

Chapter eight – In this section I discuss a brief history of kaitiaki and what that means for Whaea Horahaea, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna today. I bring the stories within each of the previous chapters together to illustrate how the actions of the tūpuna wāhine continue to be enacted today.

Summary

Through this section I have introduced my topic, the Whaea whose experiences and mātauranga have shaped this thesis. I have also given a brief history of the Tainui waka and the settlement of Kāwhia. I have given some detail of how significant Kāwhia is to the story of the people of Tainui and have begun to discuss some of the roles wāhine Māori of Kāwhia have been involved in including kaitiakitanga.

I have also outlined the main questions and themes for this thesis and a chapter outline.

In the next chapter I focus on the methodologies and methods I have used to guide me through this research.

Theoretical Frameworks

Western academia, research and the construction of knowledge are deeply connected to power (Smith 2005, Rigney 1999, Trouillot 2003). Methodologies and construction of knowledge are premised on western academic models yet indigenous people interpret the world differently due to their experiences, histories, cultures and values (Rigney 1999).

Linda Tuhiwai Smiths words "'Research' is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous worlds's vocabulary" (2012:1) are etched in my mind. Smith discusses the historic issues of research experienced by indigenous peoples and that Western researchers assumed to know everything about us and what was best for us. Wāhine Māori were effected even more so as their roles were often misinterpreted due to the researchers own understandings of gender roles (Mikaere 1999). These issues sit at the crux of the tensions I have wrestled with throughout my research.

My whakapapa connects me to Kāwhia. My whakapapa also connects me to the whaea who contributed to my research. This unique positionality means I am conducting insider research. Being an indigenous insider researcher provides a layer of complexity that is not experienced by outside researchers affiliated to Western academia.

In this section I outline the key theories I use and will explore some of the fundamental concepts and values of Te Ao Māori that I draw on to define my research process. This will include discussion of my relationships with my participants and how tikanga Māori provides a framework for safe and fruitful exchanges. I will also outline the challenges I experienced throughout my research and describe how I navigated space for both tikanga and anthropolological methods.

Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori is not new. It is an inclusive term broadly used by Māori to describe all things Māori, a Māori way of being, thinking and doing of things that are underpinned by ancestral knowledge and Māori worldviews (Smith 1997, Greensill 2010, Pihama 2016).

Pihama (2015) reminds us that Māori have always been theorists. She draws upon a number of examples including the scientific expertise required for navigation from the building of waka, navigation by the stars, understanding the sea and tides and much more. In this way "Kaupapa Māori theory is based upon and informed by mātauranga Māori that provides a cultural template, a philosophy that asserts that the theoretical framework being employed is culturally defined and determined" (2015:6).

Education theorist Graham Hingangaroa (1997) describes it as a repositioning of "Kaupapa Māori as not just a cultural practice, but as a structural intervention which makes space for cultural practice". Smith (2017) explains that attaching the word 'theory' to Kaupapa Māori was an intentional response to the academic practices of validating and privileging some knowledges while marginalising others labelling them primitaive, mythical and unscientific. Pihama (2015) supports Smith by stating the foundations of Kaupapa Māori theory and research grew from "Māori struggles for tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake. As such there is a clear cultural and political intent."

In the research space, Kaupapa Māori is a theoretical framework to retrieve space for Māori voices and perspectives, providing a framework to explain what Māori have always been about (Cram 2001, Smith 2012), positioning Māori as normal, not other, marginal or peripheral (Irwin 1994). As a strategy it relates to Māori ownership of knowledge and validates Māori ways of being (Walker, Eketone and Gibbs 2006). As a research methodology it locates Māori understandings as central to the research design, process, analysis and outcomes (Pihama 2016).

Therefore Kaupapa Māori validates the research I have undertaken within my own community, drawing on mātauranga Māori and indigenous scholars, to be able to reconnect ancient knowledge to contemporary lives within Māori cultural models (Murphy 2016).

Mātauranga Māori

While Kaupapa Māori makes space for and legitimises Māori voices and perspectives, Mātauranga Māori expresses ideas concerning the advancement and dissemination of knowledge through teaching and research (Royal 2012). Smith (2003) verifies that Kaupapa Māori is not the same as Mātauranga Māori:

> [Kaupapa Māori] is not a study of Matauranga Maori – Kaupapa Maori theory makes space for Maori to legitimately conduct their own studies of Matauranga Maori in their own terms and own ways. In this sense Kaupapa Maori is not a synonym for Matauranga Maori which some people (who have obviously not read the existing literature or attended the Hui where this issue has been discussed) have mistakenly asserted (Smith 2003:11).

Mātauranga Māori is specific to Māori knowledge bases, ways of knowing and knowledge generation, a broad system that encompasses time, space, place and discipline (Mercier 2018). It is built upon Māori understandings of the world formed by our experiences, histories, cultures and values (Rigney 1999) acquired through daily experience (Dei, Hall & Rosenburg 2000). Roberts (2012) explains Mātauranga Māori as "the visible and invisible world of Māori as encountered on a daily basis". The Waitangi Tribunal (2011:22) state "Matauranga Māori incorporates language, whakapapa, technology, systems of law and social control, systems of property and value exchange, forms of expression and much more."

Royal (2012) explains Mātauranga Māori is a modern term bought about by the need for Māori to ethnically label and differentiate themselves after the introduction of European settlers. Mātauranga Māori traces back to knowledge bought by our Polynesian ancestors with new knowledge being created from the time of arrival, and continues to be created today (Royal 2012, Mercier 2018). According to Mead (2016:338):

> Mātauranga Māori is not like an archive of information but rather is like a tool for thinking, organising information, considering the ethics of knowledge, the appropriateness of it all and informing us about our world and our place in it.

Mead (2016) explains that Mātauranga Māori has no end, it seeks to expand knowledge outwards and is continually expanded upon through research, publications, books and discussions. Durie adds that Mātauranga Māori research "is conducted entirely within the context of Māori knowledge and Māori methodological approaches" (2010:141). In this way

Mātauranga Māori is a knowledge generation system (Mercier 2018). Rather than something static and deemed of the past, Mātauranga Māori is dynamic, continues to evolve and influences contemporary lifestyles (Durie 2011).

I focus particularly on the influences of tūpuna wāhine on wāhine today. Women were important holders of knowledge with kuia acknowledged for their expertise in the holding and transmission of knowledge (Mikaere 2017, Murphy 2013, 2016, Pere 1982). In fact, many women through the generations have stated that their mātauranga came from their kuia/grandmothers (Benton et al. 2013, Mikaere 2017, Murphy 2013, 2016, Pere 1982). Through the principles of Mātauranga Māori I am able to connect kōrero tuku iho to contemporary application, specifically the stories of women.

Mana Wāhine

In pre-colonial times wāhine Māori were considered significant and equal, and different but equal to tane Māori (Quince 2022). The balance between men and women can be traced back to the beginning of human whakapapa. Mana Wahine is rooted in the creation stories and repeated in every human birth of which a female role remains forever central (Mikaere 2017). This means Mana Wahine is a quality Māori women are born with. A quality transmitted from the atua through to each generation of women. Pihama et. al. (2019) assert:

> Mana Wahine is a term that encompasses our own tikanga and which upholds and elucidates the mana that is inherent in our lives as hine, as wahine, in its many forms. It embeds our wellbeing and our ways of being within particular cultural understandings, beliefs and practices that affirm who we are within our whakapapa and whanaungatanga, our roles, our positioning, our responsibilities, our obligations. (2019: V)

However, the effects of colonisation eroded the status of wāhine Māori and 'destroyed the balance' (Mikaere 2017). This was achieved through the early written accounts of Māori society predominantly written by white males who did not understand Māori perspectives including missionaries who were determined to break the pagan ways of the 'Native Savage' (Jenkins cited in Mikaere 1994) reducing the role of women to polluting or passive actors and the introduction of patriarchal systems. These mechanisms effected the stratification of Māori society reorganising the social order where gender became the new social determinant (Quince 2022). The status of wāhine Māori changed, women with mana were

diminished and men without mana were raised into positions of power (Pihama 2001, Mikaere 2017, Quince 2022).

While the effects of diminished mana for women have been detrimental there have been many women who continued to hold their mana within their communities. Many of whom have already been mentioned. There are also many Māori who continue to push back against the colonial systems to highlight the significance of Maori women. In this way Mana Wahine can also be considered a theory, making space for Māori researchers to 'gaze and talk back' (Jacobs-Huey 2002).

Similar to Kaupapa Māori and Mātauranga Māori methodologies, Mana Wahine provides a space for wāhine Māori to identify and reclaim Mātauranga wāhine and examines the way patriachial attitudes continue to impact the lives of wāhine Māori. Mana Wahine is framework that allows analysis drawn upon mātauranga Māori while centering the voice and position of Māori that focusses on issues pertaining to women and their diverse realities (Hutchings 2004, Pihama 2019).

Research Methods

Being a Māori researcher working within my own community brings layers of complexity not experienced by 'outside researchers' affiliated to Western academia. The anxiousness of ensuring I do the right thing at all times and the need to ensure my research is meaningful remains constant. The responsibilities and obligations I have as a researcher do not sit with my supervisor or university alone, I hold responsibilities and accountabilities to my whānau, hapū and iwi, which is of utmost priority.

The theories I outlined above guided my research and research methods. As my research sits firmly within Te Ao Māori it was only right that I follow particular methods and protocols throughout my research process. The principles of Te Ao Māori are relationship based, so too are the protocols and concepts outlined in this section. It is important to understand that these concepts are not linear, they are intertwined and are practiced together.

The Māori concepts which follow provide a framework for my research process. I begin with the definitions and theoretical discussions of each concept. I then outline my experience as

an inside researcher and my 'entry into the field'. It is here that I discuss how these concepts were practiced.

Whakapapa

He whakapapa he pātaka mātauranga
He pūrakau he kōhiwihiwi iwi

Genealogy is the storehouse of knowledge
Ancient narratives are the skeletal structures of the tribe
Dr Robert Pouwhare (2019)

The worldview is the lens to which a group or an individual interprets their experiences, understands concepts and makes decisions. According to Marsden (2003:56)

> Cultures pattern perceptions of reality into conceptualisations of what they perceive reality to be: of what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible or impossible. These conceptualisations form what is termed the 'worldview' of a culture...to which members of a culture assent and from which stems their value system. The worldview lies at the very heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of the culture.

Māori hold a holistic worldview. Marsden (2003:31) explains the Māori world view as "...a world comprised of a series of interconnected realms separated by aeons of time from which there emerged the natural world". Māori believe that all things animate and inanimate, seen and unseen, hold mauri, a lifeforce. The Māori worldview is built on the fundamental framework of whakapapa.

Whakapapa is central to Māori identity – past, present and future (Rameka 2016). Whakapapa means 'to place in layers, one upon the other', is often ascribed to 'geneology' and is generally used to refer to 'family trees' or geneological charts representing familial relationships. For many the term 'family tree' conveys the descent and relationship of humans only (Roberts 2013). However as the Māori worldview is based on the belief that everything has a whakapapa from people, animals and and trees to soil, sand, rocks and mountains (Roberts & Wills 1998, Barlow 2009) whakapapa is much deeper going beyond the standard 'family tree'. Whakapapa includes both descent groups and cultural categories, the Atua and the creation of the world sits at the beginning of all whakapapa stories linking the elements of the world and universe together with people.

Whakapapa informs the organisation of the universe, from how the world began, to the development of all things, explaining our relationships to each other and everything that is contained within it (Salmond 1991, Barlow 1994, Roberts 2012). There is no distinction between cosmology and humankind, everything animate or inanimate shares descent from the same ancestral and primal origin (Roberts & Wills 1998). It is the template used for identifying the relationships between and among all things (Roberts 2013). In this way whakapapa becomes a knowledge system. Te Maire Tau (2001) notes "matauranga Maori is ordered by whakapapa (71)" and that "Whakapapa is the skeletal structure to Maori epistomology (68)".

As we trace whakapapa we begin to hear narratives of cosmology and the connections between ourselves and the atua. We also learn of how everything is created such as how Ranginui and Papatuānuku's children developed Te Ao Marama, including how the many eco-systems of the world are formed and how each is connected to the other. It is through these stories Māori understand we are not superior to the environment, we are related to the environment (Rameka 2016). We then hear of the many feats of Māui such as slowing down the sun, fishing up Te Ika a Māui (North Island) and how fire was bought to the people.

These narratives are told within a collapsed time-space framework. Roberts (2012) explains this framework as providing "cosmogonical knowledge of celestial deities as well as historical ontologies, whose relationships extend to material things, which may be of a non-biological nature but are known to be spatially, temporarily or culturally 'related'". These pūrakau build a web of understanding of how our world works and the connectedness of all things.

Within all of these pūrakau are kōrero tuku iho of the origins of many of the tikanga we still follow today along with the significance of tangata whenua and their standing within the world. Māori anthropologist Lily George explains (2010:244) "whakapapa therefore provides a "standing place" and matrix of connection and protection from which we – individually and collectively, personally and professionally – can reach outward into the world".

Whanaungatanga

While whakapapa is the genealogy of people including whānau, hapū, iwi and marae whanaungatanga is how Māori connect with each other and the world they live in. Whanaungatanga is defined as relationship, relatedness (Roa, Papa, Boon, Papa 2019:183). Metge (1995:81) explains incorporating the word whanaunga, a generic term for relative (by marriage, adoption or descent), whanaungatanga is "kinship in its widest sense."Therefore whanaungatanga is based on whakapapa and is a relational framework.

To illustrate how whanaungatanga plays out in real life I will draw on the analogy of the spider's web (whare pūngāwerewere). I have had the privilege of working with and getting to know renowned Tainui scholar, Whaea Ngapare Hopa (Professor) while working at the James Henare Research Centre (JHRC). While working on one of our kaupapa Whaea Ngapare used the whare pūngāwerewere as a metaphor to describe relationships and connectedness. She explains the whare pūngāwerewere as the spiders complete world. The threads of the web are strong, adaptable, retractable, extendable and mendable depending on the spiders needs. It is where the spider lives and sleeps. It sustains and nourishes the spider while protecting and keeping the spider safe. It is also where it houses its children until they are safe to leave. The spider knows when new things are introduced to the web through the vibrations carried through each thread. Upon investigating the source of these vibrations the spider decides what to keep, what to discard, mending its whare when needed. Each of these contributes to the strength and dexterity of the spider. Whaea Ngapare gifted this metaphor as a philosophy of how to think about whakapapa and whanaungatanga.

A few years earlier Whaea Ngapare was gifted a replica of a manuka broom. This gift represents the brooms used by her grandmother and mother within their homes when Whaea Ngapare was a young girl. To make the whare pūngāwerewere metaphor tangible Whaea Ngapare passed the broom on to the team at the James Henare Research Centre reminding us all of the importance of the spider and its web and that it is the silk strands of the whare pūngāwerewere that connects everything and everyone; whanungatanga, whakapapa and tikanga is what keeps us safe and strong as Māori and as researchers - along with the instruction that we are never to clear spiders out of the whare.

Whanaungatanga is a significant aspect of my MA research. It is a concept that I have practiced throughout my life. The topic of my thesis emerged from my wanting to delve deeper in to my whakapapa, to the connections of the many people within it and the deep threads of whānau connection to Kāwhia. Whānau, whanaungatanga, and whakawhanaungatanga are important to me as they inform how I 'fit' or belong within my community, within Kāwhia and within research. These positions of belonging set up obligations of relationships with both myself as whānau and researcher and of my contributors. It is my understanding of whakapapa, whānau and whanaungatanga that was taught to me by my great grandmother, Ani Tahakura-Edmonds (nee Armstrong) and the words of Whaea Ngapare resounding in my ears that shaped how I approached both my research topic and potential contributors.

Whānau

According to Durie (2003) the word whānau means to give birth. Williams (2008:487) defines whānau as "be born, offspring, family group, family." Māori kinship groups are ambilineal, are ancestor orientated and traced through both male and female lines (Metge 1976 & 1995). Meaning Māori society was non-gender specific (Quince 2022).

Williams (2008:487) provided a further definition of whānau as "a familiar term of address to a number of people." Contemporary useage of the word whānau is used in a variety of ways and applied to many different groups (Durie 2003, Gagnè 2013). It can be used to describe the modern nuclear family structure or whānau households incorporating up to three generations (Durie 2003, Hiroa 1970, Metge 1995, Walker 2004). Whānau is applied to wider descent groups or extended whānau which for Māori extends out towards hapū and iwi groupings and at times can be extended further to include all Māori (Metge 1995).

Whānau can also be used to include close friends considered family members through to groups of people (not necessarily kinship groups) bought together for specific common purposes such as work, sports or community groups (Durie 2003, Gagnè 2013, Haami 2018, Metge 1995). My own family (immeadiate and extended) uses whānau for all of these examples. Returning to the metaphor of the whare pūngāwerewere, these explanations demonstrate how 'whānau' can expand and retract depending on the context and needs of

any situation. Additionaly, similar to the web being the spiders support system, whānau can be considered as a web of support. It is a reciprocal support system where the individual can expect to be supported by the collective and the collective can expect to be supported by the individual (Mead 2016). This recipricol expectation is applicable to both kin and non-kin groups including research groups.

Tikanga

"A researcher should always be guided by the principle of tika which is the very basis of the word tikanga" (Mead 2016:351)

Tikanga is central to te ao Māori. Tika is defined as straight, correct, just, fair, right. Tikanga is rule, plan, method, custom, habit, reason or anything normal or usual (Williams 2008:416). Mead (2016) explains that tikanga is firmly embedded in mātauranga Māori. Mikaere (2012) explains that when our tūpuna first arrived in Aotearoa, they observed their new world and built a philisophical framework which enabled them to thrive in their new homeworld stating "Tikanga is the practical expression of a philosophy that is founded in the experience of our tūpuna, and has been adapted over time in the light of successive generations; experience and circumstances" (p 25).

Mead (2003) discusses different approaches to tikanga, one being social control in that tikanga directs relationships, ways for groups to meet and interact and determines how people introduce and identify themselves. Another way to think of tikanga is ethics – the correct way to do things. In a wānanga held by Waikato University's Te Mātāhauariki Institute, Anglican Bishop Manuhuia Bennet defined tikanga as "doing things right, doing things the right way, and doing things for the right reasons" (cited in Benton, Frame, Meridith 2013:431). In other words, tikanga sets out how we do things from an every day basis to larger events, through to how we communicate with each other in genuine ways. Tikanga sets guidelines for acceptable social behaviours, behaviours that are considered 'the norm' ands is the practical application of mātauranga Māori.

It must be understood that tikanga is dynamic, evolving over time in response to environmental and situational changes (Durie 2011), therefore practiced differently from hapū to hapū (Mead 2003, Te Aho 2007), however while tikanga may change the values remain constant (Mikaere 2012).

While working at the James Henare Research Centre I often hear Manutaki Rangahau/Research Director Marama Muru-Lanning describing tikanga as 'being fair', treating people correctly and with fairness. I understand tikanga to be process and practice, the correct or fair way to be with others and how to act appropriately in different situations. It is a practice that I use in my everyday life from where items and or clothing are placed around me, how I clean my home through to how I communicate and conduct personal and professional relationships. Therefore tikanga is a central element to how I conduct myself and how I conducted my research.

Manaakitanga

Within tikanga are the values of manaakitanga and mana. Manaakitanga is about the holistic care and respect of the wellbeing and compassion for others. This concept is inclusive of all people in any setting. Mead (2003) speaks of manaakitanga as "nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about how others are treated" (p 33), explaining that all tikanga is underpinned by manaakitanga. There is an expectation that manuwhiri will be hosted well and shown kindness (Benton, Frame, Meridith 2013). Jones clarifies that "...manaakitanga enhances the mana on both sides of the relationship" (2019:124) therefore manaakitanga is the mechanism for maintaining the balance of respectful relationships.

Mana

Ko te mana i ahau no oku tupuna o tuawhakarere

My strength comes from my ancestors from long ago

Manaakitanga is inextricably connected to mana. Mana is often expressed as prestige and leadership. Williams (2008) uses a range of meanings to describe mana; authority, influence, prestige, power, binding, vested with effective authority. Mana is inherited from atua and ancestors and can be ehanced from personal endevours such as proven skills or contributions to the community over time (Mead 2016). Mana cannot be generated by an individual, it is generated by others and bestowed upon either individuals or groups (Henare 1988). It can decreased in the same way by an individuals or groups actions.

As a society not bound by gender, mana became the core determinant of status and power within Te Ao Maori (Quince 2022). Therefore mana is a vital componant guiding relationships and interactions within Te Ao Māori as it impacts positionality and place of an individual in social settings (Mead 2016, Jones 2019). An example would be the tuakana/teina relationship, the older and younger person. This could be siblings, cousins, friends, colleagues or older people. An older person has a higher standing in the collective (Mead 2016) due to either mana from tūpuna, personal skills, contributions to community and life experiences.

Mana is central to the integrity of a person or a group, therefore, every activity in Te Ao Māori is inextricably linked to the maintenance and ehancement of mana (Henare 1988).

Inside – Outside Research

Traditional anthropological research relies on ethnography and participant observation. Participant observation is fieldwork that allows for 'deep hanging out' (Geertz, 1973) in the community for a year or two, participating in community events and day to day life, observing how the people move throughout their community while trying to understand why they do what they do. Many western research methodologies are based on objectivity and neutrality allowing the researcher 'to observe without being implicated in the scene' (Smith 2012:138). I am aware that many anthropologists maintain their relationships in some form with their research communities however there are many researchers who do not, nor are they expected to by their colleagues. This is not the case for indigenous researchers working within their own communities.

My whakapapa connects me to Kāwhia. I have been given the privilege of locating my thesis research within Kāwhia. I have had the opportunity to work at the James Henare Research Centre, Waipapa Taumata Rau – University of Auckland throughout my Masters journey. To many I would be considered an 'insider' because of my whakapapa. As a Māori researcher whakapapa is a key element to understand who a person is, where they come from and who they belong to. Whakapapa informs interconnectedness and relationships (Rameka 2016).

However as somone re-connecting with their whakapapa, other than the time I spent in Kāwhia as a child most of my interactions within Kāwhia have been as an academic

researcher, meaning I could also be considered an 'outsider'. It is an honour to be able to 'deeply hang out' and learn more about where and who I come from. But being an insider/outsider researcher is not an easy place to be. Smith (2012) explains:

> Indigenous research approaches problematize the insider model in different ways because there are multiple ways of being either an insider or an oustider in indigenous contexts...At a general level insider researchers have to have ways of thinking critically about their processes, their relationships, and the quality of richness of their data and analysis. So too do outsiders, but the major difference is that insiders have to live with the consequences of the processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more, and so do their families and communities (p 138).

I need to note here that being Māori does not give me an automatic 'in', there a number of 'ethical, cultural, political and personal issues' that can present difficulties for indigenous researchers wanting to work within their own communities (Smith 2004:5). It is common for the community to judge an insider researcher on who their family is, how connected they are to the marae and/or hapū, status and some may be judged on age, gender or religion. The community will want to know what have they done before? Do they have a good heart? Will the research help us and in what way? What can they actually do for us? (Smith 2012). Therefore insider researchers need to conscientiously strive to negotiate their legitimacy in the field (Jacobs-Huey 2002).

The most foundational element of Māori centric research is relationships founded and maintained through whanaungatanga. Smith (2005:97) emphasises that research ethics for indigenous communities is:

> …establishing, maintaining, and nurturing reciprocal and respectful relationships, not just among people as individuals but also with people as individuals, as collectives, and as members of communities, and with humans who live in and with other entities in the environment.

Smith (2005:97) goes on to explain that "The abilities to enter pre-existing relationships; to build, maintaining and nurture relationships; and to strengthen connectivity are important research skills in the indigenous arena". But to maintain these relationships we need to understand the societal structures they sit within.

Tuakana/teina relationships are important in Te Ao Māori. They represent senior/junior relationships. Mead (2016) explains tuakana as the older siblings, male or female and hold a higher position socially than teina. However, tuakana/teina pairings are applied generally to

any senior/junior relationships between kinship groups, iwi and the environment such as rangatiratanga, manaaki, and utu (Muru-Lanning 2016). This social ordering sets the structures of reciprocal relationships between people and the environment (Muru-Lanning 2016). As such people are expected to know their place and behave accordingly. Teina are expected to be respectful and uphold the tuakana while tuakana are obliged to give advice and encouragement to teina (Muru-Lanning 2016).

Another layer of complexity is how tikanga is interwoven within the process of gathering, constructing, and producing mātauranga throughout the research process. I have gathered history and pūrakau through semi-structured interviews, my own experiences with significant wāhine in my life, particularly my great grandmother and through literature, documentaries, and archival footage. I have been mindful that each of these are imbued with its own mauri as transmitters of history and whakapapa (Murphy 2013). I have viewed each of these respectfully, considering each of them as alive and here with me today.

Throughout the research process I have had to consider what knowledge is appropriate to share publicly. As Māori academic Manuka Hēnare (2021:15) states "tribal histories are closed histories and are representations and interpretations of the past specific to the members of a particular kinship group, namely whānau and hapū". Growing up understanding this whakaaro meant I have had to navigate through what can be made public and what should be kept private. I had to reflect on the different forms of information and consider them individually. If I found information in publications, I considered the appropriateness of passing this information on. Was it the location of a taonga? With today's cultural tourism and dare I say curiosity, did I want people to go looking for the sites mentioned? Who was speaking about it? I also had to reflect on mātauranga I took for granted as publicly known when in fact, it is not public information, instead it is something I have known because of my whakapapa.

I also considered the process for the semi-structured interviews I had with each of my whaea. I informed each whaea that with their permission I would audio record each of our kōrero, transcribe and return them for their review. They would be able to make any additional comments, correct information and decide if any of their kōrero was to be withheld. In this way each whaea was able to practice rangatiratanga over their own kōrero and mātauranga. I will never forget the reactions of each of the whaea. The look of relief

was clear with each of them with one grabbing hold of my hand stating, ‘I’m glad you understand the ownership of knowledge’. She went on to explain that she was grateful that I knew the ownership of her kōrero and therefore mātauranga belonged to her, it helped her to feel safe to share her experiences with me in an open relaxed manner. The option of review meant that they are all able to maintain rangatiratanga (ownership, autonomy, self-determination) giving them control over what I would be able to relay back in my research. It is these moments that make me appreciate the importance of following tikanga throughout the research process.

The Whaea and my supervisor have been pivotal in ensuring I remain culturally safe and assured through this process.

Entering the Field

As a younger person re-connecting with my whanaunga, speaking with people older than me, considered holders of mātauranga and highly respected members of their community, I was always mindful of my place and doing the right thing.

While assisting with the James Henare Reseach Centre kaupapa I met some of the prominent people of Kāwhia along with some of the prominant wāhine who affiliate to Kāwhia, namely, Whaea Horahaere, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna. During formal hui and informal discussions over cups of tea and kai we quickly learnt we were closely related and they knew many members of my whānau from my parents, my grandparents and even my great-grandparents generations. This was an exciting revelation, helping us to form connections, quickly learning more about each other. During our discussions I heard the whaea recount how they had grown up in or around Kāwhia with those we affectionaly know as the ‘old people’, koroua and rūruhi connected directly to kōrero tuku iho, those who knew and lived the old ways.

After some discussion with my supervisor, I approached each of the whaea at a hui we attended in Kāwhia. I explained what I was researching and asked if they would be willing to take part in my study. It was important for me to be able to do this in person or what Māori know as kanohi-ki-te-kanohi. Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi means face-to-face and is central to Māori practices of communication. For Māori with values that are founded on relationships, face-to-face interactions are of supreme importance. Kanohi-ki-kanohi provides a sense of

commitment and authenticity to the people and the kaupapa. Meeting face-to-face, coupled with whakawhanaungatanga helps to build mutual trust, strengthens relationships and the sense of belonging to the community (O'Carroll 2013) all of which maintains the mana of all parties involved. I was very privileged to have each of them agree to kōrero with me.

A short time later I contacted each of the whaea to let them know I would be in Kāwhia for a few days and asked if they had time to meet. I offered a venue but also stated I would go to a place of their choosing if they preferred, giving space for my participants to choose a place they are more comfortable with. I emailed each of them the required university paperwork and at the request of each of my participants I also sent my list of questions.

I ensured I had kai available for each kōrero. Kai is an integral part of manaakitanga. The practice of hosting and showing kindness means food must be available for manuwhiri. The below whakatauki reminds us, you never go empty handed.

Kaua e haere me te rae anake
Don't go in with just your forehead

In line with tikanga and manaakitanga, koha was also given to each participant. Koha is a relational exchange enhancing the mana of both parties therefore the decision of what or how much to give requires careful thought to ensure the expectation and appropriateness of the gift is suitable (Mead 2016).

It must be remembered that should any part of tikanga be broken the repurcussions could be catastrophic, not just to me but to my whānau (Muru-Lanning 2016) and supervisor too. It only takes one wrong step to dissolve any of my credibility. Any form of transgression can break the threads of the whare pūngāwerewere, and like the spiders web, the strands of the whare pūngāwerwere can be amended but the shape of the web is never the same.

I was fortunate to be able to travel with my supervisor to stay in Kāwhia for a weekend to spend time with each of my participants. I held each of the interviews on my own while my supervisor worked on different kaupapa. My first kōrero was with my whaea who lives next to her marae. When I arrived at her home, she suggested we kōrero at Ahurei, which is situated next to her home. This is wāhi tapu to the people of Tainui. Kōrero tuku iho a Tainui tells us that Rakatāura (waka building expert, builder of Tainui waka, navigator, and tōhunga/priest on Tainui waka) built the first alter on this hill and named it Ahurei (Kelly

1986, Jones and Biggs 2004). Ahurei was also known to be the place of gathering, principal school/wānanga of learning (Jones 2013). The Tainui waka is buried at the base of this hill.

Sitting on this hill with my whaea was a special moment and I am not sure whaea was aware of how I felt at the time. Whaea casually laid out the blanket which we hurriedly sat on, so it would not blow away in the breeze. I looked around at the expansive views of the harbour and across to the opposite coastline, imagining how this looked when our tūpuna first arrived. Just below us were the stone pillars Hani and Puna, marking the bow and stern of the Tainui waka and Maketū, one of the marae I whakapapa to and had come to as a child with my great grandmother, grandmother and mother. Behind the hill was the home of another whaea I had grown up with and held fond memories of. All of these things together for my first kōrero gave me a sense of belonging, connectedness and acceptance while reminding me of just how significant Kāwhia is to me and the people of Tainui. When we had finished our kōrero we returned to whaea's house where she prepared lunch for us, and we were able to connect more discussing whānau connections and her very busy life. Before I left, whaea gave me two freshly picked kamokamo from her garden. They were the sweetest kamokamo I had eaten in a long time.

Each of the kōrero was special in their own way, with the mātauaranga and memories shared by each. I did not put any time constraints on the kōrero, and I had a list of questions, but these were used as prompts only, I left the timing and the direction of the kōrero to each of the whaea I spoke with. Two of the kōrero were held at the whaeas location of choice with the third held where I was staying. Even though the first whaea insisted she prepare lunch for us I had provided kai for each of my participants. My supervisor and I also invited all three whaea to the whare we stayed in for dinner. We had a great time connecting and talking over general issues of the day. All of these moments are active practices of whanaungatanga and tikanga. They are also special moments of connection and learning for me that I will never forget.

A key componant of whanaungatanga is to maintain and build upon relationships. It is important that I continue to be seen in Kāwhia, at our marae and to visit significant whānau such as the whaea mentioned here. While I have not been able to return as often as I would prefer I have been able to attend some hui and a marae planting bee. I am to return as often

as possible in the near future. To dissapear would be detrimental in many ways including perpetuating the idea that research is "...one of the dirtiest words...".

Summary

This chapter provides an overview of the methodologies and methods used and the unique position of being an inside researcher. I have demonstrated how inside research remains a constant site of complex relational, cultural and academic negotiation, before, during and ever after the research is completed.

I have introduced the theories of Kaupapa Māori, Mātauranga Māori and Mana Wahine that are not often discussed in anthropology and how Māori concepts are suitable methods within academic research. I also demonstrate how the tensions between academia and Māori frameworks are negotiated to ensure cultural safety and appropriateness for both are maintained.

Cosmology and Wāhine Māori

In this chapter I discuss the Māori perspective and histories of significant wāhine tūpuna by exploring the pūrakau within cosmology. I provide the stories of Papātuānuku and Ranginui, Hine-ahu-one, Hine-tī-tama and Hine-nui-te-pō as a framework to understand how wāhine Māori were situated within pre-contact Aotearoa New Zealand. I also explore how colonial frameworks render wāhine Māori as passive or minor actors, which is the beginning of the detrimental impacts experienced by wāhine Māori.

The positionality of Māori women can be best understood through Māori cosmology. Māori cosmology is the foundation for which Māori social organisation, perspectives and ways of being are constructed. Through the cosmological pūrakau (narratives) we can see that the relationships between men and women were not based on gendered hierachies of power. Māori cosmology positions "women as powerful, autonomous, independent beings and as bearers of knowledge" (Jahnke 2019).

Creation stories explain why things are the way they are and justify patterns of behaviour, past, present and future (Metge 1995). Ranginui Walker (1978) argues myths are embedded with messages that provide precedents, models and social prescriptions for past and present human behaviour. Metge (1995) echoes Walkers argument by explaining that while myths are set in the distant past they remain relevant today as they express in symbolically encoded form timeless truths about the world and human society. According to Jones (2013) Māori cosmology is a symbolic method outlining the origins of the universe which traces out the evolution of everything around them. The symbolic method of evolution is whakapapa; everything has a beginning and a geneology. All things in nature, inanimate and animate, along with the metaphysical are personified and named either female or male (Jones 2013, Biggs 2006). Maori Marsden describes these beliefs as Māoritanga. Māoritanga

“is the corporate view that Māori hold about ultimate reality and meaning...what Māori understand implicitly in their daily living, feeling, acting and deciding” (Marsden 1975:117).

The belief systems built on Māori cosmology can be likened to Geertz’s view of religion and cultural symbols. Gertz describes worldview as “the picture [people] have of the way things in sheer actuality are, their most comprehensive ideas of order” (1973:89-90). This order is a blueprint that gives the processes extrinsic to people a definite form. People align their behaviours to their understanding of how the world is ordered which in turn invokes deep feelings for their world based on their experiences and observations. This is the basis of how cultural patterns are formed. Cultural patterns are given meaning as people shape themselves to the beliefs and culture and by shaping their beliefs and culture to themselves. These cultural patterns provide the foundations for formations of social and psychological processes which shape public behaviour.

Women are central figures throughout cosmology pūrakau. Through their actions we find our blueprints of positionality, mana, mana motuhake, and tikanga that sets behavioural expectations both individually and collectively. Many Māori know of Papatūānuku, as the primal mother, the one who cares for, sustatins and nourishes tangata whenua. Māori women are often metaphorically identified with Papātuānuku sharing her status and functions as bearers, nurturers and protectors of succeeding generations (Metge 1995).

Māori cosmology also lays the foundations for whakapapa binding people with the atua and the forces that created the world (Mikaere 2017). Whakapapa tells us that the male and female elements are essential to the continuation of whakapapa with the creation stories likened to female reproductive organs and the birthing process (Mikaere 2017, Biggs 2006, Murphy 2013).

The beginning of the universe is known in three parts, Te Kore (the void), Te Pō (the dark) and Te Ao Marama (the world of light) – epochs of time and expansion of space (Walker 1995). Te Kore was a place without sound or light, a place of abyssal emptiness (Mikaere 2017, Ihimaera 2020). Marsden considers Te Kore to be a place of potential being, stating:

> This is the realm of primal, elemental energy or latent being. It is here that the seed-stuff of the universe and all created things gestate. It is the womb from which all things proceed. Thus the Māori is thinking of continuous creation employed in two allegorical figures: that of plant growth and that of gestation in the womb (Marsden 1975:134)

Marsden goes on to explain creation through plant growth from the root to the blooming of buds and fronds, and human birth from conception, swelling and finally birth. He recites the following to clarify his point:

> Te Korekore i takea mai, ki te Po te kitea, te Po tangotango, Po whawha, Po namunamu ki te wheiao, ki Te Ao Marama.
>
> From the realm of Te Korekore the root cause, through the night of unseeing the night of hesitant exploration, night of bold groping, night inclined towards the day and emergence into the broad daylight (1975:135)

Te Po is also likened to the womb (Kahukiwa & Grace 2016). It is in this time that Papatūānuku and Ranginui, the male and female forces from which all things derived (Marsden 1975) are created. The story of Papatūānuku and Ranginui is the first love story we learn about as children. Their love for each other was so strong that they held each other in a tight embrace. Together they had many children, all of whom were stuck in a cramped, dark space between their parents. After eons of time the children became restless. There are some stories that say some of the children were able to escape their parents embrace as they made their way out through Papatūānukus mimi (passing of water) and other stories state some of the children saw another world through a small gap at Papatūānuku's armpit. Either way they told their siblings of what they saw. This made the children more determined to escape. Eventually it was Tane Mahuta (Tāne) who broke his parents embrace by laying on his back and pushing up with his feet. Through this action Ranginui is flung upwards, becoming known as 'Sky Father'. Papatūānuku becomes known as 'Earth Mother'.

After the separation, we learn the stories of some of the children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui, as they become atua of specific domains as shown in the below table. Furthermore we hear that war breaks out very quickly after the seperation of their parents as Tāwhirimātea had always opposed it. Papatūānuku protects her children by providing safety and maternal care (Jenkins 2019). The actions taken throughout their war has set the blueprint for some of the tikanga Māori continue to follow today, so to does the war between the siblings.

Tāwhirimātea	atua of winds,storms and rains
Tāne Māhuta (Tāne)	atua of birds, trees and forests

Tangaroa	Atua of the oceans and fresh water and reptiles on land
Tūmatauenga	Atua of warfare and people
Rongo • Papatūānuku tried to protect Rongo and Haumiatikitiki from the sibling war by covering them with only their hair sticking above the ground. This is how we continue to see them today.	Atua of cultivated food plants such as kūmara and taro. He is also atua of the sounds people hear and atua of peace.
Haumiatikitiki	Atua of uncultivated food plants (wild foods) such as fern-roots.
Ruaumoko Rauaumoko still lives inside Papatūānuku. Every time he moves, so too does the earth.	is Atua of earthquakes, volcanoes and all thermal activities on land.
Kahukura (Uenuku)	We can see Uenuku as the rainbow. He discloses hidden things to people and is also a protector of people.

Source: (Jones 2013, Roberts 2012)

We also learn of the pain and longing Papatūānuku and Ranginui held for each other as they wept ceaselssly. Rain, hail and snow poured from Ranginui and the tears of Papatūānuku rose skywards as mist and covered her in frosts (Mikaere 2017). Their children decided to turn Papatūānuku over so the parents could no longer witness each others pain. In this way Papatūānuku continually faces Rorohenga, also known as Te Pō, the spirit world where the wairua of the dead travel to (Mikaere 2017). Through this act Papatūānuku becomes the symbol of endurance and long-suffering (Jenkins 2019).

Through this creation story we see the prominent presence of women. The comparison of the beginning the world and the birthing cycle brings the significance of women to the forefront. We also learn of the cyle of life, from conception to death through these stories of which Papatūānuku is a central figure. This cycle continues to be repeated within which the female role remains central (Mikaire 2017).

Re-orienting Pūrakau Māori

Cultural understanding of the origins of the world influence the cultural patterns and behaviours as well as the expectations and relationships of women and men. These understandings can also be found in language. Te reo Māori could signify the regard for women in Māori society due to the non-genered words within it. For example there are no demeaning words for 'woman/women' in te reo Māori. Also the term used for husband, wife or significant other is tāku hoa rangatira. Pronouns are also non-gendered, she/her, he/him are ia and tāna/tōna. Wāhine Māori contributed to the material and social wellbeing of their hapū where whakapapa rather than gender determined their influence (Brooks 2016). This was a very different concept than that of the European settler where women were often excluded, unable to own property, or take part in politics, deemed suitable only to create a family and a home (Brooks 2016).

From the time of the early visitors and settlers pūrakau were being documented and published usually by male Eurocentric anthropologists and ethnographers who primarily spoke with Māori men (Lee 2019, Mikare 2017, Paterson and Wanhalla 2017). During this era women were not highly regarded within their own cultures, considered uninteresting and even irrelevant, rendering women subservient to men (Rosaldo 1974). Ethnocentrism overlaid the early observations of Māori resulting in publications which often mis-represented, misinterpreted or misappropriated the Māori way of being (Lee 2019).

Furthermore cosmological colonisation (Mitchell, Olsen-Reeder 2021), re-oriented pūrakau Māori within Euro-centric systems distinguishing the role of male deities above those of female deities (Diamond 1999). Christianity and bowdlerisation (Pouwhare 2019, Perris 2018) saw the removal of many significant sections of pūrakau effectively sanitising the narratives to make them more palatable for non-Māori audiences. Ani Mikaere (2017) argues that the balance between men and women was destroyed as the Eurocentric lens rendered wahine Māori voiceless, casting them in passive roles, removing their mana, power and sexuality (Lee 2019).

Additionally, the forces of colonisation displaced Māori from their ancestral lands disrupting traditional practices and production of mātauranga and transmission of knowledge. This led to Māori being fed back sanitised pūrakau through the education system and books. Māori

learnt to understand them only as myths and legends, no longer understanding the significance of our own pūrakau (Lee 2019).

Ultimately cosmological colonisation has re-oriented tikanga, our understanding of the world along with the positionality, tapu and mana of people, especially women. Examples of how the positionality and mana of wāhine Māori have been undermined can be demonstrated through the stories of Hine-ahu-one, Hine-tī-tama and Hine-nui-te-pō.

Hine-ahu-one

Like many pūrakau each hapū and iwi has their own version of the first 'human' or 'human form and is known by various names (see Best 1976 Part 1:121-130). The story I have heard most commonly is that of Hine-ahu-one. I grew up with the story that Hine-ahu-one was formed of clay by Tāne. Tāne then blew through her nose to give her life. Hine-ahu-one sneezed her first breath - Tī-hei! In this way people came into the world. As I grew older I became more and more perplexed with this story. Is this just the Māori version of Adam and Eve? It soon lost favour with me and I dismissed it as just that. I have recently come to realise that I had only ever heard the very bowdlerised version of her story.

When the children of Papatūānuku had come to terms with their new world, Tāne Mahuta and his brothers began to search for a female being to bring forth ira tangata, human life (Best 1976). During his search, Tāne Mahuta copulated with many other female deities whose offspring are flora and fauna indigenous to Aotearoa. For instance the children of Tāne Mahuta and his wife Punga are insects and vermin, his children with Parauri are the tui (Hiroa 1970), with Mumuhanga, they produced the totara tree, Te Puwhakahara produced maire and puriri trees, Huna is mother to the harakeke and Tawharanui is the mother of the kiekie (Best 1976). The children of Tane and Hine-tu-pari-maunga, the personification of mountains, are the three tūpuna of rocks. Pūtoto who lives in the heart of volcanoes, is the pū (source) of the toto (blood) or red magma. This red magma becomes igneous rock formed through volcanic eruption. Tuamatua is the tupuna of bedrock formed deep underground and the actions Parawhenuamea, the personification of the waters of the earth, cause erosion resulting in sedmentary rock (Roberts 2012).

After some time Tāne Mahuta, still in search of the ira tangata, seeks the advice of his mother. Papatūānuku directs Tāne Mahuta to Kurawaka deemed to be the pubis of

Papatūānuku, in the area of the uha (vulva) (Mikaere 2017, Murphy 2013). Papatūānuku declares 'there the woman can be found, untouched, select and sacred for she possesses the essence of humankind' (Smith 1913). The brothers travel to Kurawaka and build the female form from the red sands of Papatūānuku.

There are various versions of how this was done, first is a very simple version given by Biggs (2006) in that Tanes brothers supplied him with various things to help with the formation of Hine-ahu-one.

The second version is much more complex wherein Hine-ahu-one's body form and parts came from three sources, Io (the supreme being), the various atua of the heavens and the children of Papatūānuku and Ranginui (Best 1976).

According to this version there were over 50 atua who contributed to the formation of Hine-ahu-one providing the various body parts including blood, bones, and internal organs all put into place by 36 atua. Papatūānuku remains a central figure in the formation story as the red sand of Kurawaka is considered a body part of her.

Tāne and his brothers fashioned Hine-ahu-one's form after themselves; skeleton, body and limbs, Tāne's brothers Haematua, Roiho, Roake, and Haepuru formed the head. Punaweko (personified form of birds) gifted the hair. Uru-te-ngangana fetched the eyes from Wharekura, a small portion from Ao-Kapua (personification of clouds) was used for the white of the eyes and pupils, bones were formed by Tupai; the sinews and muscles arranged in place by Tūmatauenga and Te Akaaka-matua. The stomach and entrails were formed by Rongo-maraeroa and Turamarama-a-nuku; the kidneys and liver by Tumata-huki and Tumata-rauiri. The heart, water, and blood were fetched from Io by the whatukura and mareikura. (Hiroa 1970, Best 1976).

The many other atua who contributed to the creation of Hine-ahu-one included; mahara (thinking power) gifted by the Whatukura of the heavens; the tongue and throat were provided by Tanga-i-waho and Rua-taumata; the nose and lips by Rongomai-tu-waho and Tumatakaka; the lungs were provided by Tawhirimatea, Takapua from the clouds moistened the many parts of the body (Hiroa 1970, Best 1976)

Additionally there were 17 atua involved in assembling the female sex organ, these are but a few of the atua; Mauhi provided the labia, Wete the vagina, Taua-ki-te-marangai the pubic mound, Pungaheko, the pubic hair (Te Ngārara in Shortland 1882:21-22, Hiroa 1970, Best 1976).

Even though the act of breathing life into Hine-ahu-one was delegated to Tāne it was Io who provided the, wairua and manawa ora (the breath of life) to Hine-ahu-one through Tāne (Best 1976). The first sign of life was when Hine-ahu-one sneezed – Tī hei! This moment is forever remembered through the phrase Tī hei mauri ora!

The act of procreation was needed to bring forth ira tangata, this was also delegated to Tāne. Tāne clumsily attempted to copulate with Hine-ahu-one, however he did not seem to know what to do so attempted to 'pro-create' through other parts of the body before finally finding the vagina. In this way Tane is considered the cause of natural body sectretions such as tears, saliva, ear wax, mucus and perspiration (Hiroa 1970).

There are many messages within Hine-ahu-one's story. The body parts gifted to Hine-ahu-one from the many atua hold their mauri. Hine-ahu-one is considered supernatural and partly mortal. As the first 'human form' the mauri and wairua of the atua is now transferred to tangata whenua, the many descendants of Papatūānuku and Hine-ahu-one (Best 1976).

Murphy (2013) asserts that the name Kurawaka is a message of its own. Kura can be translated to red, scarlet, precious treasure. Waka is a vehicle or medium of atua. Murphy explains that in this instance waka is a metaphor for female genetalia in both its physical likeness as well as its capacity to convey the generations (cited by Murphy as a personal communication with Rangimārie Rose Pere). Murphy connects these descriptions with menstrual blood and posits that "perhaps the treasure is humanity itself, whose currents ebb and flow on the blood tides of women". These statements signify the important role women hold in the continuation of whakapapa.

Best tells us women are from the earth, therefore holds the nuturing waters, she becomes the shelterer, nurturer and by whom all things are caused to acquire form and growth. This description aligns with Marsdens (1975:134) description of continuous creation through plant growth and gestation in the womb. However Best also claims "the female is the passive, nurturing haven bed" (pg 124). This description removes Hine-ahu-one's divinity,

mana and authority. In turn it deems the role of wife and mother is all that wāhine Māori offer to the world, rendering the role of women as passive, inferior, and symbolic removing their mana and authority (Dixon 2013). These descriptions only serve to erase the power of women perpetuating the myth that women are inferior to men (Murphy 2013, Pihama 2001).

Hine-ahu-one is considered the progentor of humankind (Royal 2002).Through the pūrakau of Hine-ahu-one we learn how our whakapapa connects us to the atua, how mana and tapu are instilled in all of us. Furthermore we understand the mana and position of women within Te Ao Māori.

Hine-tī-tama and Hine-nui-te-pō

Hine-tī-tama is the daughter of Hine-ahu-one and Tāne, considered the first human and said to have been extraodinarily beautiful. In this regard Māori cosmology differs greatly to that of Western religion which tells us Adam was the first human.

Hine-tī-tama unknowingly marries and has children with her father, Tāne. Eventually, Hine-tī-tama becomes curious and asks "who is my father?" to which Tane replies "ask the corners of the house". Upon hearing this Hine-tī-tama realises the truth and choses to leave Tāne and her children. Just before dawn, Hine-tī-tama utters karakaia to make her children sleep soundly and to stop Tāne from being able to pursue her. Hine-tī-tama approaches Te Kūwatawata, guardian of Rorohenga (the spirit world), persuading him to allow her in. She turns one more time and sees Tāne weeping as he follows her. She tells him to return home to care for their earthly children while she prepares a place for them in Rorohenga, to care for them once more as their mother, in death. From this time forward she is known as Hine-nui-te-pō, the kuia to whom everybody travels to upon death. (Hiroa 1970, Mikaere 2017).

Hine-nui-te-pō plays a prominant role in the death of Maui, a supernatural Māori character or demi-god. Maui is known for many feats including the fishing up of Te-ika-a-Maui, The North Island, and the slowing of the sun. Maui hears of Hine-nui-te-po and decides to defeat her to give all people eternal life. He plans to wait until she was asleep, crawl through her vagina, cut out her heart and emerge through her mouth, the reverse of the birthing process. Maui instructs his companions, the birds not to make any sound as he does so. The Pīwakaka (fantail) could not help himself upon seeing Maui attempt to crawl inside of Hine-

nui-te-pō. Startled by the sound, Hine-nui-te-pō awakens and closes her thighs, strangling Maui. Mauis death renders mortality permanant (Hiroa 1970). Hine-nui-te-po is now commonly referred to as the Goddess of Death due to Mauis actions.

Whakapapa between the atua and everything within the world is established through Hine-tī-tama and Tāne. A common emphasis of Hine-tī-tamas story is that she runs away in shame, which some consider inherited by her descendants, wahine Māori (Murphy 2013). However as other Māori scholars point out (Jenkins 2019, Mikaere 2017, Murphy 2013), the embedded message for wāhine Māori is that Hine-tī-tama took control of her own destiny by choosing to leave. Through her story we can see the power of transformation, overcoming adversity and taking control of your own destiny.

Summary:

In this section I outline how the creation stories inform the identity and mana of wāhine Māori. I also discuss how cosmological colonisation and bowdlerisation has re-orientated mātauranga reducing the mana of women over a short period of time. Additionaly, I introduce the notion that Māori social organisation is not necessarily bound by gender. Re-vitalising the stories of our atua wahine re-introduces tikanga and Māori ways of being while reinforcing the postionality of wāhine Māori.

Whenua and Ancestral Landscapes

He wahine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata

By women and land men are lost

In this chapter I discuss whenua. Rather than discussing ownership I examine meaning of place and how the actions of tūpuna wāhine contribute to that meaning. I provide two examples of how this occurs through the kōrero tuku iho of Ruaputahanga and the pūrakau of Rona, 'the lady in the moon'.

Ancestral landscapes or whenua are key elements of Māori identity (Tomlins-Jahnke & Forster 2015, Kawharu 2009, Hopa 1988). Māori concepts of land differ to Western concepts (Kawharu 1977, Firth 2011). The relationship between Māori and whenua is not just about food and shelter, it is also a spiritual and emotional identity with place and ancestry (Stokes 1999). In this way whenua goes beyond the boundaries of an aesthically pleasing commodity or resource asset, it is imbued with metaphysical elements. This perception is rooted in cosmlogy, whakapapa and ancestral activities that have shaped the land.

Renowned Waikato anthropologist Ngapare Hopa (1988:9) describes how land informs Māori identity,

> Māori are tangata whenua who have and still maintain a unique attachment to the land. Despite the ravages of imperialism, a distinct identity has persisited, drawn from a tribal base wherein kinship and descent are the structural principles for the organisation of Māori life.

Cosmological narratives inform Māori that everything in the world was here long before people. People were last in the Māori evolution story. Therefore whakapapa and tikanga places people within the environment rather than masters of it (Durie 2012), positioning people firmly in the role of 'teina', the younger sibling or junior in the relationship with the enviroment. Tuakana-teina is the senior-junior relationship principle between people and things (Muru-Lanning 2016) which is based on responsibility and reciprocity (Oetzel et. al 2019). These understandings of the environment and relational social organisation is the basis

for the recipricol relationship and responsibility Māori have with the whenua and the environment.

In his discussion of distribution and ownership within Māori communities Schwimmer (1966:80) explains:

> To the Maori, the land is part of the living body of his tribe. It is not just that he is sentimentally attached to it because he has lived there all his life and because his ancestors are buried there. Inseperable from the land are the multiplicity of spirit beings which make up the mana of the tribe. The forest was Tane, the fern roots were Haumiatiketike, the kūmara were Rongo. In some nearby tree lived a morepork who really was the chief's great grandmother. With all these beings intense relationships existed, manifested regularly through omens and rituals. They were simply part of the community, for the community, without its atua, was unthinkable.

Kawharu (1977:40) tells us that in pre-contact times cosomological beliefs anthropomorphized the environment. A person walking through the bush "might also feel he was walking amongst his own kin. The trees were members of another branch of 'the great family'". Roberts et al. (1995) describes this close relationship as environmental whanaungatanga or a familial relationship with the environment. Ingold's (1993) concept of the dwelling perspective echoes the Māori perception of whenua and identity. Ingold argues that landscape and nature are not separate to people, through living in the landscape, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are part of it.

While discussing how Western Apache speak about landscape Basso (1996:40) notes "with words, a massive physical presence is fashioned into a meaningful human universe." This statement rings true for how Māori view ancestral lands. Indeed the importance of whenua can be found in some common Māori words; whenua means land and placenta; hapū, the extended whānau also means pregnant; te ukaipo is the area a person is raised in, it also means to be breastfed. Whenua and human creation stems from Papatuānuku hence the dual meanings. The connection and relationship to whenua and Papatuānuku is expressed through tikanga such as burying placenta and pito (umbilical cord) (Penetito 2021) as well as karakia acknowledging the mana instilled in people from Papatuānuku (Wiki cited in Roberts et al. 1995). Furthermore, people are buried within their whenua, returned to Hine-nui-te-pō and the atua that created the land, thus securing their relationships with the people and the whenua (Mackintosh 2021).

Imbued with metaphysical and physical values, whenua is steeped in history and stories that have the capacity to guide and teach us as well as entertain or warn us (Jackson 2020). Through pūrakau we learn of atua and cultural heros, and kōrero tuku iho tells us of how ancestors shaped the lands and of those who fought and died for it (Metge 1967, Kawharu 2009).

Morphy (1995) discusses similar concepts through his fieldwork with the Yolngu people of Arnhem Land, Australia. Morphy argues that rather than considering the landscape as a system of signs that passes on information of the past, the landscape is integral to the message. The ancestral past is stories in the landscape. These stories speak of how the land was formed by ancestral beings. The stories are encoded with messages and ancestral laws, passed on to new generations as they move through their ancestral lands. Every aspect of the landscape holds connotations of ancestral beings – the scents, sounds and flavours experienced today are the same as those experienced by the ancestors and ancestral beings of the past.

Likewise for Māori, mātauranga and intergenerational knowledge is passed on through the act of storytelling. Pūrakau are woven into personified stories and objects or events are built into the structure of the story (Bender 1999) to inform the listener of how things came to be or why things are done in a particular way. Stories such as these are often dismissed as meaningless myths. The issue with translating pūrakau as myths or legends relegates these important stories to the realms of fantasy and nonsense when in fact they convey important messages. Ingold (1993:153) reminds us that to tell a story is not 'weaving a tapestry to cover up the world' instead it is a way to guide the reader or listener into it.

Pūrakau Māori reveals to us how the physical formations of Aotearoa have been shaped through the actions of atua, tūpuna and the personified landscape. The waterways are the fluids of Papatūānuku, red earth clay is a result of the menstrual cycles of Papatūānuku; the Waikato awa was formed as Tongariro maunga (mountain) sent water to help heal his sister Taupiri maunga who became ill after marrying Pirongia maunga and moving to his territory (Mataira 1983). We also learn Te-Ika-a-Maui, the North Island was fished up by Maui and his brothers. The mountains and valleys were shaped by Māuis brothers as they attempted to cut up the fish to share the spoils against Mauis wishes. Mahuika (2009) argues this pūrakau situates Māori in Aotearoa conveying messages of collective identity and relationships with

the land (Mackintosh 2021). The story of the Waikato awa is similiar in that it speaks of the spiritual healing power of the awa and of the unique bond between the people of Waikato and Ngāti Tuwharetoa (Muru-Lanning 2016). To bring this discussion back to Kāwhia, Rona, 'the lady in the moon' is a signinficant pūrakau for the people of the area, with waterways named after her and whakatauki linking her to the prosperity of the area. I speak more about her story below.

Included in these pūrakau are the stories of our ancestors who have shaped the whenua through their actions. These actions include settlement, wāhi tapu, and sites of significant events including battles and deeds of conquest. Wāhi tapu include urupā, battle sites or places where taonga have been placed. In Kāwhia there are many significant sites such as the burial sites of the Aotea and Tainui waka; Tangi Te Korowhiti and Te Papa o Karewa, two Pohutukawa associated with the arrival of the Tainui waka still standing on the shores of Kāwhia; and many of the pā sites known to the hapū; likewise, Hawaiki-iti, the māra of Whakaotirangi remains a significant site for the people of Aotea Harbour and Kāwhia.

Place names are meaningful in any culture, they elicit powerful mental, physical and emotional associations with place, associations of time and space, history, events and social activities (Basso 1996) with ancestral place names being important signifiers of continuing authority and identity with the whenua (Durie 2012). There are many examples of place names in Kāwhia that fit these descriptions by both women and men. I illustrate this through the story of Ruaputahanga and her continued influence on the people of Kāwhia and the wider region below.

In addition to pūrakau, Māori understand the significance of place and whenua through tongi, whakataukī, whakatauākī, waiata, haka, carvings and place names all of which transmit important events and knowledge, such as whakapapa and tikanga associated with the whenua and place names (Walker 1969). Like Māori cosmology, the significance and contribution of wāhine Māori is often told via all of these methods. For instance, the whakataukī at the beginning of this section, 'He wahine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata' is often translated as 'By women and land men are lost' however Tuhoe scholar, Rangimarie Rose Pere points out that this whakataukī refers to the nourishing roles that whenua and women fulfil without which humanity would be lost (Pere 1982, Mikaere 1994).

Before I move on to the story of Ruaputahanga I would add that naming of place continues today albeit in a different format. There are many street names that use the same principle of naming of place after events and memorable people. Kāwhia, has street names that remind the people of place and history, and I would argue should be considered a form of cultural mapping and knowledge transfer. Examples include; Pouewe Street and Waiwera Street which depict the hot water that was once found at these particular streets, there is even some local kōrero that state women about to give birth would sit in the warm healing waters of Pouewe to help with the birthing process; Tainui Street and Hoturoa Street are named after the waka and the Rangatira on board; Taui Street, Wetere Street and Moke Street are all names of established whānau within Kāwhia. As stated earlier these place names continue to hold authority and identity for the whānau and whenua of Kāwhia.

Ruaputahunga

Ruaputahunga is a significant tūpuna wāhine to both Taranaki and Kāwhia whose story contributes to meaning of place, connection and belonging for the many hapū between the two regions. There are many accounts of Ruaputahanga, all of which have similarities and some differences. The condensed version I provide here is from Pei Te Hurinui Jones and Bruce Biggs (1995) as their's is a Tainui account of Ruaputahanga. They have used the voices of kaumātua at the time to collate her story. This is not to say that this is *the* correct version as there are many and the people of Taranaki will have their own story to tell.

Ruaputahanga was the daughter of a rangatira of Patea. She was considered particularly beautiful and charismatic. Ruaputahanga was idolised by her people and the people of the Aotea iwi. Considered puhi, a woman of high rank, she was afforded privileges not normally given to the daughters of rangatira. One of these privileges included the setting aside of a bathing pool in a small lake alongside her father's home. At the time this pool was known as Hitore, later becoming widely known as Te Wai-kaukau o Ruaputahanga, The Bathing Pool of Ruaputahanga.

The people of Kāwhia had heard the stories of Ruaputahanga with one young man of high rank, Tūrongo, the son of Pūnui-a-te-kore and Tāwhao, a rangatira of Kāwhia, choosing to travel to Patea to meet her. Upon meeting Ruaputanga, Tūrongo asks her to marry him, she declines numerous times.

One day Tūrongo follows Ruaputahanga to the bathing pool. Hiding in the shrubs he watches Ruaputahanga undress and enter the pool. Tūrongo comes forward and takes her clothes. Ruaputanga sees Tūrongo and asks, “Why are you doing this to me?” He replies “It is the love for you that consumes me. I have seen your body, and I ask you once again to be my wife.” After a long pause Ruaputahanga replies, “return to your home and your people, and in due time I and my people will come. Indeed, you have seen me in all my nakedness, I must become your wife!”

Tūrongo returns home and recounts his story. His brother Whatihua hears his brother’s story and secretly decides he will marry Ruaputahanga. He deceives Tūrongo as he prepares for the arrival of his new wife. While building his new home Whatihua persuades Tūrongo to reduce the size of his whare and that he does not need a large garden. In the meantime, Whatihua is making his own home and garden larger. Before Tūrongo’s garden is ready Whatihua sends for Ruaputahanga.

Ruaputahanga and a group of attendants travelled up the Whanganui River towards Kāwhia stopping at many kāinga along the way. A number of places were named during her travels; Tangi-tu-o-Ruaputahanga, the place-where Ruaputahanga-stood-weeping is the summit on which she stopped to look back at the peak of Taranaki maunga; Mahoenui on the Mokau River is the spot Ruaputahanga’s dog Ruahinahina caught a kiwi. The bird was prepared and put in a hangi, this place is named Umu-kaimata, the oven-of-uncooked-food. When the bird was pulled up uncooked, the bird was cooked again. This place was henceforth known as Tao-rua, the second roasting.

Upon arriving at Kāwhia it was clear Tūrongo could not accomodate Ruaputahanga and her people, but Whatihua could. Whatihua’s hospitality was boundless with the best foods placed before Ruaputahanga. Whatihua grew bolder day by day and began to pursue her. Ruaputahanga ultimately marries Whatihua. Their union joins the senior descent lines of the Tainui waka and Aotea waka.

After some time passes Whatihua marries another high-born women, Apakura. Not long after Ruaputahanga becomes angry as Whatihua favours his junior wife. One day Apakura craves eel so Whatihua catches the eel and Apakura is satisfied. Ruaputahanga learns that Whatihua had used her talisman from Taranaki to catch the eel, making her very angry. At

the time Ruaputahanga was still carrying her second baby, Uenuku-te-rangi-hōkā, on her back. It was then Ruaputahanga decided to return to Taranaki.

The next morning Ruputahanga leaves with her son on her back. Some time later Whatihua discovers she is gone and goes after her. When Ruaputanga sees Whatihua close by she buries her son neck deep in the sand. By the time Whatihua reaches his son Ruaputahanga is swimming across the harbour from Kāwhia to Te Maika. Whatihua passes their son to others and continued to follow Ruaputahanga.

Upon reaching the other side of the harbour Ruaputahanga continues going past Lake Taharoa, crossing at Taumatakanae, passed Harihari and reaches Marokopa. From here she crosses the Marokopa River, rounds the headland and reaches the sheer cliffs of Moeaatoa Mountain. There is a little stream here at the foot of the cliff. This stream is known as Te Mimi-O-Ruaputahanga. The sheer cliffs here are dangerous as they fall abruptly into deep water where fearsome taniwha reside. Ruaputahanga sees Whatihua and in sheer desperation dives into the sea. She is safely pushed to the other side by the power of the waves. She calls across the water to Whatihua “Ka tu Nga Tai o Rakeimata Taniwha! Hoki atu i kona; korerotia nga tane a te waewae i kimi ai! E noho ra, e te tau aroha o nga tau maha! Hei konei ra!”, “Behold the rising Tides of Rakeimata the Dragon! Return hence and relate the story of a fruitless pursuit! Remain, O Beloved of the years that have gone; Fare thee well”.

Ruaputahanga arrives in Mōkau and later marries a man of the area. After some time, she leaves him and finally returns to Taranaki where she marries a man of Aotea, Porou.

There is a lot to unpack in this version of Ruaputahanga’s story. Ruaputahanga, revered by her people in Patea obviously holds a high level of mana and tapu in her own right. She is strong, determined, and able to make her own decisions. The story of the talisman from Taranaki denotes Ruaputahanga has skill and knowledge in the act of gathering food, in this instance eel. It is said that the path she took back to Taranaki is one of the most difficult therfore her story tells us Ruaputahanga is a woman of strength, endurance, fortitude and willpower.

However, in her story, we see her mana and tapu compromised numerous times, firstly by Tūrongo as he forces Ruaputahanga into marriage after seeing her naked at her bathing

pool. Whatihua's deceitful actions also compromise her mana, firstly duping her into marrying him over his brother, then favouring Apakura especially after Ruaputahanga had recently given birth to their second son and finally, Whatihua uses her talisman to feed eel to his junior wife. We also hear about Ruaputahanga's anger towards Apakura and Whatihua. This anger is noted as jealously in other renderings of her story.

It could be interpreted that Ruaputanga's anger or jealously of Apakura has led to her leaving the marriage. I interpret this story as Ruaputahanga's mana has been trampled on one too many times. Having had enough of Whatihua's ill-treatment Ruaputahanga, similar to her tupuna wāhine Hine-ti-tama, takes control of her own destiny and reclaims her mana by returning home.

Jones and Biggs do not specifically state that Ruaputahanga's mana is constantly compromised. I believe Jones and Biggs have written this version on the assumption that the reader already has an understanding of tikanga and the values of Te Ao Māori. If I relate this thought to pūrakau, my interpretation of what has happened to Ruaputahanga would be some of the encoded messages within the story.

There are many ways Ruaputahanga is remembered today, for example the people of Kāwhia know exactly where Ruaputahanga, Apakura and Whatihua lived and is pointed to when whakapapa is being recited. During a Waka Huia documentary (2016), Whaea Heeni Grant recounts the significance of Ruaputahanga to the people of Marakopa, south of Kāwhia. She tells us the township of Marakopa is named after the river in memory of Ruaputahanga. The local tradition states that during her return to Taranaki, Ruaputahanga arrived at the river during her menstrual cycle. The river also became known as Te-mate-hine o Ruaputahanga. Whaea Heeni also points out Te-Mimi-o-Ruaputahanga, the freshwater spring at the harbour mouth. She recounts that this is the place Ruaputahanga stopped to relieve herself. A bubbling freshwater spring came forth with pristine clear water. She also explains the rocks on either side of the spring look like the inner thighs of Ruaputahanga. It is interesting to note that the bodily fluids and body parts of a woman is not remembered or discussed in a sexual or polluted manner, nor are they ignored or erased from memory as they have been in other colonial versions of Ruaputahangas story. Instead, we see the how actions of our tūpuna wāhine and place continue to inform our identity today.

Rona

Ka mimiti te wai o te Wai-ō-Rona
Ka whērā hoki te mana ki te whenua

One of the most enlightening pūrakau for me is Rona, 'the lady in the moon'. I grew up singing her song and hearing her story making the western account of 'the man in the moon' very strange to me. Like Ruaputahanga, there are different versions of Rona's story, here I write the one I grew up with. Rona's story is short but remains significant for many.

Rona, a human woman, was with her children in the evening. She put her children to bed as normal but a little later in the night her son cried for water. Rona found the calabashes empty so decided to go to the puna (spring) to collect water. Initially the pathway was clearly seen with the light of the moon illuminating her path. Suddenly, the moon moved behind the clouds, and without light, Rona tripped over tree roots. In her anger Rona cursed at the moon. The moon hurt by Rona's actions, descended to the earth, snatched Rona and took her back to the sky.

We still see Rona's silhouette today on the face of the moon, still clinging to her hue (gourd) and the tree she clung too as the moon carried her away.

I always thought this was just a simple story used to teach children to be careful of what they say to others and never to swear. Another interpretation is that Rona's story portrays the nature of women as selfish but as Jenkins (2019) quite rightly argues, this can not be right considering Rona was collecting water to care for her crying, thirsty child. But neither of these are the complete message of her story.

There is not a lot written about Rona yet a key componant of her story is that Rona moves the moon into the domain of women (Jenkins 2019) as Rona becomes an atua of sorts who helps to regulate the ocean tides and currents, guarding the sea, its inhabitants and the sea world (Ihimaera 2020), all of which are elements associated with procreation and the rhythmic cycles of the environment and everything that lives within it. In this way Rona also becomes associated with Hine-te-iwa-iwa, the atua wāhine most associated with all things pertaining to women such as the natural cycles of menstruation, birth and weaving.

Furthermore Kāwhia tradition states the story of Rona happened locally and that Rona lived at the kāinga of Maketū. The spring that Rona was collecting water from still exists today and continues to be known as Te-Puna-ā-Rona (Thorne 2012).

The whakataukī at the beginning of Ronas story is specific to Kāwhia. It states that if the waters of Rona were to dry up, then so too would any claim to mana whenua (Thorne 2012). The whakataukī relates to Te Wai-ō-Rona, the entire fresh water supply on the Kāwhia peninsula. The subterannean collection of water that flows beneath the local sand-dunes feeding two lakes and multiple springs in the area. An interpretation of the whakataukī is that if tangata whenua cannot protect the life giving properties of the Kāwhia waterways then tangata whenua will cease to exist, the land will be abandoned and mana whenua will be lost (Thorne 2012).

Rona's story also resonates with wāhine of the Kāwhia district. Whaea Horahaere considers the role of Rona as significant for her as,

> *... she is the first women to go to the moon. She took the water up there. Now scientists say they've discovered water up there but we know cause it was Rona that took it up there.*

Whaea Horahaere along with the other Whaea I have spoken with have all been able to point out the puna Rona was taken from. Whaea ended her kōrero about Rona by telling me,

> *...that's the one that really sticks with me, mainly because Rona is part of us. That's our whakapapa.*

Summary:

Whenua Māori is more than just a landscape, it holds mana which is passed on to tangata whenua through whakapapa stemming from atua and tūpuna. The stories embedded in the land build connection and identity as a collective. Through whakapapa Māori conception of land is the same as that of a whānau member that requires nurturing and care. Upholding the mana of the whenua upholds the mana of the people. Additionaly the practice of pūrakau, waiata, tongi, whakataukī and naming reinforce the role and place of wāhine Māori enhancing mana wāhine.

Whakaotirangi

In this section I introduce Whakaotirangi. As the title of my thesis presents Whakaotirangi to the reader I uphold her mana by dedicating a section to her. This section will reveal her significance to the people of Tainui. Here I tell her story, where she came from and her instrumental role in the building and journey of the Tainui waka, her role in the establishment of kumura in Kāwhia and her continued influence on the women of Kāwhia today.

Whakaotirangi

"*There's significance to these roots*", Whaea Verna tells me as she speaks of the taro growing in her garden. Whaea Verna was born in Kāwhia, her father from Taharoa, and her mother "...*comes from Aotea. Our people are buried out there and it's just a hop and skip from Hawaiki, Hawaiki Iti, the māra of Whakaotirangi*." Whaea Verna is a teacher teaching at various levels, writing educational books in te reo Māori to pass on Māori histories and stories while actively working for her hapū and iwi on Waitangi Tribunal Claims and negotiations. She speaks to me about Whakaotirangi, the influence she has had on her life and how her actions are passed on to the next generation through the practice of gardening, growing kūmara and taro along with the strength and resilience of Whakaotirangi the women of the whānau draw upon as whānau leaders. She chooses Whakaotirangi as a prominant tūpuna wahine because she is part of her whakapapa and she is significant to the *"Tainui waka and specifically Aotea Moana."*

Whakaotirangi is indeed a prominant tupuna wahine. In Tainui kōrero tuku iho she is the senior wife of Hoturoa, the commander of the Tainui waka and is known for bringing the aute, taro, hue, and a variety of kūmara, the anurangi to Aotearoa. It is said that the anurangi were kept in a small basket, a rokiroki which was tied in to a corner of the waka for the duration of the journey. According to Te Rangi Hiroa (1949), it is because of this that this variety became known as te kete rokiroki a Whakaotirangi, the securely fastened kit of Whakaotirangi. Whakaotirangi successfully grew the kūmara soon after arriving in Kāwhia. But her mana is such that she is widely discussed and contested for amongst many iwi all of whom hold their own stories of her (Gordon-Burns 2014, Jones & Biggs 2004). This is especially true for the descendents of Te Arawa and the Tainui waka. The people of Te

Arawa say Whakotirangi was on their waka as the wife of Tama Te Kapua, commander of the the Te Arawa waka and and planted kūmara in their rohe. Some Tainui kaumātua believe that it was Whakaotirangi's younger twin sister, Whakaotinuku, who was the wife of Tama Te Kapua (Jones & Biggs 2004). This 'dispute' demonstrates how significant Whakaotirangi is, her mana and prowess so important that she is claimed by the descendants of at least two waka.

Narratives told by a range of Tainui rangatira and scholars show other ways her mana was displayed. Tainui scholars Pei Te Hurinui Jones and Bruce Biggs (2004) tell us that Whakaotirangi was born to a great chief of Hawaiki, Memeha-o-te-rangi. It was he who sought out the best waka builder, Raka-tāura to build the Tainui. In an account written in 1923, told by Wirihana Aoterangi, Rangatira of Ngāti Tahinga, Whaingaroa[1] suggests that it was Whakaotirangi, who was motivated by the stories of Kupes seafaring adventures which in turn inspired the journeys of Tainui. Other kaumātua say Whakaotirangi had the same vivid dream as Kupe had 200 years earlier, revealing the lands discovered by Kupe to her (Haggie 2021). Kupe is considered by many Māori to be the original person to discover Aotearoa (Hiroa 1949). Jones (1995) describes Kupe as the first Māori ancestor to arrive in Aotearoa.

In Gordon-Burns (2014) re-telling of the beginnings of the Tainui waka and Whakaotirangi, we learn that Whakaotirangi is an assertive confident person who was able to approach her father to discuss her throughts. Her father gave his blessing and the Tainui waka was built. This moment indicates Whakaotirangi is well thought of by her father (Gordon-Burns 2014). It also signifies both Whakaotirangi and her father held significant roles within their community for this to be achieved. Jones and Biggs (2004) inform us that it is because of her high born ranking, her mana and status that prompted her high ranking husband to make the journey.

1. Wirihana Aoterangi's *Fragments of Ancient Māori History from Kaipara to Kāwhia* (c. 1860). "Aoterangi wrote his Tainui account in te reo Māori and George Graham translated and published it in 1923. As one of the earliest recorders of Tainui oral traditions, Aoterangi's work (together with Matene Te Whiwhi) could be considered the most authentic, with least opportunity of colonist intervention" Gordon Burns (2014).

Additionally, Whakaotirangi carried the mauri stone as the waka sailed across te moana-nui-a-kiwa. Mauri is a life force invested in all living things from their conception until their death. Mauri is different for each individual and living thing binding together the spritual and physical elements required for them to exist. Additionaly as mauri is an intangible form, it can be placed into inanimate objects such as stone, becoming tangible. Living and inanimate objects imbued with mauri can be positively and negatively influenced by either physical or spiritual attacks. While there are rituals that can correct any negative influence it is imperative that the mauri [object] must be protected to avoid or minimise any negative impact on it to avoid any failing or regressive state of vitality (Duncan and Rewi, 2018). To hold the mauri stone is a role of great import and only those deemed to hold the correct mana, manaaki, kaha and mātauranga are given the auspicious role of caring for the mauri. Again, this signifies the high regard Whakaotirangis people have of her.

The narratives of Whakotirangi continue as the waka reaches the shores of Aotearoa. The waka traverses the coastline, stopping in many places, searching for the land in Whakaotirangi's dreams. There is a story of the waka becoming stuck on the isthmus at Otahuhu. The narratives tell us that karakia was performed to make the waka move again. Some accounts tell us that it was Marama-kiko-hure, the younger wife of Hoturoa who performed this rite and others tell us it was Whakotirangi. According to Ngāti Toa Rangatira Te Rangihaeata (c. 1851) (Greys Genealogies and Traditions, Jones & Biggs 2004), it is Whakaotirangi who performs the karakia that makes the waka move and continue its journey along the West Coast of Aotearoa New Zealand. This kōrero tuku iho signifies Whakaotirangi's understanding of tikanga, suggesting she was recognised as a tohunga in her own right.

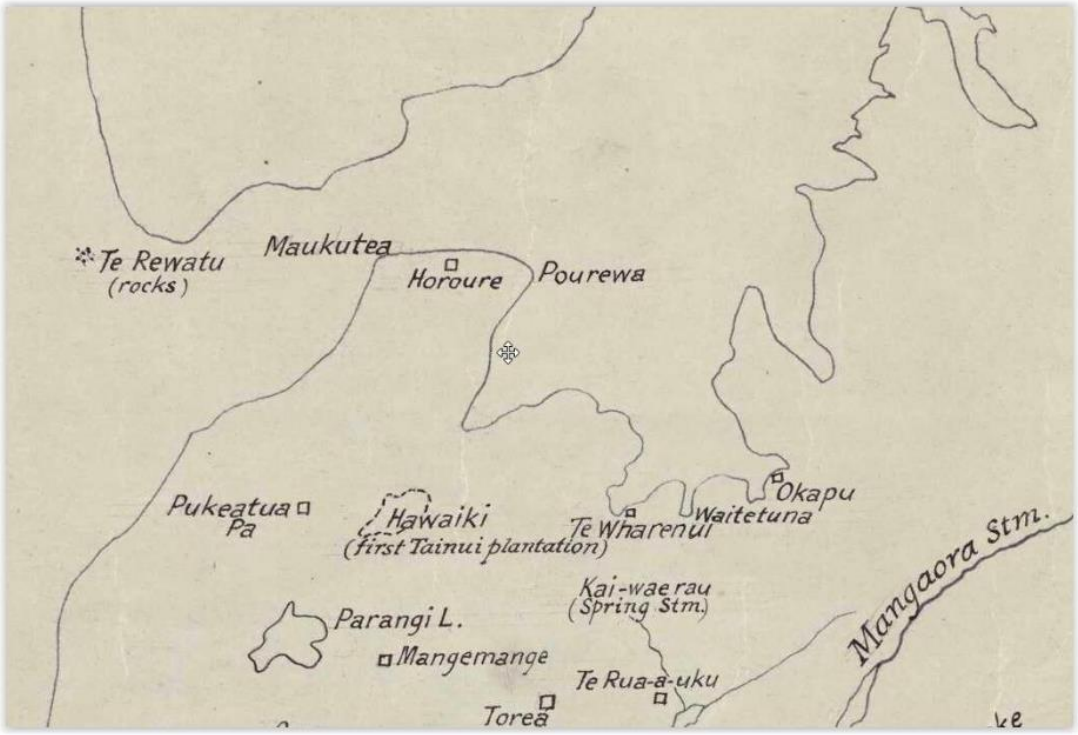
Once settled in Kāwhia, Whakaotirangi and Hoturoa separate. Hoturoa stays with his younger wife, Marama-kiko-hura at Maketū while Whakaotirangi and their youngest son Hotuāwhio move to Pākarikari on the south side of Aotea Harbour (McIvor & Ford 2021). It is between the rolling hills of Aotea and Kāwhia that Whakaotirangi establishes her māra, Hawaiki-Iti, succesfully growing enough of a crop to feed many. Aotearangi provides an account of the undertaking of Whakaotirangi (Graham 1923 cited in McIvor & Ford 2021):

> Ka wehea ano ngā puke tuatahi, ka oti ka puehu. Ka whakatumu rarauhe. Ka whakawaetorea, ka Haratau. Ka whakaangāpipi. Ka whakarau mapau ka tuke, ara ka whakaraurekau, ka Potaka.
>
> [She] first made the divisions between the mounds… she made the soil friable and rooted up the bracken fern… then burned off the vegetation… she cleared it all over ready for use… spread it all up with pipi… made it sheltered with branches of trees then she sloped the ground to distances apart.

When her crops were ready to harvest, Whakaotirangi sent her son to fetch his father, Hoturoa to bless the garden and told her son what to say. Jones & Biggs (2004) provide the following version –

> Hotu-aawhio went to the father and said, 'Whakaotirangi told me to get you to go to her before she dies.' Hoturoa felt sorry and went. Arriving above Whakaotirangi's home he saw the kuumara garden. Hoturoa wept at the sight of the food from Hawaiki. Then the child said, 'This is the real reason you were fetched.' After weeping, Hoturoa went down to the house and wept with Whakaotirangi, and then she said, 'Recite the pure ritual for my garden so that it will be fruitful. This mound is the tama-taane and that one is the tama-wahine.' Hoturoa chanted the ritual, the fire was lit, the food cooked, and all was done, according to the pure ritual. Hoturoa went back to Whakaotirangi and lived with her again. (pg54)

Pure rites would have been essential at this time as all aspects pertaining to the kūmara, planting, harvesting and cooking are connected to the Atua of horticulture and peace, Rongomātāne (Hiroa 1949, Roberts 2013), therefore karakia and tikanga would have to have been followed to lift the tapu from the kūmara before distribution and consumption (McIvor & Ford 2021).



Part of a 1941 sketch map by Pei Te Hurinui Jones of traditional Aotea and Kāwhia placenames featuring “Hawaiki (first Tainui plantation)”

Once the first harvest was completed, Whakaotirangi sent her son Hotuāwhio to deliver seeds to her mokopuna Hāpopo who was living in Te Akau. Hāpopo established his garden with his grandmother’s seeds.The seeds of Whakaotirangi’s plants continued to be spread throughout the lands of Tainui ensuring food security fuelling Tainuis growth and expansion (McIvor & Ford 2021). Hotuāwhio also delivered a mauri stone named Te kete rukuruku a Whakaotirangi which remains in place today (Jones & Biggs 2004).

Establishing a productive kūmara crop was a huge achievement. The climate and environment of the original Hawaiki to Aotearoa New Zealand would have been dramatically different. To be able to experiment and calculate the requirements to grow a succesful crop would have been a massive undertaking and would have required advanced hoticultural skills and knowledge. Yet another skill to add to Whakaotirangis kete.

Many generations later the Royal Society of New Zealand Te Apārangi during their 150 year anniversary, recognised Whakaotirangi as one of the first scientists in Aotearoa New Zealand (Royal Society, 2017). The Royal Society of New Zealand Te Apārangi reiterate the science skills that Whakaotirangi would have had by explaining the people of the Tainui waka bought food and medicinal seeds and plants with them to test and grow in the colder

climate. Whakaotirangi experimented in many places before achieving success in the hills close to the Aotea harbour. Knowing that the colder climate was unsuitable for kūmara, new methods had to be found – one of the discoveries was that leaving them in the frost gave them a distinctive sweet and sour taste. They also state that the practice of early European ethnographers was to speak only to men about any Māori practices, "colonisation diminished Whakaotirangi's fame as a heroine over time."

While colonisation and early ethnography relegated her to the role of senior wife, her descendants, and the people of Kāwhia continue to tell the next generation of her accomplishments and care for her legacy. Whakaotirangi's māra continues to grow today, and is considered a physical representation of Whakotirangi as a kaitiaki of her people (McIvor & Ford 2021). Pākarikari, the site of Whakaotirangi's māra provides valuable resources such as descendant plants of Whakaotirangi's first harvest, taro, harakeke, raupō, and watercress. Also, the Kowiwi stream that runs from Pākarikari to the Aotea harbour, feeding into Hawaiki Iti is known to be the pathway used by the taniwha travelling to rest at Lake Parangi (McIvor & Ford 2021).

The act of settlement after the land wars saw the landscape surrounding Pākarikari change through farming, forestry, siltation, and residential developments. These changes are detrimental to the resources in Pākarikari including the survival of Whakaotirangi's māra. As kaitiaki of the area today, the people of Ngāti Patupō and Ngāti te Wehi ki Ōkapu are actively working with Te Pouhere Taonga, Heritage New Zealand to protect the area.

Additionally, Te kete rukuruku a Whakaotirangi continutes to thrive due to whānau living around the country still distributing and growing descendant plants from Hawaiki Iti in their own home gardens today. Whaea Verna tells me,

> *My Great Grandfather had 12 children and the majority of those branches have got taro, everyone I think has got taro. Some of us have also got the kūmara. We grew up with taro from Hawaiki Iti in our garden...*

In fact, it is in their home gardens that they tell the story of Whakotirangi to the next generation.

> *I have taro in my garden... So last week my daughter was over home, talking to her twin boys who are 14 months old. They were just walking around the edge of the garden, she took photos, and she called out to me, I was inside, and she asked 'how long ago, how far back is Whakaotirangi? How many years?' I said, 'some say they came in 900 some say in*

1300 the waka came here, that's how long ago Whakaotirangi was.' And so…she posted on Facebook and said, 'this is a specimen, a descendant of the taro brought by Whakaotirangi and planted at Hawiki Iti'.

Whaea Verna also tells me about her niece who chose to discuss the whakapapa of the taro in the garden for a school history project.

I think she likes it because she knows she will get a good mark because this is not something someone's gone to buy at Bunnings, this is something with a very, very long whakapapa and even further back to the islands.

I ask Whaea Verna "How do you think Whakaotirangi shaped your whānau and hapū?". There is no hesitation when Whaea replies *"...we were heavily influenced by my mother and all her sisters."* Whaea Verna tells me about how large her mums whānau is*,*

...we were just embraced by all these big families and very, very women led. Very, very strong women. I think the women out this way, they rule the marae...I mean I have really seen a balance across our tribe but the women are not shy, they're not docile, they don't just sit back and wait and they're always chiming in to the point where women rule.

These statements were associated directly to the influence of Whakaotirangi, her strength, determination, autonomy and mana all of which has continued to enable the mana and standing of women of Whaea Verna's whānau throughout the generations.

Summary

Whakaotirangi is a significant tūpuna wahine and considered an eponymous tūpuna wāhine of the people of Tainui (Haggie 2021). Whakaotirangi's story clearly illustrates her strength, mana, and mana motuhake suggesting that she was a well-respected tohunga and a woman who understood waka, ritual and horticulture. Her story demonstrates the idea that pre-contact wāhine were subservient to men is a myth. Yet the practice of the early ethnographers to speak only with Māori men about Māori communities and practices effectively diminished and silenced Whakaotirangi and her significance. However, through the actions of the people of Ngāti Patupō and Ngāti te Wehi ki Ōkapu along with the examples within Whaea Vernas whānau we see that Whakaotirangi is not completely silenced. Her accomplishments, strength, resilience and leadership continue to be drawn upon by Kāwhia wāhine today along with her gardening knowledge and expertise. Furthermore the re-telling of her story by Tainui historians and scholars such as Rahui Papa, Tom Roa, Jones and Biggs, Gordon-Burns, and Haggie ensure Whakaotirangi's prowess is being heard outside of the rohe of Kāwhia and the Tainui iwi. This is echoed by

organisations such as the Royal Society of New Zealand Te Apārangi recognising her as one of New Zealands first scientists. The recognition from the Royal Society of New Zealand Te Apārangi tells us that Whakaotirangi's mana and agency remains intact today.

Matriarchs and Grandmothers

"Watch what happens kare. Watch how the women are talking to the men on the pae. They are telling the men who is at the gate. Remember, nothing here happens without us." This is a shortened version of a vivid memory I have of my maternal great-grandmother, Ani Tahakura-Edmonds, whispering to me on the marae before a pōwhiri. It was one of my many lessons from her about the role and the strength of wāhine Māori. But it was this particular lesson that has stayed with me. It was this moment where I understood the significance of women in Te Ao Māori and how instrumental women were to the community. Wāhine Māori are leaders in their own right and they definitely have things to say. Through this example I could see the balance of the roles of women and men and neither were superior to the other.

It is something I have seen over and over in my lifetime. Within my whānau, the women have been sought out to provide guidance and advice and more often than not, they have been instrumental in the final decision. I have never understood why non-Māori think we are inferior to men. How can we be when, in my lifetime, we have had inspirational women such as, Tuaiwa Rickard, Dame Nganeko Minhinnick, Dr Ngapare Hopa and Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, just to name a few, publicly demonstrating the influence and strength of women.

I asked Whaea Horahaere, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna who they consider to be significant tūpuna wāhine in their lives and why. Their answers come back quickly. All of their stories speak of strength, endurance, wisdom, leadership, mātauranga wāhine, care and aroha. The significant wāhine included Whakaotirangi, Ruaputahanga, Rona, the lady in the moon and Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu. But more significantly they all speak lovingly of their sisters, aunties, mothers and grandmothers and the positive role they played in shaping their lives, influencing the roles each of the Whaea undertake today. It is through their role modelling and guidance that has led to the three Whaea returning service to their communities, "stepping up" into the roles of their kuia before them.

Women as repositories of knowledge

Older women are considered mediums and keepers of ancestral knowledge holding on to tribal knowledge, karakia and family history (Salmond 1985, Binney and Chaplin 2004). The cosomology narratives inform us of the importance of kuia and their role as repositories of knowledge, particularly the pūrakau of Maui and his kuia, Mahuika, from whom Maui obtained fire and he received the sacred jawbone of his kuia Muriranga-whenua. I provide a brief retelling of these pūrakau later in this chapter.

Both pūrakau set the precedent of introduction through pepeha and whakapapa, which, according to Papakura (1986), the ability to know ones whakapapa and connection to those around you is of utmost importance. Just as importantly, we see both kuia practicing the cultural concepts of whanaungatanga, aroha and transmission of knowledge. Maui would have had to work hard to win the knowledge of his kuia (Walker 2004). Both kuia decide to pass on their skills and mātauranga to Maui only when they deem him to be worthy of it (Walker 2004, Mikaere 2017, Murphy 2013). The mātauranga shared by the kuia utlimately contributes to the care and sustenance of the people in the story and the many generations thereafter.

Throughout the generations since, grandmothers have had an active and willing role in caring for and educating children (Papakura 1986, Binney and Chaplin 2004, Metge 2015). Parents would teach their children the practical skills of caring for the house and gardens while the grandparents would educate their mokopuna in a range of areas from the practical to the metaphysical such as tikanga, values and histories through storytelling and leading by example (Metge 2015). In her book *Tauira, Māori Methods of Learning and Teaching*, Metge (2015) provides a number of examples through her 'ngā kai-whakauru', the name Metge uses to describe her participants, of the various recollections of teachings they received through their grandparents, many of whom speak of their grandmothers specifically.

Macdonald, Penfold and Williams (1992:206) provide the example of Wetekia Ruruku Elkington (b. 1879-d.1957) of Ngāti Koata, Te Ati Awa and Tainui iwi. Wetekia was considered an expert in Tainui whakapapa. She would often gather her grandchildren to tell them the stories of Tainui, Waikato, the Kīngitanga and whakapapa. Understanding the

importance of wāhine Māori as the whare tangata, source of life, she taught her mokopuna the whakapapa on both the female and male side. While Wetekia passed on this information orally, she also wrote a book outlining her whakapapa. This book is now held in the Nelson Provincial Museum.

Another form of transmission is through the oriori (lullaby), in which the kuia would compose and sing to soothe their mokopuna while teaching them their whakapapa and histories. (Binney and Chaplin 2004, McRae and Jacob 2011). The oriori also contains an appeal to the child to continue to learn their whakapapa, perhaps becoming the family expert later in life (McRae and Jacob 2011). Many of these oriori continue to be sung within the whānau (Mikaere 2017).

According to Coney (1993) kuia are gifted teachers who consider the transmission of knowledge along with nurturing and guiding of mokopuna as principal duties. Coney tells us the authority of the kuias knowledge "...is based on years of accumulated experience and wisdom, and also in a profound, carefully cultivated and often laboriously acquired knowledge – of genealogy, proverbial texts, tribal history, anecdotal information and narrative chant." (1993:83)

Through these stories we learn of the reciprocal responsibility of the elder to support their grandchildren by teaching them tikanga and supporting their personal development while simultaneously the mokopuna realise what their elders have to teach (Metge 1995, Macdonald, Penfold, Williams 1992). This builds a special relationship between the mokopuna and their kaumātua (elder) as the kaumātua links their mokopuna to the past and the mokopuna links their kaumātua to the present and the future (Pere 1982).

Mātauranga Wāhine

The jawbone of Muriranga-whenua is significant to Māori as it represents knowledge. According to Walker (2004) knowledge belonged to the atua and their direct descendants, humans had no knowledge of their own until Maui obtained the jawbone of his kuia. Kauae is the Māori word for jawbone – kauae runga is the upper jaw and represents celestial knowledge and knowledge of the heavens (Moorfield 2003) while kauae raro is the lower jaw representing terrestrial, earthly knowledge (Moorfield 2003) or practical knowledge.

These translations highlight the significance of Muriranga-whenuas jawbone as a metaphor for mātauranga. In its most practicle sense we use our mouth to speak and therefore share our thoughts and mātauranga with others (Sharman 2019). In the story of Muriranga-whenua we see the metaphorical passing on of mātauranga from the kuia to her mokopuna.

As Mātauranga Māori encompasses all of the Māori knowledge systems and ways of knowing (Mercier 2018), mātauranga wāhine are knowledge systems and ways of knowing specific to wāhine. In indigenous societies women are keepers of particular knowledge systems and make use of different resources to men (Trask 2007). Mātauranga wāhine is founded on the cosmology stories, the activities and responsibilities women hold and also on the historical and contemporary context in which the knowledge is produced and mobilized (Altamirano-Jiménez and Kermoal 2016). According to indigenous scholar Altamirano-Jiménez and her colleague Kermoal (2016) ignoring the specific ways indigenous women know is to undermine them as active producers of knowledge who participate in complex community processes.

Mātauranga wāhine covers a diverse range of areas such as menstruation (Murphy 2013), childbirth practices (Hiroa 1970, Papakura 1986, Macdonald, Penfold and Williams 1991), weaving and art forms such as kōwhaiwhai and tukutuku panels were predominantly a women's space with each connected to Hine-te-iwa-iwa, the atua wāhine of child birth, weaving and arts undertaken by women. Other knowledges include rongoā, karakia used specifically by and for women (Salmond 1985), and whakapapa was held by women in some areas (Macdonald, Penfold and Williams 1991). And, like other knowledge systems there is some mātauranga wāhine passed on to specific members of the community only.

Karanga

Mātauranga wāhine is performed in a number of ways, the most common example being karanga. The karanga is often noted as the formal call of welcome but as an expression of culture it is more than a call; it is an aspect of intangible heritage (Toki et. al. 2022). The karanga is a specialized art form and as such is performed by either kuia and senior or trusted women of the marae (Ruwhiu 2009). As an art form undertaken by women karanga sits within the realm of Hine-te-iwa-iwa.

The karanga is considered a connection between the spiritual realm and the physical world therefore is steeped in tikanga and epitomises the mana of women (Toki et.al. 2022). These qualities are held by women due to their direct connection to Papātuānuku and Hine-nui-te-pō. In fact karanga can be located within their atua wāhine stories. Oral tradition states that Papātuānuku cried out for Ranginui in the form of karanga when they were forcibly seperated by their children and Hine-nui-te-pō calls to and embraces those who have passed into the spirit world (Ruwhiu 2009).

Karanga is an exchange between people, the environment and the atua. In this way it can be sent out to other lifeforms such as forests, mountains, the rivers and to the seas and also to the the various atua (Toki et. al. 2022). The purpose of karanga can be to celebrate, grieve, give thanks and converse with nature. But for most people the karanga is normally heard at pōwhiri on the marae, where the womans voice is the first voice heard, signifying her importance. This form of karanga can be considered a conversation between the senior women of the marae and the senior women of those visiting the marae. This conversation relays a lot of information. The women of the marae set the purpose and tone of the day and who is on the marae. In this way, women are working in balance with the men on the paepae, who will be listening to this exchange, informing them so their role as kaikōrero (expert orators) can be conducted appropriately.

Whaea Horahaere recalls watching her aunties perform karanga on the marae,

> *When I was little, you know our nannies used to stand right in front of the pae. It wasn't just one, it used to be all our nannies and they would kaikaranga and that's what I can recall seeing, all our nannies. Not only from Maketū [marae], [they were] also from Waipapa and also from Okapu. If they were there, they stood up, they were all in a line to do the karanga.*

Whaea Horahaere recounts how she was taught by her aunties on the marae and tells me about being upset at the mistakes she made; however, her aunties and kuia were supportive, providing guidance which helped her feel comfortable enough to try again after being encouraged by a kuia,

> *'E Pe, kua tai mai toū wā'(Pe, it is your turn now) and I turned around and said 'no, please, please' [laughs]. So, she said 'come on, I'll come out with you. You just say what you want to say' and she put her hand on my back and was rubbing my back, and you know the kupu's just came out and then afterwards she hugged me. So that was the learning and when you've got your tūpuna behind you it just takes over. It just takes over.*

Today Whaea Horahaere is kaikaranga for both of her marae in Kāwhia.

Kopikopi

Another display of mātauranga wāhine is the kopikopi, an impromptu dance performed by women only in which the belly is thrust forward (Moorfield 2023). The kopikopi is specific to the people of Tainui. There are two versions of how the kopikopi originated; a version taught to me by my great grandmother and reiterated by Whaea Horahaere, is that it was performed by women to distract the enemy. While the women held their adversary's attention, their men would surround the enemy ready for battle. The second version is that the kopikopi was performed by widows to signal to men that their time of mourning was over. Both variations demonstrate the agency of women and the understanding of the power of women's sexuality.

Today the kopikopi is performed often as impromptu entertainment at events such as the poukai, causing much joy and laughter. Kāwhia kaumātua Te Papi Cunningham tells us that "if women are performing kopikopi on the marae everyone knows it is at peace, everything is relaxed and happy" (TVNZ 2015).

Whaea Horahaere recounts watching her kuia performing kopikopi on the marae then being taught kopikopi along with karanga by her kuia and aunties. This skill is taught to the women in her maternal line. Whaea Horahaere tells me:

> *…things from our tūpuna comes down to us and you don't realise your being nurtured into those positions, to take it over. Those lines are not lost, they are kept within your whānau. So in my lifetime, it [kopikopi] came down from my nanny, to my aunty, through to me, now I'm teaching my neice and it's keeping it in the [whānau] line.*

Through Whaea Horahaere's story we see how the blueprint of passing mātauranga from kuia to mokopuna set by Mahuika and Mururanga-whenua remains relevant today. Whaea Horahaere reminds me that the skills and mātauranga wāhine are instilled in you as a child:

> *Unbeknown to you, you're going to be led to whatever position there is … and you think you're there just as the dishwasher or the cook…you're just moulded into it without realising [it]". It isn't until the kuia has passed away that you realise, they have been teaching you along the way.*

Mahuika

Mahuika was the guardian of the fire on earth. She had married Au-ahi-tu-Roa, son of Tama-nui-te-Rā (the personified name for the sun). Together they had children, each of which was personified as fire on Mahuikas hand. Their names were Kōnui (thumb), Kōroa (first finger), Mānawa (second finger), Māpere (third finger) and Tōiti (little finger) (Kahukiwa and Grace 1984).

Maui had heard of his kuia Mahuika and was curious. He doused the fires in his parents village and went in search of Mahuika. Upon approaching Mahuikas home, she calls out "where do you come from?" After establishing their connected whakapapa Maui stated why he was there. Upon recognising Maui as her mokopuna she gives him a fingernail of fire telling him to take it to his people in rememberence of her (Kahukiwa and Grace 1984).

Along the way home, Maui drops the fingernail into the water and returns to his kuia. Feeling aroha for her mokopuna, Mahuika gives Maui another fingernail. This occurs over and over again until finally, Mahuika has only one nail left. When Maui returns with the same story, Mahuika becomes angry and throws her last fingernail to the ground uttering karakia to cause fire and destruction. Flames quickly burst into the air. As Maui flees he transforms into a kahu (hawk). The fire licked Mauis wings as he flew. The singed edges can still be seen on the kahus feathers today (Kahukiwa and Grace 1984).

Maui calls for other atua to help him. Tawhirimatea sends torrents of rain causing great floods to extinguish the fire (Kahukiwa and Grace 1984, Cowen 1987). While the fire was extinguished the embers of Mahuikas fingernails remain in the fire- friction wood of the hinahina also known as mahoe, the patete and the totara, but most of it remains in the kaikomako (Cowen 1987).

Muriranga-whenua

While staying with his parents, Maui had noticed food was being taken to someone outside of the village boundaries. He was told the food was being delivered to his kuia, Muriranga-whenua. Muriranga-whenua was old and blind and depended on her whānau for food.

Again Maui's curious nature makes him volunteer to take the food to Muriranga-whenua. But instead of taking the food to his kuia, he hid it. It was not until she was near to starving

that Maui approached her. Muriranga-whenua sniffs the air in all directions and could smell the scent of a man. Muriranga-whenua distended her stomach with the intent of eating the man. She sniffed again and realised the man was from the west. Upon realising he was whānau she chose not to eat him and asked “Are you Maui?” Once his identity and whakapapa was established she asked what he wanted. Knowing that Muriranga-whenua’s jawbone held the powers of enchantment and the earthly knowledge required to complete daily tasks such as fishing, Maui replied “your enchanted jawbone which will help me with what I want to achieve”. Muriranga-whenua responded “Take it, it was meant for you. You will need it when you seek new land and in your journey to the sun. It is my gift to you and the people” (Grace 1984). Maui goes on to use his kuia’s jawbone as a fish hook to pull up the North Island as well as a patu (weapon fashioned as a club) to slow down the sun.

As noted earlier these pūrakau set the precedent for introducing oneself. They also set specific examples of behaviour such as karakia and tapu. We are introduced to these notions through Muriranga-whenua and the Maui not allowing his kuia to eat. Muriranga-whenua’s jawbone was considered tapu as it contained mātauranga that only the atua had access to. Allowing Muriranga-whenua to eat before she gave up her jawbone would have rendered it noa, free of tapu, removing its spritual powers. (Kahukiwa and Grace 1984).

In the story of Mahuika, we see her losing her patience with her impertinent mokopuna causing a large fire that almost destroyed everything. It is a lesson in tampering with sacred knowledge and how doing the wrong thing can have destructive results. (Kahukiwa and Grace 1984).

Both of these pūrakau establish the blueprint of the importance of kuia and their transmission of knowledge to their mokopuna and symbolise the relationship between them. They reflect the wisdom of kaumātua portraying them as teachers, advisors and keepers of knowledge both tapu and practical (Orbell 1995).

Through the sections above we learn of how these pūrakau continue to be enacted by the grandmothers and matriarch within my whānau and the whānau of Whaea Horahaere, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna.

Leadership

Typically, Māori leadership models are discussed through the traditional structures of Ariki, Rangatira, Tohunga and Kaumātua all of which cover the political, spritual and daily lives of the people (Durie 1998). Routinely these roles are described as being held by men yet there are many examples that state otherwise. In this section I discuss various leadership roles and re-position women into the roles of leadership. I begin with the the roles within the traditional structure.

Ariki and Rangatira are hereditary roles. They are measured on their whakapapa along with kinship relationships, tribal alliances, specialist knowledge and spiritual strength such as mana (Katene 2010). Ariki remain the highest ranking role respected for their mana, tapu, ihi and wehi, all inherited qualities from the atua (Walker 2004). The Kāhui Ariki (paramount family) of the Kīngitanga movement, is an example of Arikitanga.

Rangatira were normally descendants of senior descent lines. They would be trained from a young age to guard the welfare of their people and were widely recognised as carrying the mana of their people. Rangatira status could also be earned should a person show they could care for and protect their people. Either way rangatira acted on behalf of their people, negotiating and entering into agreements with rangatira of other hapū. Their authority was rarely challenged and there word was binding (Quince 2016).

Tohunga are spiritual leaders or experts in their particular fields which could range from practical knowledge such as a house builder, canoe builder, weaver or carver to others who specialised in child birth, astronomy, navigation, and maramataka or those who specialised in the more esoteric knowledges involved in the spiritual realms (Walker 2004). These special abilities are recognised from a young age. They too are trained from youth (Te Awakotuku 1991). These people were masters of their specialist fields of mātauranga and considered to hold significant tapu.

Kaumātua are whānau leaders whose status is dependant on wisdom and experience. Kaumātuta status is not self-proclaimed, it is applied by the community to those who are deemed to hold the apporpiate knowledge and are regularly sought for guidence and leadership of tikanga and other matters of Te Ao Māori (Dawes, Lapsley, Muru-Lanning 2022).

Matāmua are whānau leaders. Matāmua, the first born, female or male, are given the role of holding the mana of the whānau. They often are the co-ordinator and the spokesperson for the whānau or those working behind the scenes of hui. They co-ordinate the workers on a marae, the making of kai and hangi preparation, organising stores, keeping accounts, and ensuring the wharenui is ready for manuwhiri (Metge 1995). All of these roles are essential to upholding the mana of the people and the marae.

A feature of Māori leadership is these roles can overlap, and can be held by one person at any given time (Winiata, 1956). For example an Ariki could be leader of the wider iwi at the same time as being Rangatira for their hapū and Kaumātua and matāmua for their whānau. Winiata (1956:223) explains this telescoping of positions occur because of the interlocking nature of Māori social organisation.

Māori leadership is not autocratic and loyalty of followers had to be earned (Salmond 1991) through mana, humility and service towards others. Ariki and rangatira maintained their mana and status through their actions and words which would strengthen cohesiveness of their people. Leadership was exemplified through three principles derived from whanaungatanga. These were aroha, atawhai and manaaki (Quince 2016).

Aroha was characterised through empathy and and kindness towards each other and had to be evidenced through benevolent acts towards others as words were not enough. These feelings had to be genuinely held by the rangatira (Quince 2016). The whakatuakī below demonstrates the importance of aroha. It was often used to remind aspiring rangatira that the most important aspect of serving ones people is the ability to show humility towards others.

Ehara te aroha
I te kiri moko
Ko ia tera e pupu ake ana
I te whatumanawa

Aroha is not the tattooed face
It is that which burgeons forth
From within
(cited in Quince 2016)

Atawhai was the obligation to serve others, to protect their peoples wellbeing and to extend aroha to others. Humility was also a required quality of a rangatira. The third principle was

manaaki, the ability to care for manuwhiri. Manaaki refers to hosting others and the degree of hospitality and safety extended to the visitors (Quince 2016). These principles all enhanced the mana of the Ariki or rangatira and were practiced collectively. These principles are considered tika for a leader to display and together are known as tikanga practices (Quince 2016).

Scholars such as Best, Hiroa and Winiata claim traditional Māori leadership roles are inherited through primogeniture, from the oldest son to the oldest son. Walker (2004:65) does not use the word primogeniture but he does state "...the head of the rangatira class was the ariki, who was first-born in the senior *male* line. His teina, junior *brothers*, were the rangatira." Walker goes on to discuss the qualities of a rangatira "...an ariki was respected for the qualities of tapu, mana, ihi and wehi (awesome power) which *he* inherited from *his* ancestors...these qualities could be increased by prowess in war, wise rule and generous behaviour to *his* people" (emphasis added). Each of these statements are of stereotypical masculine qualities and infer primogeniture.

Walker (2004:65-66) also discusses the role of a first born female in the ariki line. He tells us that she is known as ariki tapairu and that she had certain cermonial functions attached to her high rank as well as being custodian to some rituals. The ceremonies and rituals are not discussed by Walker. He notes that "Like the ariki, she was an extremely tapu person...accorded the respect one would associate with a princess or a queen." Walker also informs us that some of the chiefs daughters would be considered a puhi, "a virgin princess". This status would make her more desirable as a bride if her father sought an alliance with another rangatira and other young rangatira would often try to court a puhi. These descriptions of first-born females invoke pictures of a passive figurehead role with little autonomy. The persistent discussions of primogeniture and the descriptions of women in this way perpetuates the idea that only Māori men are leaders within Te Ao Māori and undervalues Māori women and their roles within Māori society (Forster, Palmer, Barnett 2015).

Salmond (1991) argues that through the pūrakau of Ranginui and Papātuānuku the principle of primogeniture is established during the war that begins between their children who were not in full agreement with the separation of their parents. However, Salmond also notes

that primogeniture can be overcome through competition, war and mana. She explains that people of senior descent lines, those born (either female or male) directly to high born ancestors, were the preferred options for leadership, however those born of people outside of the senior line yet considered to hold extreme mana through their actions could also become, over time, senior families. In fact, many of the ariki lines were not based purely on primogeniture. Therefore, leadership often followed ability rather than birth.

Muru-Lanning (2016) contends that the concept of primogeniture was not practiced in pre-colonial Māori social organisation. Early settlers arrived with their ideologies of women as property of men with little to no rights. Many of the early settlers to Aotearoa New Zealand were not property owners in their original homelands yet their beliefs of women and ownership endured as did their belief that individual property ownership is the primary way in which status is recognised. As settlers acquired land and resources, the concept of primogeniture continued to be practiced ensuring transmission of property ownership from father to the oldest son.

Several other prominent Māori scholars have also demonstrated the assertion of primogeniture inaccurate. Barlows (1994) explanation of Arikitanga clarifies “An ariki is the paramount chief who has the respect and allegiance of his or her subjects as he or she leads and directs the people.” The often-cited Williams (1957) definition notes Rangatira could be male or female. Mahuika (1992) provides examples of women of his iwi, Ngāti Porou who were acknowledged leaders, many hapū have been named after women and indeed women are able to speak on some Ngāti Porou marae. Pere (1982) discusses the protections placed on rangatira wāhine during pregnancy or menstruation and Salmond (1991) provides a number of early explorer’s observations of wāhine Māori in leadership and tohunga roles noting highest born chiefs could be male or female.

Furthermore there is a perception that whānau are led by a kaumātua who is male. For some hapū, this is true, however there are many hapū for whom the word kaumātua is non-gendered (Metge 1995). Either way female and male kaumātua work together recognising each others abilities and expertise as complementary (Metge 1995). Pere (1982) clarifies there is an expectation that men and women support and complement each other, neither is expected to transgress or infringe on the other.

Wāhine Leadership

There are a plethora of female role models throughout Te Ao Māori and within the Tainui iwi territories such as Dr Ngapare Hopa, the first Māori women to receive her PhD at Oxford University, political leaders such Nanaia Mahuta, and environmental leaders such as Angeline Greensill and Pania Newton and many more besides. Tūrangawaewae historian Mamae Takarei (2022) states “women remain the epicentre of our tribal universe. From the celestial pathways, to the retention of te reo, the mana of women and the power of learning has been sustained since the twelfth century.”

Te Puea Herangi and Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu whose legacy remains strong today are women who must be mentioned here. Both were considered rangatira and Ariki, with both exemplifying the qualites of aroha, atawhai and manaaki. Te Puea Herangi was fundamental in the Kīngitanga movement, reviving Waikatotanga, the identity and cultural practices specific to Waikato iwi and descendants of the Tainui waka, the establishment of Turangawaewae Marae, and care of her people (Ramsden 1952, Sorrenson 2014, Takarei 2021).

Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, reigned as Māori Queen for over 40 years, the longest reign of any Māori monarch. Te Arikinui built strong relationships with people across the country and internationally including the English Royal family (Kirkwood 2001). She was a strong advocate of Māori women and children learning te reo Māori. Te Arikinui was considered by many people across the county as “...an inspiration to all women...I see her inner strength, her quiet leadership, these are some of the significant points about Queen Te Ata for me” (Dame June Mariu, TVNZ).

Other female leaders emerged through various Māori movements. Keenly aware of the issues Māori were facing as a result of the impacts of colonisation and urbanisation, wāhine Māori began to work within their communities while appealing to politicians to improve their peoples situations (Haami 2018). This led to the formation of organisations such as the Women’s Health League, established in 1937 and the Māori Womens Welfare League, established in 1951 (Winiata 1967). In recognition of her determination and work Te Puea was named as the first patron of the Māori Womens Welfare League, simarlarly Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu was made patron from 1993. The Māori Womens Welfare League

is still a formidable organisation today which continues the work of those who founded it. Whaea Horahaere is an active member of the organisation and is the current president of the Kāwhia ward.

Additionaly Māori land protests have often been led by women. For instance, the catch cry "not one more acre" was coined by Dame Whina Cooper in 1975 as she lead Te Matakite o Aotearoa – The Māori Land March, from the top of the North Island to parliament grounds in Wellington. She was 80 years old at the time.

Women of the Tainui waka are also influential kaitiaki leaders. Tuaiwa (Eva) Rickard led the land claims and protest actions for the return of Te Kopua, Raglan, later becoming involved in the protests for the return of Bastion Point and Rangiriri. Moana Jackson (1998) stated "At a time when many people were only slowly becoming aware of what colonisation was and is, and at a time when only the brave were prepared to speak of our sovereignty, Eva's stand on the golf course issue was an inspiring political and cultural act. Before rangatiratanga became a T-shirt slogan, Eva was acting like a rangatira."

Another important figure in the evironmental movement is Dame Nganeko Minhinnick, an instrumental leader in the Manukau Harbour Claim which appears to have led to the reinvigoration of the term kaitiaki in the 1980's to advocate for environmental protection. In 1991 the Resource Management Act was passed with section 7 including kaitiakitanga amongst a list of things that decision makers needed to 'have particular regard to' (Muru-Lanning et. al. 2022).

Even within the current Waikato-Tainui governance structure women have been recognised for their skills, strengths and leadership qualities of aroha, atawhai and manaaki by appointing women to some of the principal leadership roles; Hinerangi Raumati-Tu'ua, first female Chair of Tainui Group Holdings, Parekawhia McLean, Chair of Te Whakakitenga, Associate Professor Marama Muru-Lanning, Chair of the Waikato-Tainui Endowed College and Donna Flavell as Chief Executive Officer for Waikato-Tainui.

In addition to these roles there are many other forms of whānau leadership. Throughout the discussions with my Whaea they have all talked about the women in their lives as leaders within the whānau, their community and as iwi leaders, all of whom I argue display the

same qualities of leadership expected of Rangatira and Ariki; aroha, atawhai and manaaki. Whaea Maea observed,

> *None were formally educated but each held a deep understanding of mātauranga. Their tohu was through life experiences resulting in wisdom and the ability to recreate the world they grew up in for their children. These wāhine were able to draw their strength and identity from their tūpuna.*

Whaea Horahaere tells me about the large gardens owned by each of the whānau in Kāwhia and the work that was done to maintain them. During her kōrero she reflects on the role of the women explaining:

> *I think our nannies were the drivers for us back then. I don't know why but it wasn't the men that drove us, it was our wāhine that drove us, it didn't matter what. I can recall my mother with the kūmara, counting the beds, then she would pluck and get them into groups, put them in the tub. Then we would take them around to all the whānau and someone else would bring something else, but it was the wāhine that did all that. And you just grew up like that and just didn't think anything of it.*

Whaea Verna adds,

> *My nanny would send out kai. If somebody was coming out to Hamilton, she would send out vegetables, frozen fish and all of that, or her preserves. She would send them out with whoever. She'd have stuff for them to take for their family as well so that whole thing was still very rich and alive in those days.*

Whaea Maea affirms,

> *Each was strong and leaders in their own right.*

Whaea Maea has observed that wāhine Māori are more vocal, more articulate, perhaps because they are advocates for their own families and in so doing have learnt to "get through barriers". Whaea Maea was also keen to point out that there is a balance between women and men. Men may be quieter but are also strong, hardworking contributers to their families and communities. Whaea Maea speaks of her father as political, not in terms of central politics but more about the politics of those around them. He was always respectful of the people and the need to support others to achieve and was involved in local committees both Māori and non-Māori. The recognition of the male role returns us to the recognition of the complementarity and support expected of both genders.

Whaea Verna provides the example of her grandmother. Whaea Verna's grandmother would go away on her own for weeks to a cave by the sea. She would always return with

dried fish, dried mussels and pipis (type of clam) along with shark for the whānau. Whaea Verna notes,

> *All of our women are strong because we've seen our mothers be strong and I think we've seen our mothers be strong because our fathers weren't intimidated by the thought of strong women.*

Whaea Verna talks about the complementarity of men and women in relation to wellbeing and the enhancement of the mana of women, she notes,

> *If you have men who are strong enough in themselves and they're not intimidated by strong women, that's how the women's assertiveness and wellbeing comes out, because she's not pushed down by a man.*

The lessons taught to us through the pūrakau of Mahuika and Muriranga-whenua are reflected throughout the examples of wāhine leadership I have outlined here. Each of the women spoken about are strong women with mana. Many are grandmothers who demonstrate and transmit mātauranga, tikanga, Māori ways of being and leading by example for their mokopuna, whānau, and hapū.

Summary

What is clear throughout this section is that regardless of what type of leadership role a person holds the principles of leadership is practiced at all levels. These principles are manaakitanga, aroha, atawhai, tautoko and tiaki (Quince 2016, Beverland 2022). These principles underpin all the actions taken by the leaders within this section and it these actions that help to maintain and even enhance their mana which in turn enables them to retain their leadership roles.

The examples of leadership in this section dispel the myth that only tane Māori are leaders within the Māori community. Despite the written histories, it is clear that wāhine Māori leadership, expertise and mātauranga continues to be practiced in its many forms.

History and Anthropology

As I highlight the various tupuna wāhine in my thesis it will be evident that in pre-colonial Aotearoa New Zealand, women were viewed differently within their communities than their European counterparts. For the most part wāhine Māori were considered active contributers to their communities, where whakapapa rather than gender determined influence (Ralston 1993, Brooks 2016, Quince 2022). They were able to act autonomously, were influential decision makers and practiced skills that were valuable to their people. They were able to hold roles in leadership, wield political power, and could be tohunga in their own right. Pūrakau Māori act as reminders of the many feats of wāhine Māori all around the country, with many of their actions and deeds further remembered through place names, waiata and toi Māori.

The position of wāhine Māori was detrimentally transformed through European ethnocentrism and colonialism. Since the arrival of the early European explorers, representations of Māori have been largely imposed from outside Māori communities (Fox 2011). Euro-centric structures such as Christianity and patriarchy were well embedded within the colonial systems before explorers and settlers arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand. Although early explorers observed wāhine Māori holding positions of power and contributing to the material wellbeing of their communities (Ralston 1993, Brookes 2016), the European view of 'coloured' races and the 'savage' along with their perspective of the role of women in European society permeated their opinions of Māori society, and even more so their opinions of wāhine Māori.

These views as part of the hierarchical and gendered practices of colonialism (Arvin, Tuck, Morrill 2013, Simpson 2017) can be clearly seen through the early journals and ethnographic records as they undervalued (Ralston 1987) the position of women within Māori communities. Jenkins describes the impacts of the these actions as follows:

> Western civilisation when it arrived on Aotearoa's shore, did not allow its womenfolk any power at all - they were merely chattels in some cases less worthy than the men's horses. What the colonizer found was a land of noble savages narrating ... stories of the wonder of women. Their myths and beliefs had to be reshaped and retold. The missionaries were hell-bent (heaven-bent) on destroying their pagan ways. Hence, in the re-telling of our myths, by Maori male informants to Pakeha

> male writers who lacked the understanding and significance of Maori cultural beliefs, Maori women find their mana wahine destroyed. (K. Jenkins cited in Mikaere 1994).

This re-telling of Māori stories either marginalised women or wrote them out, ultimately reconstructing the role of wāhine Māori, effectivley invisiblilising and silencing them (Hoskings 1997, Trouillot 2015).

Haitian anthropologist Trouillot (2015) theorises that silences enter the process of historical production at four crucial moments; the moment of fact creation (the making of sources); the moment of fact assembly (the making of archives); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of history in the final instance). Therefore, regardless of the historians' intentions any historical narrative will contain a bundle of silences.

Trouillot (2015:xxii) states "...history is the fruits of power." The power of history comes from its ability to give an organised existence to something. Historical narratives begin with facts, yet not all facts are equal, which is where the silences begin. He explains "...the production of historical narratives involves the uneven contribution of competing groups and individuals who have unequal access to the means for such production" (xxii). These groups and historical narratives produce silences and invisibilities. (Trouillot 2003).

Additionaly Trouillot notes that "...the ultimate mark of power may be its invisibility" (xxii). Not only does historical writing have the ability to invisibilise groups but the fact that this occurence goes relatively unnoticed is how history shapes and informs the the knowledges and ideologies of people. The historical narratives of previous generations of historians and anthropologists have set the foundations (Trouillot 2015) of ideas and knowledges that have persisted and continued to be cited by many successive scholars which in turn substantiates the oringinal authors perspective (Ralston 1993). This effectively authenticates the historical record which ultimately shapes the perspectives and understandings of the general public. Trouillot (2015) deems this the 'racist present' within which representations of history are produced.

In addtion to Trouillots theory is Ardener's muted group theory orginally posited in the early 1970's. Ardener's theory was developed in direct response to what he considered to be an imbalance and bias into the investigation of womens lives. Ardener (2007a:73) notes, "The study of women is on a level little higher than the study of ducks and fowls they commonly own – a

mere bird-watching indeed." He argues the dominant groups in societies generate and control dominant modes of expression. In some societies, the dominant group is male, therefore the dominant structure is articulated in terms of a male-world position. Those not in a male-world position are rendered inarticulate or 'muted' (Arden 2007b). In this way muted groups are silenced by the dominant structures. If they wish to express themselves then they must do so through the dominant modes of production and ideaolgies (Arden 2007b, Moore 1988).

We can see both of these theories played out in the early ethnographies of authors such as Best, Grey and Smith who have been critiqued for their santising and generalising treatment of Māori cosmology and pūrakau, removing tribal differences in pūrakau to re-write the narratives as one generalised story. They also remove any sexual references found within the orginal pūrakau to suit European and christian audiences (Pouwhare 2019). This type of rendering of Māori narratives and perspectives led to incorrect theories such as S. Percy Smiths Great Fleet narrative. Smith's theory was reified by Best, Buck and others (Walker 2004) making Smith's version of events the accepted truth. This led to generations of Aotearoa New Zealand children being taught 'the great New Zealand myth' (Simmons 1968, Walker 2004).

This kind of treatment was applied to the many pūrakau containing wāhine Māori as central figures. An example here is that of Hine-ahu-one. Diluting her story (see Cosmology chapter) leads to the belief that this is the Māori version of the biblical story of Adam and Eve, diminishing the mana of generations of wāhine Māori. The messages contained within the pūrakau of Mahuika and Muriranga-whenua (see Matriarch and Grandmothers chapter) are almost forgotten and Whakaotirangi (see Whakaotirangi chapter) is commonly referred to as Hoturoa's wife, her independent accomplishments unacknowledged.

A further example of how women's mana was belittled by colonists can be seen in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, signed first by Māori on Feburary 6 1840 and at various locations around the country in the following months. The treaty was signed by 500 people, approximately only 13 of which were women (Orange 1987). Orange (1987) provides an example from the Kapiti area noting the women of the area expressed some anger at not being able to take part in the signing process. Cram (2001) asserts this was a direct denial of the women's access by the British controlling thte signing process.

A consequence of the colonial systems imposed in Aotearoa New Zealand was a racialised and gendered national identity that normalised maleness and whiteness (Glenn 2015). Salmond (1991) explains that at the time of European settlement in the early 19th century, European gender relations were based on an ideology of male dominance. Women were legal minors under the guardianship of men, they had no rights to property ownership nor could they formally participate in political decision making.

The patrichial colonial ideologies of gender roles were introduced and reinforced through native schools and churches (Simpson 2017). The impact was profound on Māori women. The best illustration of this is through the Native School system implemented in the 1800s through to the 20th century (Cram 2001). Young Māori girls were trained to become domestic helpers or good housewives while young Māori boys were to become labourers. The girls were encouraged to adopt a more 'moral' lifestyle, marry and settle down within the confines of western ideas of home and family (Cram 2001).

The silencing of political voices of wāhine Māori is also evident in scholarship. Paterson and Wanhalla (2017) explain that even though there are numerous documents held in the New Zealand Archives the experiences of wāhine Māori particularly during early colonial encounters have been overlooked. They explain that colonial archives were created by European men and are therefore dominated by the male voice and perspectives. The voice considered of least importance was that of wāhine Māori. Paterson and Wanhalla clarify that it was not that wāhine Maori were silent instead it reflected on how archives were created and the historical priorities were not that of wāhine Māori.

We can see similar practices mantained in contemporary history production and eduction. Take for example Michael Belgraves 2018 Earnest Scott prize winning book for best Australasian History Publication, *Dancing with the King* (2017). *Dancing with the King* tells the story of the negotiations between the Māori King and the English Crown to re-open the area known as the King Country to European settlers after the Land Wars ended in the 1870's. In her review of Belgraves book, Muru-Lanning (2019) draws our attention to the fact that while the book begins with the heroic account of Raukawa tūpuna wahine, Ahumai Te Paerata, the remainder of the book overlooked the whakapapa, agency and roles of wāhine Māori at that time. Instead, they were mentioned only in terms of their relationships to men as wives, sisters and daughters. Muru-Lanning provides multiple examples within the book that illustrate the

diluted treatment of wāhine Māori. The treatment of wāhine Māori by Belgrave and the understanding of wāhine Māori within Tainui iwi is summed up my Muru-Lanning in her final remark,

> Throughout my life I have listened to kaumātua and kuia who have emphasised the complementarity of men and women, and the leadership contributions that female tūpuna like Whakaotirangi, Princess Te Puea, Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu and others have made to Tainui narratives and the success of the Kīngitanga. The male dominated Te Rohe Potae, as represented in Belgrave's history, makes the story incomplete and is unfamiliar Tainui territory to me.

Summary

In this chapter I have shown how historical production impacts historical knowledge systems and how different histories are authenticated through reification. I have also discussed muted group theory and show how both of these methodologies can impact different minority groups and how both of these practices have an enduring impact on various societal groups. I have been able to illustrate this through the removal of wāhine Māori in pūrakau and through the notions of colonial ideologies of women.

In the next section I review kaitiaki and kaitiakitanga and how the actions of kaitiaki today can be attributed to the actions of their tūpuna wāhine.

Kaitiakitanga

Ko Papatuānuku to tatou whaea
Ko ia te matua atawhai
He oranga mo tatou
I roto I te moengaroa
Ka hoki tatou ki to kopu o te whenua

The land is our mother
She is the loving parent
She nourishes us and sustains us
When we die she enfolds us in her arms
(cited in Roberts et.al. 1995)

In this chapter I discuss kaitiaki and kaitiakitanga. I do this by bringing together the pūrakau I have discussed in this thesis, the work undertaken by Māori activists along with the work being undertaken by Whaea Horahaere, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna. In this way I illustrate how tūpuna wāhine actions of the past continue to inform the actions being taken by wāhine Māori today.

As noted in the Leadership section, the term kaitiaki was reinvigoratied in the 1980's to advocate for environmental protection. In 1991 the Resource Management Act (RMA) was passed with section 7 of the act including kaitiakitanga amongst a list of things that decision makers needed to 'have particular regard to' (Muru-Lanning et. al. 2022). Since then the term kaitiaki and kaitiakitanga have become common and used frequently across the country including in legal and environmental contexts (Kawharu 2000).

The 1991 RMA referred to kaitiakitanga as 'guardianship', a very simple term for a Māori concept with wider obligations, rights and spiritual dimensions (Kawharu 2000, Whyte 2013). The core word of kai-tiaki-tanga is tiaki meaning to care for/protect/guard and tend. Kai is a prefix and signifies an actor or actors. Therefore kai-tiaki becomes the person(s) care for/protect/guard and tend. Tanga is a normalising suffix which can be likened to '-hood' or '-ship' (Kawharu 2000, Muru-Lanning et.al. 2022).

Understanding Māori cosmology and ancestral connections to land and place are the building blocks to understanding the relationship between Māori and the land (Roberts et.al 1995). Whakapapa is the foundations of deep connections to relationships with the land

(Mercier 2020) and our familial relationship with the environment (Roberts et al. 1995) (see Whenua and Landscapes chapter for more detail).

Whakapapa shows the interconnectedness of people, the environment and the atua or the human, physical and metaphysical realms. Through a Māori worldview, humans are a part of the overall system, we are a part of the environment, we do not own or control it. This is the foundation on which kaitiakitanga is premised (Beverland 2022). I asked Whaea Maea what her understanding of kaitiakitanga is, her response supports this view:

> *It's a holistic view, like all encompassing. I don't see it as something that you just isolate, like whether it be the water or whether be the whenua or whether it be, you know, the air or the fire…my understanding is respect. Respect for your environment wherever that is or whatever that is. And with that respect comes the desire, or the wanting to take care or to nurture and look after it….And then we were taught to respect the water, so you didn't just jump in it and violate it and take its gifts without showing some respect for the water, for yourself and for everything around you… respect for who you are, where you come from, I think that's why whakapapa is so important to us.*

Kaitiakitanga embraces tikanga associated with manaaki, obligation and utu. Utu or reciprocity is a fundamental relational concept within this familial relationship. Utu implies an ebb and flow or give and take in relationships and infers a mutual sharing, something given, and something taken. Therefore, reciprocity is the way of balance. For indigenous people this way of balance includes the care of the environment. We know that if we care for the environment, it will, in return, feed, clothe and shelter us (Trask 2007). Reciprocity is the ethic that underpins kaitiakitanga. Reciprocity enhances the political strength of the hapū by maintaining the relationships between people, their tupuna, the metaphysical realm and the environment. The management of the environment is a part of the kinship system (Kawharu 2000).

Muru-Lanning et. al (2022) explain that prior to European arrival, there would have been no need for a specific word to describe the protection of the environment as the environment was not separate. When I asked Whaea Horahaere if kaitiaki was a new word she replied,

> *I suppose you can say the word may be new, but the meaning of the word isn't. You know, they [tūpuna] were always the kaitiaki of our whenua, unbeknown to us. They didn't need that title, it was just instilled, well as I see it, it was instilled in all of them. Everyone was a kaitiaki.*

In fact, people as kaitiaki is a modern concept. Kaitiaki are guardians of people and places. The original kaitiaki are the many atua, the children of Ranginui and Papātuānuku. The atua discussed in the cosmology chapter (see cosmology chapter for table of atua and areas of responsibility) play a major role in human affairs and have kaitiaki responsibilities of particular aspects of the natural world (Roberts et. al. 1995, Beverland 2022). Animals or other metaphysical beings such as taniwha were also considered kaitiaki. Whaea Horahaere tells me that the Kāwhia harbour had a number of taniwha living within it and around it, so too did the lakes and tributaries. Each taniwha held their own power and had their own particular role. She tells me of one taniwha that lives in the harbour,

> *…..you know he's gone because no-one can go past [there] because it's a big hollow in the land. [Builds a map with the soil in front of us] So like this is the beach, now where he lives is over here, [it is] like this and that bit comes back up to the land, and this is all deep as. That's all the water there and this here is all soft. When he comes back in, it fills up …. His role was, when he left his area, or where he lives, he would go out [to] the West Coast right down to Mokau. If there was anyone that was lost, he would bring them back…*

Kaitaiki as a description for people was mobilised in the 1980's by Māori rights activists to describe their work in their campaigns to protect and defend their lands and waters from environmental desecration (Kawharu 2000, Muru-Lanning et. al 2022). For Māori kaitiakitanga means responsibility for the environment and authority to act. In legal contexts however, the authority aspect is often not acknowledged. This makes kaitiakitanga a politicised term. I also argue that the definitions of law oversimplify the concept of kaitiakitanga and has the effect of re-defining the meaning of the word and marginalising the concept in much the same way as early ethnography and history production has done for wāhine Māori.

These different understandings can make it difficult for Māori to maintain authority over the environment and are not always able to take action. However, women are not waiting for permission to act nor are they waiting for recognition from government agencies, instead they are fulfilling their responsibilities to the environment and their communities according to their tikanga and mātauranga (McGregor 2008). We have seen strong wāhine Māori stepping forward when necessary, such as Tuaiwa (Eva) Rickard, Dame Nganeko Minhinnick and more recently, Pania Newton based at Ihumatao in Mangere, Auckland. Not all kaitiaki actions are as high profile as these.

Kāwhia harbour and its surrounds have been experiencing many changes ranging from reduction of fish species and numbers in the harbour, the indigenous oysters being overtaken by Pacific oysters, loss of pipi beds and rapid coastal erosion (personal communication 2021). Whaea Horahaere, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna have seen all of these changes in their lifetime.

Maketū marae sits beside the harbour. At high tide the water sits almost at ground level. I know this as I have sat at the retaining wall beside the marae with my feet in the water. When the tide goes out, many people, including Kāwhia residents, drive their vehicles along the exposed sand to Ocean Beach. This is the only direct vehicle access to Ocean Beach. Whaea Horahaere, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna are aware that this vehicle access has led to the destruction of pipi beds on the peninsula and some of the sand dunes used by various migrating coastal birds. All three Whaea have been working towards protecting the coastline with the aim of re-instating the pipi beds, the sand dunes and hopefully easing some of the effects of coastal erosion. Together they have been working towards obtaining alternative vehicle access to Ocean Beach.

Their work has led to the establishment of Te Taio o Kāwhia. A community group of a diverse range of people, from Kāwhia and the surrounds. This group includes members of the marae within the area, landscape and environment specialists, a dotterel expert along with district and regional council members. All of these people have come together with the same aspirations as Whaea Horahaere, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna.

Whaea Horahaere, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna are inspirational leaders in their own right. I have given examples here of their work within the environment however I asked Whaea Maea if kaitiakitanga was only for the environment where she stated,

> *No, I don't believe so. I think it's about your hinengaro, it's about your tinana, about your whānau, everything.*

Baker (2019) supports Whaea Maea by stating kaitiakitanga can be considered inherited responsibilities of stewardship across a diverse range of areas such as the environment, manaakitanga, and knowledge holders. This is what I have experienced when I have been able to spend time with Whaea Horahaere, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna. Like many

concepts and ways of being in te Ao Māori, kaitiakianga is not an act on its own, it is practiced by incorporating all of the principles and values of tikanga.

I leave the final word about kaitiakitanga with Whaea Maea,

> *I think that for whatever time that you are here you're just the guardian, you know, you've come from somewhere, you're here for this time, those [generations] who follow you. You're just here to take care of that time while you're here. It's an interim thing, so you've come from somewhere, you're going somewhere, that's why having uri I guess are so important to people, having children and they have children so that the link goes on forever.*

Summary

In this chapter I have discussed kaitiaki and how people enact and embody kaitiakitanga. I have discussed the issue of law and how women continue to take action to ensure the environment and the wellbeing of the generations to come. I have shown how kaitiaki is concept and an action deeply embedded within Māori worldviews and therefore is more than guardianship, it is deeply instilled in many of us.

Thesis Conclusion

I began this project because of the words of two kaumātua in Kāwhia. Their words struck a chord with me, reminding me of how important tūpuna wāhine are to the people of Kāwhia. I understood the many concepts but took for granted how we learn about these concepts and why we do what we do. I wanted to bring forward the wāhine who acted in the past and the voices of the wāhine who continue these practices today. I did this by weaving the pūrakau of tūpuna wāhine, the memories of my great grandmother Ani Tahakura-Edmonds and the words of Whaea Horahaeare, Whaea Maea and Whaea Verna alongside auto-ethnography and literature.

This study contributes to the anthropological discourse of mana wāhine of the past and today. Future scholarship would benefit from further research of mātauranga wāhine and mana wāhine experiences from the diverse perspectives and realities of the various iwi across the country.

To ensure I privileged the voices, knowledge and experiences of all of these women and Māori ways of being and doing I have used Kaupapa Māori, Mātauranga Māori and Wāhine Māori methodologies as a way to 'gaze back' (Jacobs-Huey 2002) and provide an insight into their understandings of the world.

I started this thesis from the position that I do not understand why people believe wāhine Māori are inferior to men. As this thesis shows, the understandings of the position of wāhine Māori within te ao Māori has been affected by colonial mechanisms however the women in this thesis have shown that wāhine Māori still hold mana and rangatiratanga. They continue to be leaders on a world stage and within their whānau. They continue to be the matriarch and grandmothers who lead the way by role-modeling tikanga, mātauranga, kaitiakitanga and mana wāhine.

Kuputaka - Glossary

āhi-kā	burning fires of occupation
aroha	empathy, kindness
hapū	Descent group, family or district group, lineage communities
harakeke	flax
hue	gourd
hui	meeting
kāinga	home, village, settlement
kaitiaki	guardian, protector, minder
kaitiakitanga	The act of minding, guarding, caring, keeping, trusteeship.
karakia	incantation, ritual chant, chant
karanga	welcoming call performed by women
kaumātua	elder, grandparent
kaupapa	topic, subject, purpose
kawa	marae protocol
kete	basket, kit
koha	gift
kōrero	interview, discussion
kōrero tuku iho	oral history
koroua	elderly man, elder, grandfather, granduncle
kuia	elerly women, grandmother, female elder
kupu	word
manaaki	hosting others and the degree of hospitality and safety extended to the visitors
mana	prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma
mana motuhake	self determination
mana wahine	female authority
manuwhiri	guests, visitors
māra	garden

marae	Clusters of family who belong to a local Māori community, Māori settlement which includes people and buildings
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
mātauranga wāhine	knowledge specific to Māori women
mauri	life essence, life force, life principle
moana	sea, ocean
mokopuna	grandchildren
mokopuna tuarua	great grandchildren
poukai	Kīngitanga gatherings on marae that are held at set times during the year where people who Support the Kīngitanga Movement deomonstrate their loyalty, contibute to funds, meet the incumbent Leader and sicess the movement's affairs
pure	to ritually remove tapu
rāhui	temporary prohibition
rangatira	chief, leader
rangatiratanga	autonomy, leadership
raupatu	confiscation
raupō	bulrush
rohe	area, district
rūruhi	elderly woman, elder, grandmother, grandaunt
taniwha	powerful creature
tapu	state of restriction
te reo Māori	Māori language
te ao Māori	Māori world
te moana-nui-a-kiwa	Pacific Ocean
tikanga	protocol, practice, the right way to do something
toi Māori	the many forms of Māori arts
tūpuna	ancestors
tūpuna wāhine	female ancestors
uri	children, child, descendant, descendants
utu	reciprocity
wāhi tapu	sites of significance
wāhine Māori	Māori women

wāhine	women
waiata	songs
waka	canoe; large descent group
wānanga	to meet, discuss, deliberate
whaea	aunty, woman of an older generation
whakaaro	thoughts, opinions, ideas
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatauki	proverb, significant saying
whānau	family, family network

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