

Te whakakāinga haere i te mana o ngā

taonga tuku iho o Ngāti Mākorō:

To honour Ngāti Mākorō social cultural knowledge practices, thus
encouraging future generations to participate.

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Te Ara Poutama

Abstract

This thesis examines the relationship that the *whānau* (family) Tipuna, of the *hapū* (sub-tribe) Ngāti Mākorō, Whetu Mārama Marae, which is of the *iwi* (people) Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te* Wairoa, has with their social cultural knowledge. This study examines the *whānau* Tipuna social-cultural practices, which reflect the processes of inter-generational knowledge transmission. These inter-generational knowledge transmission mechanisms provide a template to the practical application of Ngāti Mākorō processes pertaining to the art of *toitoi tuna*, *toi tuna*, *hī tuna* (eel bobbing, eel fishing).

An indigenous framework of inter-generational knowledge transmission, using Māori metaphoric symbols and the history of a *whakatauaikī* (proverbial saying of which the author is known) attributed to Tama-te-rangi is developed to provide an understanding into the thinking processes of our *tīpuna* (ancestors). This thesis will assist Ngāti Mākorō descendants with their understanding of the important responsibility they have to look after the knowledge of their *tīpuna* (ancestors).

A *kaupapa* (theme) Māori research methodology is used as it reflects Māori philosophical investigative skills, values, beliefs and knowledge. The methodology for this study will be interactive in terms of the *tuna* fishing practices shared in and experienced within the *whānau* from the researcher's perspective, as a participant observer not just an observer. Ngāti Mākorō epistemology will also be included in the methodology when researching Ngāti Mākorō *tuna* fishing practices. The validation of Ngāti Mākorō ways of thinking will provide for the *whānau* the endorsement to their young people that the knowledge thinking processes of their *tīpuna* has the ability to hold its own status in the world of academic knowledge.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor any material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Chapter One:

Part of one's own Case Study-

The Contextualisation of the Thesis

Thesis Introduction

This introductory chapter provides a contextualised autobiography, and a summary of each of the following chapters that make up the body of the thesis. It provides any reader who has no experience, or lacks understanding of the plight of *iwi* Māori, a lens through which to understand the loss experienced within Māori society, or *te ao* Māori (Māori world view).

As the researcher, my own perspectives and experiences (including pertinent aspects of my upbringing) are included within the case study. My early experiences within the state school education system, including the physical disciplining and belittling treatment of children, are exposed. These experiences are then contrasted with my later love for formal education, and the acquisition of knowledge, through university study.

Kaupapa Māori (Māori research methodology) provides a context for linking my experiences to this research project. Pihama (2001), for example, contextualised herself as part of her case study in her Doctoral thesis 'Mana wahine as a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework'. Being part of her own case study enabled her to explore why certain things happened in her life. She reflected on being able to gauge the complexities of the things happening around her; stating: "I can say very clearly that in this thesis 'I am my own case study'" (Pihama, 2001. p. 17).

This study explores the methods of inter-generational knowledge transmission used by Ngāti Māhoro. It focuses on how the social-cultural practices and *tikanga* (custom

or correct procedure) connected with *tuna* (eel) fishing have remained available for *mokopuna* (grandchild/ren or future descendants) to experience and practice for themselves. Through the discourse and conversation process used in this study, the participants became empowered, in a way that their *kōrero pūrākau* (historical stories or narratives) and experiences became the conscientisation of awareness; a freedom of the thinking processes (Freire, 1970). The freeing of thinking processes, through the validation and acknowledgement of *whānau* knowledge, assists to empower *whānau* to actively participate in Ngāti Mākoru cultural fishing practices and the sharing of knowledge *kōrero* (stories). These reflections are essential to the strengthening, and honouring of the *hapū*'s heritage, and are part of the processes that effectively link the theory with the cultural practices (Marsden & Henare, 1992; Freire, 1970).

NB. For the most part in this research Māori words are translated once via closed brackets within the body of the text. However, where particular words need in-depth translation or explanation this information is provided in footnotes.

Ngā pātai o te rangahau - Research Questions

The practices of inter-generational knowledge transmission; the process of knowledge being passed on from one generation to the next, as well as the values, notions and life principles of knowledge, are important for Ngāti Mākoru social-cultural sustainability and wellbeing. Given their importance, in what ways do they/we honour, celebrate and encourage these practices, for the learning and understanding of their/our *mokopuna*?

The research examines these questions:

- a) How do we as a *whānau*, honour, celebrate and nurture the *taonga* (esteemed aspect/s, treasures) of Ngāti Mākorō *toitoi tuna* and *hī tuna* fishing practices?
- b) What would a model of inter-generational knowledge transmission need to incorporate to maintain Ngāti Mākorō *hapū* fishing practices and ensure that they continue to be honoured, nurtured, safeguarded and celebrated?
- c) How do *mokopuna* of the Ngāti Mākorō *hapū* exercise and continue their cultural fishing practices away from the *tūrangawaewae*¹ of their *tīpuna* (ancestors)?

This research study has the potential to make an important contribution to the practices of inter-generational knowledge-transmission within Ngāti Mākorō. As the researcher and as a participant within the case study, the utilisation and analysis of my own experiences and understandings will lead the research in relation to the objectives set out in the research questions (Irwin, 1992).

My research journey - Contextual framework

As a philosophical analysis of this research journey, my life experience and engagement with urban Māori is perhaps indicative or reflective of diaspora (Brubaker, 2005). Thus, it is linked to the consequences of the 1950's period of Māori urbanisation. This research considers *iwi* Māori who are, or have been at some point in their lives, disenfranchised from their *whakapapa* (genealogy sequence); their *tūrangawaewae*; their *whānau* (family) (Smith, L. 1992). So much so that they (or their parents/grandparents) no longer have any relationship with *Māoritanga* (Māori way of life), and are alienated and lost in terms of their Māori cultural history (Smith,

¹ Place to stand, area of land that their whānau (family) are connected to

Linda T. & Smith, Graham H. 1992). As a Māori Liaison Student Adviser (MLSA) at the Auckland University of Technology, I have met Māori students who, for any number of reasons beyond their control have a very tenuous connection with their *whakapapa* and *te ao* Māori.

The colonial educational assimilation practices that have been embedded since the 1820s, began when missionary schools were set up to teach Māori *tamariki* (children) alongside missionary children (Belich, 2001; Simon, Judith A. & Smith, Linda T. 2001). Belich (2001) and Mahupuku (1820-1830) both contend that one of the outcomes of the establishment of missionary schools, besides the spread of the English language, was the loss of much Māori cultural heritage and knowledge. This loss happened because, with new knowledge and learning systems came new belief systems, and new ways of understanding and looking at the Māori relationship with their world (Belich, 2001; Mahupuku, 1820-1830). Consequently many Māori now feel safer and more at ease away from things pertaining to their Māori culture (Belich, 2001; Simon et al., 2001; Selby. 1999). Māori who are unable to connect to their *marae*² or have no relationship with their wider *whānau* and *hapū*, lose their natural affiliation to their culture and people. Rather than knowing a safe cultural environment they become lost and feel completely out of their depth in *taha* Māori (things Māori). The assimilated Pākehā lifestyle of their *whānau* has resulted in loss of opportunity for knowledge to be transferred from their *tīpuna* (ancestors).

² Courtyard - the open area in front of the whareniui (Meeting House or big house) where formal greetings and discussions take place. It is also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae.

Āhuatanga o te Whānau - Concept and importance of family

The importance of *whānau*, *whakawhanaungatanga* (the process of developing relationships) cannot be underestimated. *Whanaungatanga* is how relationships are enriched and nurtured. One of the ways in which connections within *whānau* are strengthened is through engaging in vibrant and vital cultural practices such as *toitoti tuna*, *toi tuna*, *hī tuna*. According to Mead (2003) *whānau* is the basic building block of Māori society. The word *whānau* means to give birth or to be born, to be an offspring of, or a family group member (Mead, 2003). The word *whānau* also applies to those who are more distant relatives. The word *whānau* means that we are born into the fundamental building blocks of a kinship system, in order to be a member of a family (Mead, 2003). The birth right of a child, the child's blood line into the *whānau*, is fundamental to the child's development and progress. This development is influenced by the obligations and responsibilities that all *whānau* members bear: to transfer and inter-weave the cultural values and *whānau* knowledge that will safeguard the child's future (Durie, 2001).

Jenkins (1986) described the significance of *whānau* relationships within the community and the *kāinga* (the home village).

Grandmothers, aunts and other females and male elders were responsible for rearing the children of the *kāinga*. The natural parents were not the sole caregivers. The routines of the *whānau* were such that couples could not be isolated to lead independent lifestyles. Their communal living required constant contact and interaction with other members of the tribe in a concerted effort, to keep tribal affairs buoyant and operational (Jenkins, 1986. p. 12).

Ka'ai et al., (2004), Walker (2004), Durie (2003) and Metge (1967) all support and acknowledge the importance of the *whānau* as a kinship framework. This *whānau* kinship model, as stipulated by Jenkins (1986), is more than what contemporary

society constructs it as (that of the nuclear family of mum, dad and the children only). Although Metge (1967) presents a very useful and insightful view of the *whānau* as a kinship framework, hers is an “outsider’s” perspective, not a perspective that is connected via *whakapapa*. However, she is acknowledged by Māori scholars for enabling New Zealanders and international audiences to gain some appreciation of Māori society (Durie, 2003).

Mead (2003) stated that a *wānanga* (Māori school of learning) “is characterised by teaching and research that maintains, advances, and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence. It assists the application of knowledge regarding *āhuatanga* Māori (Māori tradition) according to *tikanga* Māori (Māori custom)” (p. 13). It is important to capture the profound sense of loss felt by *tangata whenua* (people of the land) when important cultural practices are forgotten. Contemporary Māori society is already dealing with the overwhelming feeling of loss in terms of *te reo* Māori *me ōna tikanga*³. This research serves to remind Ngāti Māhoro of the responsibility we bear for looking after our social-cultural practices, particularly the eel-fishing methods that our *whānau* have developed and continue to practice. If treated with contempt by the *whānau* this knowledge could be lost within the space of one generation. These practices need to be treated as *taonga*. They are notions and practices of knowledge that must be vehemently protected, because they reflect our *whānau* stories and relationships, commencing with our *tīpuna*. The conversations and stories shared, the language used, the preparation time-frames, and the processes that *tīpuna* followed to ensure the success of an expedition, or the creation of produce and

³ The Māori language and traditional customary practices

artefacts, have to a large extent been replaced by the Pākehā economic system of today (Belich, 2001).

Whanaungatanga - Family relationships

My own story of reconnecting with the knowledge of my *tīpuna* can provide the reader with a lens through which to understand this study. The following paragraphs illustrate how the concept of *whānau* and *whanaungatanga* maintained a strong sense of community within rural Wairoa.

My parents are both from Wairoa. Like his brothers and sisters, my father was born at the *whānau* homestead in the small rural settlement of Rangiahua. He was the 12th child of 27 brothers and sisters born to my *koro* (grandfather) and *kuia* (grandmother). My father, uncles and aunties went to Rangiahua Native School until it closed down, transferring from there to Frasertown School and then to Wairoa College. My mother was born at the Wairoa Maternity Annex. She is the 8th child of 14 brothers and sisters to my Nan and Grandpa. Being the eldest girl, she often had the responsibility of looking after her younger siblings. Mum attended North Clyde Primary School and Wairoa College.

Since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, ensuing governments, and/or their delegated authorities, have defined - through policy and to their own minds - what is best for Māori (Simon et al., 2001. Durie, M. 1998. Selby, 1999). Designated non-Māori government officials have therefore been regarded as the experts on the best way to educate Māori, and been granted the right to speak on behalf of Māori children and adults, and thus to theorise what constitutes their best interests (Durie, M. 1998; Jones, Marshall, Matthews, Smith & Smith, 1990; Matahaere-Atariki et al.; 2001; Murphy, 1994; Simon, 1998; Smith, 1994; Smith, 1997; Walker, 1990). Since the

establishment of the missionary schooling system with the arrival of the missionaries in Aotearoa, New Zealand, much of Māori society, namely *tīpuna* Māori, Māori parents, have been led to believe that the government education system is the best way forward for Māori children and have therefore turned away from the tried and trusted Māori methods of knowledge acquisition.

I was my parents' first child. I have a younger *whāngai*⁴ brother, followed by two younger brothers. My upbringing was a rural one, and for the first eight years of my life, although my only language was English and not *te reo* Māori (the Māori language), I identified strongly as Māori. My father worked as a general hand and fencer for Glen McKinnon on one of the local farms along Awamate Road, Wairoa. During the shearing season Dad worked in a shearing gang alongside his brothers. I remember as a little boy when I used to hold his hand or shake the hands of his brothers, it was like grasping hold of a hard piece of rock. Their hands were so calloused from the tough manual labour they were used to doing: cutting scrub, fencing and shearing. Hard physical work was what my father and his brothers were good at, and although they did not thrive in the state-school education system, they were excellent examples of the hard working men of that era.

These men knew how to put *kai* (food) on the table for their *whānau* and community. They were all taught by the old people, our *kaumātua* (elders), how to be hunters and gatherers (Puawai Tipuna & Eugene Tūruki Tipuna, Personal communication, Kaumātua, Whetu Mārama Marae, 2005; Durie, 2003). They were given the tools and the knowledge to know where to collect materials that would enable them to make the

⁴ Whāngai - Māori customary practice of adoption. It also means to feed, to be fed or given food to eat.

resources needed to catch *tuna* (eels), *piharau* (lamprey), *inanga* (white bait) *kaimoana* (seafood) and *poaka kunikuni* (wild pigs), and where to find other edible foods and plants such as *kutae kākahi* (freshwater mussels), *tī kouka* (cabbage tree shoots), *pikopiko* (young curved fern shoot, also known as Māori asparagus), *kōrau* (an edible green leafy plant) *pūha* (sow thistle) and *kōwhitiwhiti* (watercress) (Ibid).

My father also loved watching and playing the game of rugby. I remember being woken up by my parents' excitement in the early hours one morning, as they watched an overseas All Black test game on our black and white television set. My father and uncles, along with some of my older cousins and other young men from around Rangiahua and Frasertown, played for the now defunct Waiiau Rugby Club. I am told that the games played and the club rivalry of that era was fierce, brutal and not for the faint-hearted. It was not an uncommon thing for at least one of their team members to be sent from the field to "cool off" during a game. The rugby played in that era was a Wairoa regional community competition, creating the opportunity to get together with friends and family members not seen regularly. Rugby and netball were very important social-cultural activities within rural Māori communities, for *whanaunga* to *whakawhanaunga* from the various local *marae* around Wairoa (Ka'ai et al., 2004; Durie, 2003; Jenkins, 1986)

On the first Sunday of every month, our *whānau* would make the journey to our *marae*, and go to church, where the faith was and still is Te hāhi o Rātana⁵. The whole church service was conducted in *te reo* Māori, and even though I had no understanding of what was being spoken, I still enjoyed going as it was a chance to see my Nan,

⁵ Rātana is a belief system of the Christian faith, founded by Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana in 1925

kaumātua and all my uncles, aunties and cousins. As kids, the moment the last *minamina ae*⁶ was said, we would all shoot straight for the door so we could play. The concept of *whānau* and *whanaungatanga* is still a powerful influence in the lives of my *whānau* (Ka'ai et al., 2004; Walker, 2004; Durie, 2003; Mead, 2003; Jenkins, 1986).

My Nan was very much the matriarch of the *whānau* and what she said concerning any of her children had to be followed. Her commitment to the Rātana faith was also a strong influence on the *tikanga* and *kawa* (particular protocols) of our *marae*. She was a self-assured woman and protective of all her children. She was especially protective if she did not approve of any of the female companions who were interested in her sons. If she had heard that any girls from the town were making their way out to the Mill Pā, she would wait at the gate of the *Pā* for them ready to check their *whakapapa* and to send them packing back into town if she didn't approve of them.

My mother was one of the young women from town who did gain the approval of my Nan. She was mostly an at-home mum, but during shearing season she would work in the woolshed alongside my father as a "rousy" - ensuring that when the fleece was being removed from the sheep, the "daggs" were separated from the main part of the fleece. When the shearer had finished removing the fleece, the rousies would roll it up and clear it away before the next sheep was brought out to the stand from the pen. I remember watching both my mum and dad as they worked in the sheds. I would stand inside the sheep pen, on the rails beside the pen doors, watching them work alongside my uncles, aunties and older cousins. Even within the working environment the concepts of *whānau* and *whanaungatanga* were always evident. The working

⁶Ngāti Mākoro *kupu*/word for a child's prayer

atmosphere in my rural community was always one that was supported by the relationships of *whānau* (Ka'ai et al., 2004; Walker, 2004; Durie, 2003; Mead, 2003; Jenkins, 1986).



Figure 1. Personal image of my father Tipuranga Tipuna shearing in Glen McKinnon's woolshed, watched by my cousin Vincent (Photograph taken by Rona Tuhi at Glen McKinnon's Woolshed, Wairoa, 1975)



Figure 2. Personal image of my father Tipuranga Tipuna driving Glen McKinnon's tractor (Photograph taken by Rona Tuhi at Glen McKinnon's Woolshed, Wairoa, 1975)

Te mātauranga - Education, schooling system

At the age of five, I started at the local Wairoa Primary School. I remember being very upset on my first day because I didn't want to be left there. The teacher had to get an older cousin to come be with me in the class to help calm me down. I disliked school from that first day. I hated being separated from my parents and did not want to be at school. Even at the age of five, I felt like the school education system was a punishment programme rather than an encouraging place of learning (Simon & Smith, 2001; Selby, 1999). I was not ready to learn to read when I started school and had great difficulty with my studies. Because of that, and the teachers' frustration with me when I had to read to them, I was always getting disciplined with the strap, told off, or catching a sharp smack around the legs or backside. My disdain for the education system continued through my secondary school years. Although I tried very hard and even committed to doing extra tutorials during my lunch breaks at high school, I was still unable to comprehend the lessons being taught (Ibid).

I clearly remember as a child aged five or six, begging and pleading with my father to let me go with him to work at the back of the farm, or to the woolshed, instead of having to walk up the road to catch the bus to school. His answer would always be the same, "No, you need to go to school so that you won't be dumb, and so we won't get in trouble." Leonie Pihama (2001) reflected on this very sentiment. Writing about her father's childhood she notes: "when he and his siblings went to school, their grandmother tried to keep them home, but the school inspector told their grandmother that if the children did not attend school that she would get in trouble" (p. 3).

The influence and impact of colonisation and the government education policy definitely made its mark upon my parents. It also influenced the decision my wife and

I made for our own son to be exempted from attending school and instead educated through the Un-schooling⁷ curricula in a *whānau* environment (Holt & Farenga, 2003). This curriculum of real-life learning through one's own exploration and understanding in a *whānau* environment aligns with Māori pedagogies and epistemologies of knowledge acquisition (Hemara, 2000). When our son was five years old we surmised that, like me, he was not ready to cope with the environmental and institutional stress placed on him in the classroom. Thus we chose to support his natural academic development at home (Selby, 1999; Hemara, 2000; Holt & Farenga, 2003). As his parents we are familiar with the way our son learns best, and as such we have nurtured a learning method that suits him.

As a five-year-old I found the reasons for being made to go to school unwarranted. As young as I was, I knew I was not ready for school. Although my father had given me an answer as to why I needed to go to school at the age of five, I make the assumption now that his answer was a reaction to the scare tactics used by school inspectors alluded to by Pihama (2001). The assimilation strategy of turning the Māori into brown-skinned Pākehā was a colonialist policy to ensure Māori social cultural practices were stamped out. (Simon & Smith, 2001; Pihama, 2001; Selby, 1999; Belich, 1996).

Being born with a physical disability and going in and out of hospital as a small child for corrective surgery without my parents being there to support me in the hospital was very unsettling. The memory of being gassed before each surgical operation is

⁷ John Holt is considered to be a founding figure of this learning method within contemporary society. The un-schooling method is known as an interest-driven, child-led, natural, organic, eclectic, or self-directed learning system. This is the way we learn before going to school and the way we learn when we leave school and enter the world of work.

still very lived. In 2005 I was diagnosed with Dyslexia, a learning disability that affects reading, spelling, and the formation of words. I say that it is sad because of the treatment faced, but not surprising because if this disability had been diagnosed earlier in my life, the proper support structures and assistance could have been implemented, for a successful outcome in my earlier education. Following this diagnosis and a three-year, once-a-week intensive training programme, I gained coping strategies to assist me to manage my disability. Even now I am laughed at and made fun of when I spell words wrong or put capital letters in words when they are not needed, but for the most part I manage.

Te pāwharatanga o taku wairua - My life violently torn apart

In 1978, four months after my eighth birthday, my father's life was lost to us. He passed away while I was at school, on one of the shearing stands where he and mum were working. That particular day is one of the most vivid embedded in my memory; I remember exactly what I was doing at the time I was given the news of my father's passing. I recall being so excited that morning. For the first time that year walking to catch the bus did not seem a chore; it was the last day of school. Before I left the house mum and dad had reminded me that the Christmas holidays were coming. I was looking forward to not having to go to school and being able to spend time just with them and my younger brother. I was looking forward to being free from the restraints placed on me by the education system, and being free to explore through real life experiences.

I remember my cousin coming up to me to give me the news, and telling her to: "Stop telling bullshit. Piss off and leave me alone". She wouldn't, so I ran away to hide from her - hoping that it was bullshit. She was only two years older than me, so I couldn't

understand why it had to be her to tell me the news and not an uncle or aunty. In my childishness it felt like she had enjoyed being the first to tell me such tragic news.

One of my aunts picked me up from school later that afternoon, and while on our journey to the *marae*, I continued to hope that it was all a big joke that mum and dad were playing on me, that everything was going to be all right. Alas, when I arrived at the *marae*, my heart sank to its lowest as I finally came to the realisation that what my cousin had told me was true. I had no idea what to do; I just felt lost. I remember seeing my mum sitting under the *mahau* (porch, veranda) of the *wharenui* (meeting house), clinging to the leg of an aunty, crying, as they waited for my father's *tūpāpaku*⁸ to come from the hospital. One of the most hurtful memories from that time was seeing all my father's clothes and belongings out on to the *mahau* of the *marae* and watching some of my *whānau* go through them and taking what they wanted. I wanted to tell them to stop but I was only a boy of eight years old.

Until we moved into a Social Welfare Department (SWD) house, my mother, my brother and I all moved from house to house, *whānau* to *whānau*, living with uncles, aunts and cousins. Dad had no life insurance and nothing of financial value except for his shearing gear, which had been promptly taken by *whānau* members. My mum was left with the added stress of having to pay all dad's outstanding taxes and bills. She was able to collect a SWD Widow's Family Benefit of \$60.00 to \$80.00 per week for me, but not for my younger brother, because at that time the government did not recognise *whāngai* Māori adoption practices.

⁸ A corpse, cadaver, deceased person's body.

In fact the SWD told mum to give my younger brother back to my Uncle and Aunt, his biological mum and dad. I also remember hearing of other *whānau* members encouraging my uncle to take my brother back. But mum had been raising my brother since he was just months old, so the notion of giving him back after having cared for him for five or six years was not a viable option for her. Despite this, if my uncle and aunt had ever come calling, mum would not have resisted. She would have been heartbroken once again, but would not have argued with them; such was the respect that mum had for my Uncle Ricky. To my Uncle's credit, though he had every right to ask for the return of my brother now that my father was gone, he allowed us to stay together as a *whānau*. Mum continued to raise and clothe us both, struggling to pay the household expenses on her own once we finally moved into a state house, and drip feeding money to the IRD - all on her meagre \$60.00 to \$80.00 SWD income.

Kua ngaro ki te motu - Disenfranchised

The following 10 years of my life were difficult years to deal with, as lots of things happened simultaneously. My identity as a Māori was compromised and fractured almost immediately. The relationship that I remembered having with my cousins, uncles and aunts on my father's side changed radically after my father was gone - particularly after I turned 10, when we moved away from Wairoa, up the East Coast to the small settlement of Tolaga Bay. We lived on an inland farm called Doonholm Station. It was on this farm that I learnt how to hand-milk cows, which became part of my regular chores after a while. However starting at Tolaga Bay Area School with no other *whānau*, just my brother and I, was terrible. As the older brother, I was constantly hassled and challenged to prove myself at the school, especially by the high school students and children from my own age group. There was no *whānau* to look out for

us anymore and if I backed out of a challenge I'd be shamed and labelled. My physical disability only served to intensify any trouble, and with no *whānau* support, the attacks came from both Māori and Pākehā students at the school.

Our home-life was not much better than school. I had a constant sense of being on trial. I felt that if the situation did not work out, we/I would be tossed to the curb, and that if this did happen, it would be our/my own fault. I felt lost and full of resentment due to the colour of my skin: desperately trying to “fit in” at a new school, in a new place, in a new family. I was trying to find a place for myself to stand and be comfortable with who I was, or was meant to be. Because of the colour of my skin, growing up in a new family environment, without dad and living away from my father's side of the *whānau* meant a new way of living, a new way of being and behaving. I felt like I was too black to be there, and being told that if I scrubbed a little harder in the bath, I might come up a little whiter. Being reminded on a daily basis that I was too black and thus, I should be ashamed and embarrassed to be a black Māori - unentitled to any respect.

Moving back to Mahia Peninsula and Māhanga Beach at Pāh-nui⁹ Station as teenagers, I remember my brother and I were never allowed to go riding on the quad bikes, or use any of the machinery around the farm like the Pākehā farm manager's kids could. They would come back to the Station from their expensive boarding schools and race all over the farm on the farm machinery. They'd never acknowledge us with a “hello” or any kind of invitation to hang out with them even though they were the same age as us. There were no other teenagers around so the assumption was because we were

⁹ Pāh-nui not Panui is the spelling used for the name of the livestock station at Mahanga/Mahia Peninsula

Māori and they were Pākehā, that they believed they were superior to us and as the Station manager's family that they had authority over our livelihood.

Kua rapu ki te wāhi kei te ngaro - The search for a better life

I could not wait to leave that restrictive and oppressive environment, to move away from what I had to call home. I had a real urge to escape everything and leave it all behind - to run away and turn my back on everything to do with my *whānau*. I was told I could finish school when I was 17, so my last year at Wairoa College was 1987. I started looking for opportunities to move away from Wairoa for good, and as soon as the chance came, I jumped at it. I was accepted on to a Māori Trade Training Electrical pre-apprenticeship course at the Auckland Technical Institute, (ATI). For the next 25 years, I abandoned everything that I hated about my upbringing.

At the beginning of 1988 I moved to Auckland and boarded at the Māori Boys' Hostel in Taumata Flats, Parnell, which was run by the United Māori Mission and managed by Dave and May Mackie. This was both scary and exciting for me, as it was the first time I had ever been to Auckland. There were eight Māori trainee electricians and 12 trainee plumbers living at Taumata Flats. While studying at ATI during semester, things were fantastic. The new experiences that came with being in a large cosmopolitan city were invigorating. I was playing rugby alongside my new band of brothers, my new *whānau*, and beginning to enjoy life again. Some of the other trainees joined a local Christian church and they also seemed to be happy.

Although I felt a sense of freedom being in Auckland, there was a constant feeling of homesickness to contend with. I was able to curb my homesickness by occupying myself and my mind with a renewed sense of being comfortable with "who I was" amongst the Māori boys in the hostel. However, once the course had come to an end

and all the Māori boys had gone their separate ways, some back to their *whānau* around Aotearoa (New Zealand), others back to their *whānau* homes around Auckland, the homesickness kicked in again. Even though I hated living in Wairoa, I missed my *whānau*; I missed my younger brothers especially. Despite this, I fought hard not to jump on the first bus back to Wairoa. I felt that if I moved back I would be stereotyped as a failure, especially by my step-father. In fact when I first boarded the bus to leave, one of my aunties said, “You won’t last long in Auckland, you’ll be back home in Wairoa soon”. Moreover, although I missed my mum and younger brothers immensely, I always felt the “unwelcome” sign that was mentally put up in front of me when I went home for Christmas. So instead of returning, I managed to secure myself an electrical apprenticeship, and I joined the local church that some of the other Māori boys in the hostel had been attending. This church gave me the sense of community and *whānau* that I had been looking for, and the job gave me a real sense of security and accomplishment. For 14 years I worked as an Electrical Journeyman on commercial and industrial building sites, and houses all over the greater Auckland region. I was able to keep the promise I had made to myself to never return to Wairoa until the time was right for me - if ever. A major thing that struck me with the move to Auckland was racism. Racism was in my work environment, on every building site, and even among members of the church I attended.

He hokinga ki te mātauranga, hei rapu i te taonga - The return journey to the knowledge of my family

After 25 years away, I only have fragmented memories of participating in *whānau* and *hapū* cultural practices connected with *tuna* fishing during the first eight years of my life. Going out with my father to catch eels is now just a vague memory. I only remember going with him on two or three occasions. However, having had some deep

kōrero (conversations) with *whānau* over the interviewing period, it appears that I was often taken eeling with him, and certainly more often than I can recollect. Therefore as a father and prospective grandfather, I am reminded of the important work that we - as parents with experiential knowledge - must do to ensure that our children and *mokopuna* do not miss out on the emotional involvement that comes with engaging in the important cultural practices of the *whānau* and *hapū*.

The turning point for me in terms of my journey back to the cultural fishing practices and knowledge of my *whānau*, Ngāti Mākoro, came from my wife. In 2004 Elena encouraged me to enrol in the “Te Reo Māori” certificate programme at Unitec. I enrolled in tertiary studies and began learning *te reo* Māori in 2005. The educational environment was such that for the very first time I felt safe as a Māori, to learn and grow. I had an epiphany as an adult and my confidence developed. I discovered that the *pūrākau* Māori (stories, history and information) that I had heard as a child were now considered worthy of being taught within the tertiary sector, and I realised I was capable of thinking and expressing myself at this higher level of education. On successfully completing the course, and with the continued encouragement and support of my wife, my confidence to take the next step in my educational journey grew. The certificate programme was the catalyst, awakening my mind and *wairua* (spiritual being) to the direction my life needed to take. Tertiary education has provided stepping stones for a much more fulfilling life.

In terms of this research journey, this is the most appropriate place to introduce the term “me-search”. I first heard this term in a personal conversation over dinner at a restaurant in Parnell with Professor Laurie Gottlieb from the School of Nursing at McGill University, Montreal, Canada. I found the term “me-search” resonated in its

nature and meaning. For me as the researcher, this term fits the philosophy of my thinking, and highlights the emotional connection I have with the theme of study and with the study's participants.

Thus, I have used the term “me-search” rather than “research” throughout this thesis, because it signifies the intrinsic and fundamental relationship I have with my *whakapapa*, as a case study participant and observer. This participatory approach will allow me to make a thought-provoking contribution to our *whānau* and *hapū* knowledge. This contribution being by way of my own lived experience and engagement, through teaching my son and the sharing of stories within the *whānau*. The framework of inter-generational knowledge transmission, will examine how the knowledge around the art and social cultural practices of *toitoi tuna*, *toi tuna*, *hī tuna* is nurtured and passed on to the next generation of Ngāti Mākoro descendants. The term research will only be used in reference to published or scholarly written works acknowledged in this thesis.

Te whakatakotoranga o te tuhinga whakapae - Thesis Structure

The second chapter captures the essence of the research methodology. This chapter looks at the research method used in recruiting participants for the indepth interviews to provide the qualitative data. The research methodology used is both a *kaupapa* Māori, and a *kaupapa o* Ngāti Mākoro research methodology (an indigenous, Ngāti Mākoro research methodology) as supported by Linda Smith (1999); Durie (1998) cited in White, (2003); Kathy Irwin (1992); Walker (1979) and Bevan-Brown (1998).

This chapter acknowledges the research work done by Māori scholars such as Bevan-Brown (1998), Bishop & Glynn (1999), Irwin (1992), Mutu (1998), Smith (1992, 1999) and Walker (1979). The research methodologies developed by Māori have been

termed “by Māori for Māori” thus communicating participatory approaches within *te ao Māori* (Mutu, 1998).

This chapter also explores the various research methodologies that sit comfortably under the umbrella of *kaupapa* Māori research. The auto-ethnographic method fits this approach, which according to Atkinson (1994 cited in White, 2003) supports a qualitative approach, because they rely prominently on “participant observation”. The qualitative nature of my study concerning inter-generational knowledge transmission also follows the principles which Cunningham (1998) stipulated as being “Māori-centred”. It is auto-ethnographic because it starts with a descriptive analysis and narrows into a single case study rather than a large sample (Atkinson, 1994).

One concept considered in this chapter are my own thoughts as part of the case study and the complications surrounding them. The use of a case study participatory research method, as indicated by Denzin and Lincoln (1994), depends on the documenting process of what happens, when *whānau* interact with the knowledge being transferred, whether physically or informatively. The collating of information is recorded from interviews, observations, practice, interactions and analyses. Quotes from the transcribed information are woven into the fabric of the knowledge framework, to give *whānau* members a voice.

Another concept discussed is *pūrākau*, the collaborative story telling method that Māori still prefer to use when sharing knowledge. The narrative and collaborative storytelling approach maintains *whānau/hapū/iwi* knowledge. As an information-collecting method that takes on the “collaborative stories” of the *whānau/hapū/iwi* as part of its methodology, it attempts to enable the authority, power and control to support *kaupapa* Māori research as a methodology (Bishop, 1994, 1997). The

understanding of the use of *pūrākau*, collaborative storytelling and the important role that it plays within the framework of inter-generational knowledge transmission, is vital to the research methodology of *kaupapa* Māori. It is an effective and active tool, used as part of the research in this thesis.

The third chapter provides an overview of the written literature on what inter-generational knowledge transmission is. This chapter includes some of the models of *whānau* support and knowledge-transmission developed by Māori academics. Pere's (1997) multi-layered and complex educational knowledge transmission system, which is made up of many values, virtues and principles, is an expansion on her *te wheke* (octopus) model (1997). Reedy's (1991) Pa Harakeke *whānau* model is also examined.

The analysis of the literature also looks at community organisation and demographic changes to the *whānau* landscape due to the post-urbanisation of Māori. Cultural disenfranchisement and the fragmentation of cultural values has become the norm in the new urban lifestyle (Belich, 2001; Durie, 2005). The impact of Christianity is also looked at in terms of how a new belief system altered the relationship Māori have with their natural environment and the notions of offering up *whakamoemiti* (prayer of thanksgiving) or *karakia* (incantation or prayer) (Crawford, 1998; Mahupuku, 1820-1830). Concepts and values synonymous within *te ao* Māori are also examined in terms of their importance, through the principles of *rangatiratanga* (leadership) (Metge, 1967; Durie, A, 1998; Mead, 2003), *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship) (Royal, 2003; Henare, 1995; Durie, 2005) *manawanui* (steadfastness) (Durie, 2005; Ward, 1999), and *mātauranga* Māori (Māori knowledge) (Royal, 2009).

Eel statistics and data from the National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research (NIWA) are also briefly looked at, along with the conflict between Māori knowledge

and Eurocentric knowledge (www.niwa.co.nz, 2010; Best, 1929; Mead, 2003). The economic activities of trade between *hapū* and *iwi* were largely focused on promoting the welfare and prestige of the people (Mead, 2003). Moreover exchanges between groups were handled by reciprocal gift exchanges. Thus for Māori this determined their *mana* (authority, power) and was part of their *tikanga* (Mead, 2003). These are compared to those frameworks of economic and commercial development that came with the early settlers, who followed not only a different philosophy but also practiced a different model of economic exploitation of the environment and its resources (Merrill, 1954).

The fourth chapter deals with *whakapapa*, and the narrative history of Ngāti Mākoru, which assists in merging the me-searcher's *whānau kōrero* and *pūrākau* with the written literature. The knowledge transmission according to Ngāti Mākoru using the *kōrero pūrākau* recorded in Mitchell (1944) and Whaanga (2004) assists in developing a model of inter-generational knowledge transmission.

This chapter also conceptualises the me-searcher's *whakapapa* through *pepeha* (tribal saying) to the me-search, and provides a brief of the *pūrākau* and *kōrero* regarding how the me-searcher is connected to the history of Te Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Mātangirau (the Wairoa River) and the surrounding rivers, lakes and waterways. The relationships and connections that Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa* have with their waters is similar to those held and shared by *iwi* across Aotearoa, New Zealand (Taylor & Keating, 2007; O'Shea, 1974; Young, 1998; Apiti, 2009). This chapter also includes some of Elsdon Best's (1929), outsider observations of the fishing techniques of the Māori.

The fifth chapter contains the transcribed in-depth interviews. Within the transcribed data, as the me-searcher, the thesis inter-generational knowledge relationship of the Ngāti Mākorō cultural practices around eel fishing are shared. The view through the lens used within this chapter is provided by the *pūrākau* shared during the interviews. What comes through in the interviews are the emotional lived experiences that Ngāti Mākorō have practiced throughout their lives. Each interviewed *whānau* participant has a level of knowledge about the different fishing methods and *tikanga* around the art of *tuna* fishing, and how the different methods are not practical for every member of the *whānau* to participate in.

The chapter also includes the impact of colonisation and urbanisation on eel-fishing practices and eel numbers. For example, how *whānau* have incorporated the use of new materials, the relationship with their surroundings and time saving material. The impact on the socio-economic Ngāti Mākorō lifestyle, particularly on those who moved away from their *haukāinga* (home and people), is evident as the time-honoured processes of gathering *kai* for the wellbeing of the *whānau* are abandoned.

The loss of some knowledge is evident in terms of *karakia tawhito* (traditional incantation) the pre-colonisation, pre-Christian *karakia*; the interpretation of there being a difference between *whakamoemiti*¹⁰ and *karakia*¹¹ is also evident. However the experience connected with the repositories of knowledge, around the important and humble cultural practices of *tuna* fishing; continue to be a source of strength and in-powerment/empowerment.

¹⁰ Explained in greater detail on pp. 61-62

¹¹ Explained in greater detail on pp. 61-62

The final chapter concludes and summarizes the notions, ideas, principles and philosophies of Māori knowledge and Ngāti Mākoro knowledge that have been woven into the very fabric of the me-searcher's educational journey during the writing of this thesis. This chapter is a culmination of thoughts, and the framework model of inter-generational knowledge transmission created and metaphorically connected to indigenous, *whānau* Māori ways of thinking, incorporating Ngāti Mākoro *kōrero pūrākau* and well known Māori symbols of status such as that of the embracing nature of the *korowai* (an ornamented cloak of feathers or hair). This chapter also brings to the fore the educational journey taken by myself as the author, and the way in which each chapter forms part of the jigsaw puzzle that fashions the notion and philosophies of inter-generational knowledge transmission.

Chapter Two:

Kaupapa Māori Research Methodology

Introduction

Provided within this chapter is the guts of several lens as to what constitutes *kaupapa* Māori research. Views that Māori scholars have discussed and argued that validate research that concerns Māori. Within this research I am a second-generation active participant within the framework of this study. I am a subjective, objective participant observer, within the *whānau* and the *hapū*, and thus for the *hapū* of Ngāti Mākorō it is very important as to the how this research is presented. This research must reflect and acknowledge the continued growth and development of knowledge transmission within Ngāti Mākorō. For research to be effective and to make an impact on the very lives of the peoples that are participants, that research needs to be for the people and their development. “That research should be about the advancement of the people – the people whose lives are directly affected by the research” (Durie, 1998 cited in White, 2003 p.95).

This me-search sets out to encourage *whānau* engagement and participation, the sharing and contributing of *kōrero mātauranga o te whānau* (family stories and knowledge) (Bishop, 1997). From the shared *kōrero mātauranga* a sense of “in-powerment” is observed amongst *whānau* members by the me-searcher. The term in-powerment is created and used deliberately instead of the word empowerment within this context. It is the knowledge that comes from within; learnt, developed and honed over time as it is passed on to the next generation, that brings about a sense of self-realisation and authority. As a term, in-powerment better reflects a holistic Māori way of thinking, where power comes from *whakapapa*. The following few lines of a

karakia that is used to begin a person's day, is an example of the origins of this me-searcher's understanding of in-powerment within *te ao* Māori.

<i>Tūtawa mai i runga</i>	I summon the power from above
<i>Tūtawa mai i raro</i>	below
<i>Tūtawa mai i roto</i>	within
<i>Tūtawa mai i waho</i>	and the surrounding environment
<i>Kia tau ai te mauri tū</i>	The universal vitality to infuse
<i>Te mauri ora ki te katoa</i>	and enrich all present
<i>Haumi e, hui e, taiki e</i>	unified, connected and blessed

The particular line of this *karakia* that is in focus here, is that of “*Tūtawa mai i roto*”, the summoning of power from within. As has already been alluded to, it is this power that brings about a sense of self-realisation and authority.

The word empowerment suggests that the direction of one's authority, one's power and control, comes from an external and detached influence rather than an internal source of knowledge that already exists (Bishop, 1997). Hence my preference for the term in-powerment, which in terms of *whakapapa* and this me-search, is intrinsically and fundamentally bound to the knowledge practices of the people, Ngāti Mākoru (Freire, 1970; Horton, 1989).

As the me-searcher I am an active participant of the study questions. The desire to protect and nurture the future of my *whānau* knowledge around *tikanga* Māori (Māori cultural practices), *tikanga o* Ngāti Mākoru, (Ngāti Mākoru cultural practices), *te reo* Māori (the Māori language) and *hī tuna, toitoi tuna* can only be possible by sharing. This desire to protect the knowledge by sharing it via *kōrero pūrākau* and through active participation with our children and *mokopuna*, becomes the driving force as a participating observer. To not be part and parcel of the me-search, contributing to the knowledge in terms of my own lived experience within the *whānau*, would defeat the purpose of a *kaupapa* Māori research methodology thus reverting to a methodology

of western paradigms which rejects the philosophy and ways of thinking that pertain to *iwi* Māori.

How the inter-generational transmission of knowledge within the *hapū* of Ngāti Mākoro, concerning the social cultural practices around *tuna* fishing, for our future generations to thus, have opportunity to experience and practice, must be shared and taught freely. The narrative storytelling methodology will classify and capitalise on communal understandings, in terms of the shared participation in the knowledge of learning and teaching methods, which are practiced as an everyday natural part of a lived community life (Marsden & Henare, 1992).

The opportunity for *whānau* to discuss and explore how we might collaboratively work together, and provide support in terms of investing in the validity of our knowledge, must be grasped. The social cultural practices which we as *whānau* may have at times taken for granted, and considered to be just the normal everyday lived things that our people do, need to be acknowledged as unique to *iwi* Māori. It must be recognised and validated not only by outsiders but also by *iwi* Māori as a precious knowledge practice that very few in the world know.

Narrative storytelling is an investigative strategy that embraces a *kaupapa* Māori approach to research (Smith, 2002). *Kaupapa* Māori is a research programme found within Māori cultural objectives and favoured ways of doing, as it encourages participation and a sense of “*Tino Rangatiratanga*” (self-determination) by a process of power sharing (Bishop, 1999). This me-search process adopted by myself as the me-searcher of exploring the potential of *whānau* to agree collectively about the ideas and notions of knowledge, to nurture their responsibilities and continue the cultural practices around indigenous methods of fishing for *tuna*, does not purport to represent

all present-day Māori *whānau*. However, it could provide a useful insight to other *whānau* interested in the concept of restoring the indigenous methods akin to their own *whānau* and *hapū*.

This method of research consciously selected, is used to give Ngāti Mākoru the chance to share their own *kōrero pūrākau*, to let them think about their own experiences, in terms of their relationships with those who helped them to learn and develop their skills, regarding *whānau* cultural *tuna* fishing practices. The intent is also to allow them space to think about those to whom they have transferred that knowledge, so that *mokopuna* who have not yet been privileged enough to gain these life lived experiences, may have a trail to follow to gain their own emotional experience. Throughout the interviews, *whānau* will be encouraged to reflect on and visualise their roles in the process and to examine “if and how”, their participation can contribute to the concept of inter-generational knowledge transmission.

As the me-searcher I am aware that the outcomes of this me-search have the potential to provide the basis for a larger-scale study in the future, essentially meaning that the multiplicity of social and collective issues that run through this study could impact on what is asked of the *hapū* in future. Thus the choice to confine the study to the me-searchers own *hapū*, is a personal decision to gain distinct understanding, intuition and knowledge.

Kua rapu haere te whānau me te hapū Māori – Māori taking charge of their own research

Smith (1992, 1999) surmised that all methods of research that have been established by Māori scholars emphasise common features which are considered essential to Māori ways of doing things. The use of *whānau kōrero pūrākau* as a research approach

authenticates perspectives of *iwi* Māori ways of knowing and doing. The *whānau kōrero pūrākau* connects the practical application of knowledge with the theory, thus *iwi* Māori are able to take ownership of their knowledge. This form of research ownership by *iwi* Māori has been termed “by Māori for Māori” (Bevan-Brown, 1998). The collating of Ngāti Māhoro *kōrero pūrākau* from across four generations reveals within the framework of the case study that Māori ways of thinking and working connect Māori to their knowledge through practice.

Mutu (1998), writing from her experience as a researcher, offers a cautionary approach to Māori when *whānau* Māori are being asked to share their experiences with outsiders. Mutu (1998) claimed that uneducated outsiders have mistreated the authority granted to them in order to subdue, undermine and disregard Māori contributions to research that concern Māori. Thus, *whānau* participants within this research are given the authority to shape, and take ownership of, how the knowledge and cultural practices pertaining to the *tikanga* of *hī tuna* are presented. Māori researchers are thus being constantly reminded that they need to be in the driver’s seat when it comes to research that concerns Māori. That to give authority and power to an outsider with no understanding of *te ao* Māori, *mātauranga* Māori, would be counterproductive to the recent gains that Māori scholars have managed to claw back from the damage made by non-Māori academics (Mutu, 1998).

Perception of tangata whenua

The word or label used to identify *tangata whenua* (people of the land), that is “Māori” is an invention used to fit *tangata whenua* into a box (Rangihau, 1992). As *tangata whenua* there is only *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. In terms of knowledge transmission, as each *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi* within the bigger contexts of the tribal sense, has its own

unique stories and emotional connections to its *tūrangawaewae* (their place of being) the term or label of “Māori” is a colonialist word chosen by Pākehā to allow them to put *tangata whenua* into a nice niche for them to understand who *tangata whenua* are. Thus the Eurocentric way of doing things adopted by the government, concerning all areas of life in Aotearoa, has led to the view that all *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* should be seen collectively under the same umbrella as Māori.

Therefore, in terms of claims that go before the government regarding Te Tiriti o Waitangi¹², it must also be said that now because the collective confederation of tribes within Aotearoa, are seen as a minority group in their own country, it has now become diplomatically strategic for *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, to co-operate and pool resources in order to successfully partake in the decision making processes for *tangata whenua* at a national level. In the case of the *iwi* and *hapū* clusters that are *iwi*-affiliated as Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa*, these *iwi*, *hapū* clusters banding together as Māori under the umbrella of Te Tira Whakaemi, so that their treaty claim negotiation process with the Crown could go forward. Thus, they were able to sign a deed of agreement in principle with the Crown on 11 June, 2014 in the parliament building of the Beehive, Wellington. However, it has become increasingly important for all *hapū* and *iwi* across Aotearoa, but more specifically to combat the loss of *tikanga*, to maintainance of identity. To strengthen their resolve in the knowledge of their *tīpuna* and to encourage the *whānau*, *hapū* participants, to acknowledge that which in terms of the *kōrero pūrākau*, as being an intrinsic part of who *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* are.

¹² Treaty of Waitangi – A signed partnership between Tangata Whenua of Aotearoa and the Queen of England. February 6. 1840. Considered to be the founding document of New Zealand.

Irwin (1992) stated that *kaupapa* Māori research is a methodology that recognises and validates the environment that encompasses *te ao* Māori and Māori ways of thinking. *Kaupapa* Māori is a research methodology that is sound in its breadth and depth of understanding the cultural context within the research and is thus the most relevant in withstanding the scrutiny of research demands (Irwin, 1992). Although Irwin (ibid) supports the idea of *kaumātua* supervision when conducting research that may unearth culturally sensitive issues, the *whānau kōrero pūrākau* method implemented within this me-search enables the power and authority of the knowledge to be equally distributed amongst the *whānau* participants and not to be housed with just one individual. However, it must be said that within the context of *te ao* Māori, *mātauranga* Māori, *tikanga* Māori, that the *kaumātua* perspective and support of the me-search *kaupapa* must be and is acknowledged.

As *kaumātua* of Ngāti Mākoru are involved in this me-search and their *kōrero pūrākau* are included within its framework, their knowledge contribution to the me-search is an invaluable endorsement. With the endorsement of Ngāti Mākoru *kaumātua* through the sharing of their *kōrero pūrākau*, younger participants have become less hindered in their ability to share also, thus finding the confidence to talk about their lived experiences. Therefore, for Ngāti Mākoru it is imperative that the knowledge and emotional experience across the four generations of the *hapū*, be given the opportunity and confidence to give air and breath to their knowledge understanding.

For *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* Māori to gain the most out of research that concerns them, they need to be bold in the approach of internal knowledge in-powerment. Smith (1992, 1999) and Durie (1998 cited in White, 2003 p.95) affirms this notion when stating that the outlook *whānau* Māori should have toward research should be for the

betterment and advancement of the people. Walker (1979) stated that Māori need to ensure that Māori processes and the proper protocols of research methods and information acquisition are followed when it comes to Māori ways of doing and being. These ideas need to be articulated to highlight the need to know what Māori knowledge actually is. If Māori ways of being and doing are to be acknowledged then Māori need to take the lead when it comes to research that concerns Māori.

Across the university sector, research is widely recognised as being integral to university business performance indicators. Thus, the investigative process of study and research supports the analysis of customary and historical knowledge, validating the pursuit of new knowledge (Smith, 2006). Māori need to be on the frontline when it comes to research that concerns Māori, research that is for Māori and by Māori, to guarantee that Māori views of knowledge are justified and satisfactory to that of Māori desired outcomes. If at any time there is an apparent lack of enthusiasm to carry out research for Māori, with Māori, by Māori, that would then allow non-Māori, those that do not have any understanding of *te ao* Māori, to study and write about *te ao* Māori from a perspective of external observation. Māori are thus needed to combat the notion that Māori are dependent upon outsiders to research on their behalf. Walker (1996) challenged Māori researchers to produce their own research findings and conclusions, or run the risk of losing out to non-Māori academic views that once dominated what and how Māori should be portrayed within their research findings. It is expected of those Māori who actively participate in research, to think about and expand on the culturally favoured research methods, which have the ability to provide participants of the research with a share of the benefits.

It is hoped that the participants of this study will develop a greater understanding of the matters that are important to us. The way that our *whānau* now choose to engage in research and the cultural practices that are synonymous with the customs and protocols around the *tikanga* of *hī tuna*. This research acknowledges the power and control of the *whānau* participants, using their *kōrero pūrākau* as a culturally preferred methodology of inquiry (Marsden & Henare, 1992; Bishop, 1996; Smith, 2000).

Collected written works concerning research within indigenous populations acknowledged that by the end of the 20th century, the call to have indigenous models of research accepted and validated as a reliable method, not only in indigenous environments but also across the whole of the research sector, were being heard and beginning to gain traction (Irwin; 1992; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1999; Durie, 1998 cited in White, 2003; Smith, 2000). The example from the 1993 volume of the *American Journal of Community Psychology*, which committed an issue to indigenous procedures, was uncommon for its time because it was to many people from indigenous backgrounds, the first western acknowledgment of pedagogies existing outside that of the dominant western notions of research. The research processes attributed to indigenous people and their ways of doing and seeing, being an endorsement through western publication. The validating of indigenous research methodologies that exist outside that of the Pākehā and western ideas of investigative enquiry by the *American Journal* publication is an important victory for indigenous research (Irwin; 1992; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1999; Durie, 1998 cited in White, 2003; Smith, 2000).

Developing Kaupapa Māori Research

Although there is yet to be an agreement on a definitive understanding of what *kaupapa* Māori research is, there is nevertheless a considerable amount of developing ideas revealed in the written works of Māori academics (Cunningham, 1998). One of the developing ideas is the courage and strength that *whānau* Māori gain from the positive and constructive outcomes of research that they are involved in. (Bishop, 1996). Supporting this way of thinking is the enablement of Māori in the field of research procedure and research content, to do the research themselves because when one takes into consideration that Māori consistently throughout history, in the practice of western theories of research, have been on the negative side of the investigative outcomes there develops an understanding that *kaupapa* Māori research methods that free the mind of the dominating western paradigms, become pertinent to Māori research success. In commenting on the position of Māori conducting research Linda Smith argued that *kaupapa* Māori research fights to retrieve some of the ground dominated by western models of research:

One of the challenges for Māori researchers working in this context has been to retrieve some space – first, some space to convince Māori people of the value of research for Māori; second, to convince the various, but fragmented research communities of the need for greater Māori involvement in the research, thirdly, to develop ways of approaching and carrying out research which takes into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research, and the parameters of both previous and current approaches. What is now referred to as Kaupapa Māori approaches to research, or simply a Kaupapa Māori research is an attempt to retrieve that space and to achieve those general aims (Smith cited in White, 2003. p. 93).

Although much has been retrieved in terms of space for Māori to be and live as Māori since the above quote was published 12 years ago, the same battles are still being faced by Māori within the mainstream sector of tertiary study today. It is important then for Ngāti Māhoro and for the sake of this me-search *kaupapa*, that some time is invested

into talking with *whānau* members, about the plausibility of researching and documenting a thesis of our *whānau* emotional experiences and processes, related to our cultural practices of fishing for *tuna* and the inter-generational transmission of those knowledge practices around this *tikanga*. However, for the sake of the cultural safety of *whānau*, there may also be a need to look at processes to safeguard the integrity of my *whānau* from any potential signs of aggression, from some members of the institute of western research, which do not value and/or understand Māori ways of knowing and doing things. An example of this is the 2004 academic assault by Elisabeth Rata, who argued that *kaupapa* Māori, is seen by some as being in only the sphere of the influential; which undermines the initiative that *kaupapa* Māori research sets out to achieve. This is an illustration of the intolerance that some academic scholars have, which do not value Māori ways of knowing and doing. In particular, what is most alarming about Rata's (2004) attack is the haughtiness of piety she assumes to articulate, in believing she has a right to evaluate and examine *kaupapa* Māori ways of knowing and doing, through a lens of euro-centricity, through a lens of *Pākehātanga* (western ways of doing things). Thus, in terms of this me-search method that this exposition of inter-generational knowledge transmission takes, the collaborative and narrative storytelling methodology embraces the emancipator approach, while in turn rejecting methods of burden that are un-constructive and negative.

Māori academics that are at the cutting edge, in terms of the research methodology chosen for development and advancement of this me-search, have found themselves in the precarious position because of the scrutinising eyes of non-Maori academics, where they are having to explain what the composition of *kaupapa* Māori research that is encompassed by *mātauranga* Māori and *te ao* Māori looks and sounds like (Royal,

2009; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Cunningham, 1998; Irwin, 1996; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999).

A closer look at Kaupapa Māori and Māori-centred Research

Māori-centred research paradigms and power have been identified by Cunningham (1998) as staying with *kaupapa* Pākehā organisations, whereas the values, principles and power within the *kaupapa* Māori research paradigm remains firmly within the realms of *mātauranga* Māori, *te ao* Māori. Thus, if we look at these two perspectives through the lens and framework of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the *kaupapa* Māori research paradigm would sit harmoniously with Article (two) of Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Tino Rangatiratanga and the declarations of sovereignty. The Māori-centred research paradigm would sit comfortably within Article (three) of Te Tiriti o Waitangi: nationality and equity claims. If we accept the classifications that Cunningham (1998) portrays, the research methodology used here is Māori-centred and not *kaupapa* Māori driven. The principles of power and control over this research, would rest with the university and not with the *whānau*. The university ethics committee, and not the *whānau*, controls the research progression from the beginning to its completion. This control and power being reflected by the university, when retaining and claiming the right to hold a copy of the finished product in their library, raises questions regarding who actually has ownership of the knowledge.

In spite of this problem that the classification of Cunningham (1998) provides, he still offers to Māori that are embarking on the journey of research, within university protocols and parameters the room to push on toward the objectives that Smith ...in White (2003) referred to. However, what is more important for my *whānau* is that they become more aware of the value of research, research that is for Māori by Māori,

research that highlights the value of their participation in the research procedure (Bevan-Brown, 1998).

Māori ways of doing

Research by Māori for Māori must always be carried out with *tikanga* Māori in mind. The customary appropriate research methodology, the qualitative method which provides for an acceptance of phenomena, through the participants' cultural perspectives, have been recognised as being essential to how Māori engage with their environment and their knowledge practices (Hughes, Seidman & Williams, 1993). The qualitative research approach sits well within the parameters of this research process, and thus is accepting of Maori philosophy and ways of thinking (Hughes, Seidman & Williams, 1993).

As a research methodology, qualitative research provides opportunity for participants to express their understanding in their own words (Maykut & Morehouse, 1998; Patton, 1987). The qualitative methodology creates space for imaginative and experiential practice, concentrating on particular case studies centred on connected communities such as *whānau* Māori rather than the numerical conclusions of large unconnected trial clusters of people (Cziko, 1992). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) backed this perception when making the claim that: “qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researchers and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry” (p.4).

The explanation of qualitative research sits comfortably with the methods taken on by this me-searcher. When looking at each participating *whānau* members shared emotional and experiential engagement with the *tikanga* of *tuna* fishing practices, these methods also reveal symmetry with the model of auto-ethnography.

Auto-ethnographic Approach

Auto-ethnography is an approach that seeks to describe one's personal and emotional experience in order to understand cultural experiences. One cannot merely look at the community without first really being part of its structure in some way or form (Ellis, 2004; Holman Jones, 2005). Atkinson (1994, cited in White, 2003) stated that the auto-ethnographic approaches to study support qualitative methodology approaches, because they rely noticeably or partly on "participant observation". Ethnography firstly places a strong emphasis on examining the makeup of a specific happening within a community. Ethnography examines how a community comes to the conclusions that it has developed regarding their cultural practice rather than setting out to test a theory. The interpretation and analysis of *kōrero pūrākau* that contain clear explanations of significant themes and functions within a community practice also fits the parameters of auto-ethnography as they provide the emotional and experiential connection to a phenomenon or cultural practice.

The participant subjective objective observation which is taken on by this me-search is an auto-ethnographic approach (Atkinson, 1994). As this me-search concerns my *whānau* and *hapū* it is considered to be impossible to look at inter-generational knowledge transmission without first really being part of its structure in some way or form. The *whānau* members are all engaged participants in the me-search, offering their individual and collaborative *kōrero pūrākau*. The clear understandings regarding the phenomena of *kōrero pūrākau* as a collaborative approach to inter-generational knowledge transmission strengthens their practice. The auto-ethnographic research methodology fits well with the qualitative nature of the *kōrero pūrākau* me-search approach (Atkinson, 2004).

Through my *whakapapa* the connection as not only a me-searcher and an observer, but also as an active participant within the framework of the inter-generational transmission of knowledge, I find myself in a situation that is an anomaly to the Māori proverbial saying: “*Kaore te kumara e korero e pa ana ki te reka*”, “The kumara does not talk about how sweet it is” (far be it for one to sing their own praise, but rather let the compliments be spoken by others). However, as the me-searcher, the position of knowledge, knowing and practice experience within the framework of this me-search offers a holographic epistemology and interpretation of a phenomenon (Meyer, 2014; Ellis, 2004; Holman Jones, 2005).

One’s own case study within the participatory model

As a case study participant my reflective analysis of the knowledge is one that informs my practice. When interacting with *whānau* knowledge on a personal level whether physically or informatively, Denzin & Lincoln (1994) surmise that the collating of information from interviews, observations, practice, interaction and analysis can only ever happen from a position of a personal relationship. As *whānau* relationships are the key to the participatory model of being a part of one’s own case study this me-search becomes a source of in-powerment for the me-searcher. Within the context of the study being conducted here, a definition of this study expedition, as being a “me-search journey” would not go astray (Morehu, 2005). However, an acknowledgement of all participants involved within this me-search must be offered as they are all related, and without their valued and endorsed contribution to the me-search this me-search journey would be dead in the water. It is *whakapapa* that connects and bonds all the participants to the practiced knowledge.

Kōrero Pūrākau - Collaborative Storytelling

Bishop (1994, 1997) contends that even though *te ao* Pākehā (western epistemological world view) of social dominance and assimilation through the written English language continues to control the opinion of society, the truth is, Māori people still prefer the narrative, collaborative storytelling approach to maintain their knowledge. As an information collecting method that takes on the “collaborative stories” of the *whānau* as part of its methodology (Ballard, 1994) “research as stories” approach, it attempts to enable the authority, power and control to support what Bishop (1994, 1997) outlines as a *kaupapa* Māori research methodology. The collaborative storytelling method to research involves the establishment of a relationship between participants and the researcher. The participation of *whānau* members within this research will enable this procedure to occur. This venture consist of a questioning technique that does not have pre-ordained or scripted answers that have already been pre-determined in advance, but rather are totally reliant on the nuances and routes taken on during the interview process (Lee, 2005).

Within the scope of this enquiry, the concept of *whānau* should be considered as Mead (2003) identified, as all participants are blood relatives. The concept of *whānau* is an important notion for this collaborative storytelling methodology, predominantly when looking at incorporating moral principles and the discussion of issues associated with this me-search (Mead, 2003).

I plan to collate the *whānau kōrero*, regarding their participation and emotional experience of *tuna* fishing, and then, to the *whānau* present a reciprocal exchange synopsis of the research findings. The *kōrero pūrākau*, collaborative storytelling approach requires the willing participation of *whānau* members. It is a realisation that

the me-searcher is unable to continue without their co-operation and support, hence the reason that I want to acknowledge the *whānau*.

However, as the me-searcher I willingly admit that I have a personal desire to explore the intricacies that exist within Ngāti Mākoru, concerning the inter-generational transmission of knowledge. In part this being the completion of a written document that incorporates personal stories of engagement with Ngāti Mākoru knowledge. This being acknowledged, though there are threats involved when one begins intellectualising what is a humble fishing practice, that is subject to the lens one chooses to view the knowledge extrapolated. As the me-searcher I am under no illusion that embarking on a me-search venture such as this, has the potential undesirability to alienate me as the me-searcher from members of my *whānau* if their story is marginalised or belittled by academics who are only of the thought that research should only be a process based on scientific evidence. However, despite my ethical concerns, I am of the opinion that the *whānau* journey and experiences in terms of the *tikanga* and *kawa* around the inter-generational knowledge practices of *tuna* fishing are valuable stories relating to lived experiences.

Ngā tukunga iho - The results

The *kaupapa* Māori research methodology has the capacity to endorse *tino rangatiratanga* through *whānau kōrero pūrākau* (Smith, 1999). As *kōrero pūrākau* is a method that invests in the shared narratives of *whānau* it is acknowledged as a research method that establishes a *kaupapa* Māori approach (Lee, 2005). The *kaupapa* Māori research process is a way of investigating the knowledge of the people, that knowledge in-powers by the knowing and that the knowing brings an understanding of the practice (Meyer, 2014). Within the processes of power sharing, are Māori

cultural idiosyncrasies, preferences and ways of doing (Bishop, 1994). However, although it has been stated that in-powerment is brought about through the internal knowledge shared, the fact continues to remain, that Māori do not have complete ownership over ethics and what Māori wish to maintain within their domain, as these rest firmly with the tertiary institutions (Bishop, 1994). Both Mutu (1998) and Meyer (2014) challenge us as Māori researchers to take back control of the intrinsic values of indigenous knowledge. To reclaim the knowledge and the knowing of how to practice the knowledge.

In spite of this hurdle the *whānau kōrero pūrākau* research method, has the ability to take account of the complexities within the lived Māori experience, which are mirrored in many ways within the practices that sit under the umbrella of *kaupapa* Māori research (Atkinson, 2004; Bishop, 1996).

In the sharing of *whānau kōrero pūrākau* during the in-depth interview discussions, these discussions will enable an on-going co-operative analysis and construction of meanings about the lived experiences (Atkinson, 2004; Bishop, 1997). These interviews will be audio recorded and in some instances some of the fishing practices photographed. The recorded interviews will be transcribed, and an opportunity will be afforded to the participants if they so wish to read over the transcripts to check and ensure that what is recorded is true and correct. The data will then be analysed by the me-searcher. Should the *whānau* at any time of the me-search process prior to submission wish to withdraw some or all of the information they have provided and may now feel to be inappropriate, this will be accepted.

The freeing of the Māori thinking processes

To be emancipated and cognitively aware of what was happening during the me-search procedure and having my thinking processes freed from the restraints of Eurocentric investigative practices, a realisation that the knowledge contributed by the *whānau* participants of the lived life experience became a breath of fresh air to the constant caterwauling that has dominated institutionalised research methods (Smith, 1999; Lee, 2005). Being freed from Eurocentric research methodology practices, was the opportunity to spread out the wings of *kaupapa* Māori research and Māori ways of thinking, because to be separated from the *whānau* completely within Eurocentric methods which controls everything would not be a viable option. All the way through the me-search process the need to be an active participant, observer meant that as the me-searcher I was constantly in touch with the pulse of the me-search and the social dynamic of the *whānau*.

As an active participant me-searcher within a *whānau* Māori background, being entrusted with the shared stories of the *whānau* is somewhat a difficult and honourable task to bear, because although the *whānau* have openly made known that they are willing to share their stories and that the knowledge does not belong to them, as the me-searcher I find that I am compelled to make sure that Ngāti Mākoru are not left stranded and feeling that they have been mistreated. Hence a feeling of making sure that I am at every instance able to be present at *whānau whānui kaupapa* (family themed gatherings) regarding this me-search is vital. Bishop & Glynn (1992) referred to this situation as “*he kanohi kitea*”¹³. To measure responsibility in Māori relationships is a personal decision. It would be unwise to write about *whānau*

¹³ Kanohi kitea being derived from the phrase ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ as in face to face conversation, however, ‘kanohi kitea’ ‘a face seen’ referring to having a physical presence at a place or venue.

perspectives from a view point of theory only, and not a perspective of an active engaged participant. As if only written from a theory viewpoint, much of the nuances and idiosyncrasies of the knowledge would not be captured.

Issues related to participant/me-searcher

The main issue I see with using indigenous epistemologies, ways of thinking and applying knowledge within the tertiary sector of Eurocentric research ideologies is that of the indigenous people reclaiming their ability to validate their own thinking processes. According to Tiakiwai (2001) the researcher that has the insider knowledge, has the ability to discover difficulties at depths that no outsider could conceivably have or understand because the outsider's perspective is as an observer only and lacks the intrinsic relationship knowledge. The outsider researcher is completely reliant on the quality and quantity of the information compiled. So in terms of social enquiry, the limitations are quite substantial concerning the mission of researching where the researcher does not have detailed knowledge.

Summary

The inter-generational transmission of knowledge across four generations, of the *whānau*, *hapū* members who by *whakapapa*, are connected to Ngāti Mākoru is the reason for this work of inquiry and discovery. The exploration of research methods pertinent to *kaupapa* Māori research methodologies was what this chapter was interested in. The understanding and positioning of where I was situated as the me-searcher determined the perspective and lens regarding how I as the me-searcher was to present this study. As a *kaupapa* Māori participant me-searcher the research approaches used determined much of the research analysis outcomes. As one who uses a *kaupapa* Māori approach within this me-search, the emphasis has been on promoting participation, the collective power and control over the research so that all participants

involved could as a group benefit. Within the *kaupapa* Māori framework, researchers inquiring into the notion of *whānau* need to have a lived understanding, of what it may mean to contribute as a Māori, being answerable and liable to *whānau*, *hapū* members.

As has already been referred to, the inquiry is auto-ethnographic in nature and qualitative in its method. This chapter discussed the methodological procedures pertinent to this me-search. If Māori want to be in control regarding of the research and what it has to say about Māori as *tangata whenua*, then Māori need to do the research for themselves (Smith, 1999; Walker, 1996). Māori need to be in the driver's seat when it comes to research that concerns Māori (Mutu, 1998). The research needs to be done by Māori for Māori (Bevan-Brown, 1998). It was emphasised that the collaborative storytelling of the *whānau kōrero pūrākau* research method is the preferred cultural methodology of inquiry, because it endorsed *whānau* collaborative participation and thus the sharing of power and control (Lee, 2005). Abstracts taken from the recorded in-depth interview data, through the case study method to this inquiry, encouraged and endorsed participants that are involved as practitioners of the *tikanga hī tuna* during the recorded conversations, to include the complexities of their experiences.

The sharing of *whānau kōrero pūrākau* as a narrative account, enabled a framework to be developed where the philosophies used by *whānau* participants involved the variant nuances and idiosyncrasies of their emotional experiences (Bishop, 1996; Atkinson, 1994). This chapter reminds us as Māori to be bold in our ownership of what it means to be Māori. To have the confidence to trust our Māori ways of being and doing, to trust the validity of the knowledge that is pertinent to our cultural practices, to reconnect with the knowing and practices of our knowledge because it is by the

doing we as Māori become emancipated from the restrictions of the oppression imposed by contemporary society (Meyer, 2014, Mutu, 1998, Freire, 1970).

Chapter Three

Understanding of the Literature

Introduction

The literature on inter-generational knowledge transmission reviewed here, presents an overall view to capture the profound feeling of loss, should these important humble cultural fishing practices be forgotten and lost forever. As reflected in the literature there is already a devastating numbness due to the damage felt by Māori regarding the ever encroaching impact of colonisation on their social cultural and traditional practice. By going through these scribed data bases of knowledge values, the understanding of loss felt will serve to enhance the purpose of why it is important to protect these practices. The values of *whānau*, *whanaungatanga*, *aroha* (love, compassion), *manaakitanga* (hospitality), *kaitiakitanga* (stewardship, guardianship), *pono* (truth, honesty) and *tūmanako* (hope) that are intrinsically woven into the fabric of the social cultural knowledge practices that once had been regularly on a daily bases shared through the generations from *tīpuna* to *mokopuna* are now at least within the majority of contemporary Māori society today becoming integrated more and more under the umbrella and recognition of their English language translation as this has now become the first language of communication for them (Belitch, 2001).

The concept of the inter-generational transmission of knowledge values within *whānau* over the past few years has gained more and more interest. The cultural transmission of knowledge is vital for the stability of a people, as it enables a community to maintain an open door of communication between the different generations. The promoting and preservation of culture-specific knowledge and beliefs through the generations becomes important to the cultural sustainability of a

people as this ensures that the knowledge of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* continues to live (Schöpflug, 2001; Trommsdorff, 2009).

However, the transmission of knowledge, values, the notions and principles that have shaped a people from one generation to the next, should not be taken as to being a forgone conclusion. As within the development of social change the newer generations of society are faced with the ever changing and new technological challenges. These are new societal principles that they have and will need to adapt to in order to lead a successful life (Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2006). The complete transmission of knowledge values and ethics from one generation to the next, without any change may not always be the best way forward. Because of the shifting plates of the social construct within society, the next generation of society may need to adapt to the modified living conditions of their environment. Thus, Schöpflug (2001) and Trommsdorff (2009) have stated that if a person is not given the opportunity to adapt to their environment, a complete transmission without the propensity to become accustomed to the surrounding environment, would be as damaging for an individual person's development, as that of a person's complete lack of knowledge value transmission. Because both would be a failure for successful socialisation.

Transmission in cultural context

Although the inter-generational transmission of knowledge values is an occurrence the world over, there are culture explicit variances in the outcome, material used and the procedure of the method used to communicate. Every culture offers a particular progressive protocol unique to them and a social-cultural practice for the transmission of their knowledge. The social cultural practices will contrast according to the knowledge values of each cultural society, which will be characterized by the culture-

specific concepts of independence or interdependence (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Rothbaum, Pott, Azuma, Miyake, & Weisz, 2000).

The contemporary individualistic cultural society of today, while it gives emphasis to the developmental pathway of independence, it also almost as a counter balance, accentuates the development of autonomy within the collective cultural community of interdependence, which to a large degree concentrates on *whakawhanaungatanga* (family relationships) *manaakitanga mātua* (parental guidance) and *takohanga* (responsibility) (Greenfield et al., 2003; Rothbaum et al., 2000).

In a comparable manner to the above paragraph, Arnett (1995) made a distinction between the “wide-ranging eccentric social practices” that encourage individuality, selfishness, self-transcendence, and assertiveness to that of the individual, and the somewhat more conservative nature of the “traditional social-cultural practices” which emphasise the notions of responsibility to traditional values, parental guidance and family morals (pp. 617-628). The family as the main agent of social guidance assists as a facilitator between the cultural values and the individual in the transmission process (Schneewind, 1999; Whitbeck & Gecas, 1988; Jenkins, 1986). Other agents that have impacted on the social change within contemporary society today are the institutional agents of change such as schools, universities, teachers, lecturers, school friends, work mates and the social networks of the media. According to Mead (2003), though society has changed with the technical advances of technology, values still remain unchanged as a whole. The teaching and handing on of *whānau* knowledge values is still invaluable.

Effects and advancement of the technological changes in society

The effects and advancement of the technological era in society over the period under review have developed very rapidly (Keegan, 2008). Keegan (ibid) provides a stimulating inquiry into the improving of the digital interface with indigenous languages and the use of such tools by indigenous and non-indigenous language speakers. The use of by Māori, of the digital resource tools in researching predominantly *te reo* Māori and personal family information to do with *whakapapa* is recorded. Likewise the researching on line, of cultural historical practices to do with *iwi* Māori, *hapū* Māori *tikanga* and *kawa*, ways of interacting with their surrounding environment also being logged (Keegan, 2008).

Cunliffe (2004) suggested that the presence of the internet would become increasingly more important to the viable sustainability of a languages survival, as society advances further into the use of technology. Dyson, Hendicks & Grant (2006) have stated that information technology is being used by indigenous peoples to help stem the tide of further loss. The indigenous languages that were examined regarding the use of these online portals and tools were that of *te reo* Māori and the Hawaiian language. As has already been well documented, these languages have suffered significantly as a result of colonisation. The extent of the damage to these languages was so extensive that it was predicted that they would not survive into the 21st century as living languages (Benton, 1978. 1981). Recent initiatives from the people of both countries have sought to redress the language loss, through the use of digital interface information technology tools (Keegan, 1996; Warschauer, 1998).

An argument identified of the ethical and emotional connection that active *whānau* participants have with indigenous knowledge, raises questions as to: who should or

who should not have access to the knowledge? Who are the gate keepers of indigenous knowledge? Why are some more worthy of the knowledge than others? What happens to the knowledge if the one the knowledge resides with dies before they have passed it on to the next generation? What does the future hold for *mokopuna* who have been disenfranchised from the indigenous knowledge of their people? What are the difficulties faced by *whānau* Māori that because of diaspora, are affected negatively by the stereotypes depicted by newspapers and media networks of the Māori population? These questions and many more are inquired that have been spoken about within the home, on the streets, in transport, at *wānanga*, in lecture theatres, and on the *marae*. They are questions that have been debated, because of the social cultural changes that have impacted on Māori cultural society, with the arrival of the Pākehā and the implementation of colonisation and assimilation policies (Belich, 2001). The use of technology has become a means for *whānau* Māori to continue making *whakapapa* connections with *whānau* who have moved on from their *tūrangawaewae* (Keegan, 1996).

Many indigenous societies of today hope that through the advent and advancement of technology, that this will assist in the way forward to protecting indigenous languages and cultures such as that faced by *tangata* Māori in our present era (Keegan, 1996; Warschauer, 1998). These technical advances may be the saving grace to the social-cultural practices of our *whānau tuna* fishing methods.

Tātari Mātātuhi - Analysis of the literature

Smith (2002) stated that Māori oral tradition is primarily expressed through *kōrero*, *whakapapa*, *waiata* and *whakataukī*. Mead (2003) and Salmond (1976) stated that Māori oral narrative is profoundly important for the transmission of *mātauranga* Māori (Māori knowledge) as it was the primary channel through which histories and

traditions were transferred from one generation to the next. Mead (2003) continued by stating that it is *tikanga* Māori, Māori protocols, Māori ways of doing and the belief systems connected with the practices and processes that also supports their oral history. It is these protocols that Māori used as a vehicle and followed in conducting the affairs of a group or individual. The definition taken on *tikanga* by Mead accepts many of the classifications explored, as well as the multiple and varied views on *tikanga* that are held by different *hapū* and *iwi*. It is *tikanga* that provides the paths to connect Māori wishing to come together and interact with *whanaunga* (Mead, 2003).

In addition Mead (2003) made two supplementary arguments about *tikanga* Māori that are predominantly relevant in this context within the literature: the first being, that *tikanga* “is part of the intellectual property of Māori”; and second, that *tikanga* is “not frozen in time” (p.21). *Tikanga* Māori is one protocol that exists within the sphere of *mātauranga* Māori. Although the concept of *mātauranga* Māori is a relatively new term in terms of the context of the word, it is still very much part of the ethos and epistemology of the Māori world view. However attempting to understand *mātauranga* Māori through “abstract interpretation” is a dead end and problematic (Marsden & Henare, 1992). Conceptualizing *mātauranga* Māori has long plagued academics. Marsden & Henare (1992) argued that the only reasonable approach to understanding *Māoritanga* (Māori epistemology) is a subjective one, stating that objectivity is no substitute for “the taste of reality”.

To Salmond (1976) *mātauranga* Māori was and still is a complex and “open” system of knowing the world. Therefore, *mātauranga* Māori has no fixed definition as it is a concept that has a wealth of meanings. Tau (cited in Wiri, 2001, p. 27) also contends that *mātauranga* Māori is the epistemology of the Māori, claiming that there is an array of facets that underpin the Māori episteme. For example, a definition of

mātauranga Māori is offered by Marsden (1992) where he describes the facet of myth and legend as only the beginning of fundamental knowledge.

The Māori world-view lies at the very heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of the culture. In terms of Māori culture, the myths and legends form the central system on which their holistic view of the universe is based (Marsden & Henare, 1992. p. 5-6).

Winiata together with Royal (1998) defines *mātauranga* Māori as “*Te whakamāramatanga o ngā tikanga tuku iho e puta ai te titiro a te Māori ki tōna ao*”, “the explanation of human behaviour that is based on traditional concepts handed down through the generations”. Winiata together with Royal (1998) offer a working definition of *mātauranga* Māori as “*He mea hanga te mātauranga Māori nā te tangata Māori kia mārama ai ia ki tōna ao, kia mārama rānei te ao ki a ia*”, “Māori knowledge is created by Māori to explain their experience of the world” p. 20.

Tau (cited in Wiri, 2001, p. 27), Salmond (1976), Winiata (cited in Royal, 1998) all theorize that *mātauranga* Māori cannot be trivialised to mere translation and fixed definition. The concept of *mātauranga* Māori thus encompasses religious, philosophical and metaphysical beliefs, with attitudes based upon a Māori epistemology. This world-view however, has encountered a new foreign element that inevitably shaped the cultural lens in which Māori saw their world.

In 1814, Reverend Samuel Marsden landed on the shores of New Zealand and established the Evangelical Mission with the Church Missionary Society in the Bay of Islands. Reverend Samuel Marsden believed that Māori could change their customs and values, to the more “civilized” Western belief system, essentially acculturating the Māori with Pākehā ideologies (Orange, 1990).

The natives of New Zealand are far advanced in civilization, and apparently prepared for receiving the knowledge of Christianity more than any savage nations I have seen.

Their habits of industry are very strong; and their thirst for knowledge great, they only want the means. The more I see of these people, the more I am pleased with, and astonished at their moral ideas, and characters. They appear like a superior race of men (Orange, 1990. pp. 21-48).

The missionaries did not hesitate in their proactive prohibition practices of Māori customs and beliefs. According to McLean (1996), the missionaries strove to eradicate the *haka* (war dance), communicating to other missionaries of their progress in discouraging the “ferocious habits” of the Māori. Furthermore, Henry Williams of the Church Missionary Society felt it necessary to prohibit all old customs including Māori dancing and singing (McLean, 1996). Inevitably then the missionaries forbade the practice of *haka* and *waiata* because of their perceived association with pagan rituals (McLean, 1996). Thus a void was created, within Māori culture, due to the prohibiting of these cultural characteristics, leaving Māori with the muted solace of thought for their losses.

Community organisation – demographic change

The fishing methods that my *whānau* have knowledge of and continue to practice are practical notions and philosophies that very few Māori within contemporary society practice today. Because *whānau* Māori have spread further afield from the area where their *tīpuna* lived and practiced these arts, much of the knowledge of their *tīpuna* has been lost to them. The time honoured traditions of our *tīpuna* have now been replaced by assimilated Eurocentric and western neo-liberal, economic driven lifestyles of today’s society. Belich (2001) and Salmond (1976) both contend that the assimilated practices of Eurocentric ideologies are now embedded within *whānau* Māori households, the single minded approach to life replacing that of the everyday lifestyle of the community environment that Jenkins (1986, p. 12) referred to earlier.

Māori *whānau* cultural society was not a community that reflected the ideals of the Pākehā Eurocentric and Western ideologies of what the family consisted. The idea that the mum and dad are the sole care givers for their children without any influence by other members of the extended family did not reflect the structure of Māori society as supported within the written literature (Durie, 2004; Reilly, 2004; Mead, 2003; Algie in Binney & Chaplin, 1986; Buck, 1950; Brown in Binney & Chaplin, 1986; Jenkins, 1986; Metge, 1995; Mikaere, 1994; Pere, 1994; Rangihau, 1992; Sunderland in Binney & Chaplin, 1986; Walker, 1990). The sharing of responsibility for the collective wellbeing of the *whānau* represented the Māori social structures of their communities.

The living experience of the inter-generational Māori *whānau* within the time of my grandparents upbringing of the 1920s, created the environment for grandparents and children to interact with each another. Even as late as up to the early 1970s my older cousins have been quoted as saying that our Nanny Mei still interacted with her *mokopuna* (my older cousins) when they would be preparing to go out fishing for *tuna*. Pere (1994), supports this statement by saying that the relationships between *tīpuna* and *mokopuna* was vital to the connecting of the past with the future. The linking of the past, present and future from the *tīpuna* to the *mokopuna* meant that there was a constant channel flow of knowledge passed on from the past into the future thus strengthening the process of inter-generational knowledge transmission. What this meant is that knowledge came from the same connected spring of life (Morehu, 2005).

Within Māori society, it is not a rare thing for one of the grandchildren of the *tuakana* (older sibling within the family), to be raised by their grandparents (Brown in Binney & Chaplin, 1986). The child was considered to be very important for the continued

retention and passing on of *mātauranga* Māori (Brown, in Binney & Chaplin, 1986; Buck, 1950; Stirling in Salmond, 1980; Pere, 1994). This is another example of the *tikanga* of *whāngai* that is spoken about in the introduction chapter.

The changes and effects experienced by Māori society following the annexation of Aotearoa, New Zealand by the British meant that many traditional Māori protocols, principles and beliefs struggled to survive (Durie, 2005). In terms of *whakapapa* and of Māori knowledge, the withering of these principles and beliefs was due to the overwhelming weight of colonisation, and the need of Māori *whānau* to provide a better economic living standard for themselves and their children (Spoonley, Macpherson and Pearson, Eds, 2004; Durie, 2005). Since the rural to urban migration of Māori from the 1950's, many young Māori have become disenfranchised from their *hapū* and *whānau*. The changing demographics of Māori urban living saw the communal living environment of the *marae*, become fragmented and no longer feasible within the context of new urban city life (Belich, 2001).

Traditional Māori society was founded on a value system that is characteristic of the tribal relationship, essential to the safety and wellbeing of the *hapū* and *iwi* (Walker, 1990; Durie, 1998; Ka'ai, 2004). As the retention and distribution of knowledge was valued highly within the *hapū*, certain forms of knowledge were restricted for the few specialists prepared to receive and extend it (Hemara, 2000). The introduction of reading and writing by Europeans into Māori society, the retaining and control of *mātauranga* Māori was compromised (Walker, 1990). Knowledge and information once restricted to the few could be recorded and made accessible to the many. Thus, the question of who the knowledge should be distributed to arises or if there are indeed any benefactors entitled to receive such information.

Smelser (1966), Metge (1967) and Mead (2003) all stated that the traditional Māori world view and community systems were fundamentally based on kinship units and tribal connections. Ka'ai, Moorfield, Reilly & Mosley (2004) advise that the continuation of parallel models, to that of the traditional kinship model, become obvious even though some change has occurred over time. Henare (1995) expressed the significance of the relationship that the *whānau* and *hapū* have in society today, when he states: '...the *whānau-hapū* is the heart of life for a person. It is the ground in which kinship and social relationship obligations and duties are learned and enabled to flourish and flower" (p.17).

In regards to Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa*, there is a percentage of the *iwi* still living within or near its regional boundaries; there is also a large population living outside of the tribal area that are disconnected and disenfranchised from their Māori knowledge base, their *Kahungunutanga*, their Kahungunu cultural ways of practice. Many of them have moved to the larger cities or now live overseas, meaning that generations of Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa* descendants have been or are disconnected from their *whānau* and *hapū* (Pool, 1991).

For those *hapū* and *whānau* members who have migrated far and wide, the traditional communication systems of transferring and disseminating knowledge via *kōrero kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face communication), *whānau wānanga* or tribal *hui* are near impossible or too infrequent to make a substantial enough impact on their daily lives. They become dependent on the few *whānau* members that are still active within tribal politics, and/or for the entire decision-making processes and the subsequent retention of *whakapapa* (Salmond, 1976). They are reliant on those *whānau* members who remain on the land to continue to maintain the rituals and practices of their *tīpuna*.

Although some *iwi* and *hapū* have adopted more contemporary methods of communication such as the internet, for the future of Ngāti Mākorō cultural practices, knowledge and *kōrero*, it is at this point in time, still in the hands of the practical face-to-face daily life experience.

Those who are at present carrying on the rituals are the parental generation, raised in country areas close to a marae, but with the rising generations, born in the towns away from the marae, the forms of the hui may radically change (Salmond, 1976, p. 126).

These forms of knowledge acquisition have changed markedly for Māori that are in urbane city areas away from their *whānau* however the essence of the *hui* is still based on *tikanga* Māori. For Ngāti Mākorō and for the *iwi* of Ngāti Kahungunu, having a detailed and comprehensive description of historical epistemologies, customs, values, beliefs and social organisation as compiled by Mitchell (1944) and Whaanga (2004) is very important. These books in addition to their common daily practice of communication through *kōrero*, *waiata* and *whakapapa* assist to stem the tide of further knowledge loss. Additionally they give voice to the significance that these core values and beliefs have for the *iwi* of Ngāti Kahungunu ki te Wairoa. For instance the connection that Māori have between *te ao hauora* (the world of wellbeing) and *te ao wairua* (the spiritual realm) is exhibited and shown in such practices as the *whenua* (the after-birth) and the *pito* (umbilical cord) being returned to the land buried beneath a *pito* or *whenua* tree indicating the integral relationship Māori have to *Papatūānuku* (Earth mother) the land itself.

Impact of Christianity

The embracing and adoption of new belief systems such as that of *te hāhi o Ihu Karaiti*, Christianity and Catholicism, have also contributed to the distilling of traditional knowledge systems (Crawford, 1998; Mahupuku, 1820-1830). The impact of this statement can be seen in the contrasting understanding of the word *whakamoemiti*

(prayer of praise) and *karakia* (incantation, prayer of praise and beseeching). One or the other is offered when *whānau* Māori are now preparing themselves to partake in a particular *tikanga*, or when blessing the table during the commencement of a *hākari* (feast) or a *kai* (food) (Crawford, 1998; Mahupuku, 1820-1830). The relationship with the environment has also in many ways changed, due to the impact of the adopted new belief system taken on by Māori. For many Māori of today, no longer is the incantation of yesteryear offered to Māori *atua* (deities). For these were seen as works of the flesh, heathenistic practices that were an abomination to the church and their teachings, these practices and relationships were banished by the church ministers to be forgotten (Mahupuku, 1820-1830).

For most of the *hapū*, Ngāti Mākoru, the main belief system is *te hāhi o Rātana* (the Rātana church). This belief system is a branch of the Christian faith. Although the prayer, hymns and the services are mainly conducted in *te reo* Māori, much of the principles, virtues and values that are espoused as being virtues of Christianity are also the same values and virtues as those that are still important, prized, prominent and practiced within *te ao* Māori.

For *whānau* Māori in terms of the way one conducts themselves and also when looking after *manuhiri* (visitors) when they come to visit whether in the home or on the *marae*, these very same values are practiced. In terms of the teaching of the Rātana faith, the teachings are taught in the Māori language, *he reo kōrero ōkawa* (it is a type of language that is used in formal settings), (Kāretu, T., & Milroy, Wh. 2013). *He reo kōrero ōkawa, kia whakakotahi atu haere i te ara āhuatanga o te reo Rātana*, the Māori language of the church has a very formal and narrow focus in terms of its breadth and width of conversation. Thus, the scope, the personal nuances and idioms

of the language in everyday conversation, are somewhat limited and constricted (Kāretu, T., & Milroy, Wh. 2013). The question is asked, in terms of the *reo kōrero ōpaki* (the language of everyday life, the informal contexts of conversation).

“Kei hea te reo kōrero o te ringawera, kei hea te reo kōrero o te kaimahi māra, kei hea te reo kōrero o te kaimahi rapu kai i te wao nui o Tane-mahuta, kei hea te reo kōrero o te kaimahi rapu kai i te ao moana o Tangaroa, ara, me ki au nei, kua huna ia i raro i te toka nui, nō reira, kia rapu haere te mita o te reo kōrero, te mita o te pūrākau, te mita o te reo pakiwaitara, te reo kōrero o i a rā”, “where is the language of everyday life situations with all its nuances and idioms that come with the surrounding circumstances of ordinary lived lives and within the constructs of engaging in everyday practical circumstances? They are hidden from us, and so we are urged to seek them out” (Kāretu, T., & Milroy, Wh. 2013).

Mātauranga tuku iho - Knowledge passed on

From a Māori world view there are many forms of Māori oral tradition that can be drawn on to enhance the scope of Māori knowledge transmission, such as *whaikōrero* (oratory), *whakapapa*, *pakiwaitara/pūrākau*, *pepeha*, *whakataukī/whakataukāki*, and *waiata*. However, sadly because of the impact that colonisation has had on Māori society, *mātauranga* Māori, is now fragmented and disjointed across many levels (Belich, 2001; Salmond, 1976). For many Māori their connection to the Māori world view is their grandparent whom they only see once a year, for unless their own parents have a strong connection to their *whakapapa*, the connection for the many urbanised Māori to have with the Māori world view is minimal (Ka'ai, Moorfield, Reilly & Mosley, 2004; Belich, 2001; Salmond, 1976). Thankfully however, there are pockets of resistance to the total overhauling of the Māori ways of being. Thus Māori are able to access their knowledge in Aotearoa across many spectrums of government, through academia, *wānanga*, business, social science, city, domestic, rural and *marae* communities. It is to these that urban pan-tribal Māori can turn to get support for *te reo* Māori, *kaupapa* Māori and *tikanga* Māori.

A useful ally to this resistance are the works of Paulo Freire; one of his most significant ideas was the development of the conscientisation through transformation theory (1970). His work offered a framework to the effective transfer of indigenous knowledge, through transformative teaching and learning practices. Freire (ibid) presented a critical analysis of the repressive power by the oppressors over the oppressed, through the main stream education system. He stated that it is only the oppressed that can seek and find the power to emancipate both the oppressed and the oppressors from the shackles of mental and educational slavery. That only the oppressed can liberate their minds from the restraints placed on them, by institutionalized educational ideologies, which lay claim to holding the keys to knowledge, including that of indigenous knowledge (1970). He (1970) claimed that western educational systems anesthetize and inhibit the creative and critical thinking power of the oppressed, by maintaining a submersion of consciousness approach, where the teacher is the narrator of knowledge and the student is the receptor. Though much has been written by Māori Scholars such as Linda and Graham Smith (1999, 1998), Irwin (1992), Royal (1998b) and Mead (2003), since Freire pend his theory (1970), the education curriculum and teaching pedagogies is still controlled by the Eurocentric and Western schooling system (Ka Hikitea, 2013-2017).

A holistic problem-posing educational perspective involves a constant unveiling of reality, and strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention where the student and teacher make discoveries side by side (Hemara, 2000; Holt & Farenga, 2003). Once freed from the shackles of the oppressive and submissive education system, the liberated mind is consciously able to think about the economic wellbeing of their people and community that they serve (Freire, 1970; Holt & Farenga, 2003). When the Māori thinking processes are freed to think and re-look at the world from a

Māori world view, there is no longer the struggle and battle within one's mind to frown on one's cultural identity and ways of processing knowledge to comply with western society (Royal, 2009).

In terms of the freeing of the Māori mind to think and be as Māori, the telling of *pūrākau* and *pakiwaitara* were one of the ways in which Māori passed on the history to the next generation. Stories of *whakapapa*, love, war, and journeys across frontiers were part and parcel of the knowledge passed on to the next generation (Pere, 1994; Alpers, 1992; Tau, 2003). The Māori possess an oral literature which has a creation story to rival that of the Greeks. With a plethora of gods and champions, and a store of tribal histories, Māori are able to recall wars and the epic journeys made across the Pacific to Aotearoa. *Pūrākau* was a conscious way for *tangata whenua* to engage with the emotions of the *whānau* and *hapū*. With oral literacy tools such as images and symbolism, the *pūrākau* was intended to arouse emotional responses that bonded the people to the *kōrero* (Pere, 1994; Alpers, 1992; Tau, 2003). Within the *whare pūrākau* or *whare tapere*, houses of social interaction where young and old participated in recreational activities and where stories were recited, *pūrākau* Māori safeguarded the early teachings, the history and genealogy of the *whānau* and *hapū* (Royal, 2009; Mitchell, 1944).

Alpers (1992), described *pūrākau* Māori as a history of a people, who along with the interaction with their surrounding environment gave real examples of lives lived and culture developed. Alpers (1992) argued that *pūrākau* Māori were the source of all that was divine and sacred. *Pūrākau* was the essence of the religious narratives by which *tangata whenua* lived. In much of contemporary society of today, the *pūrākau* Māori has now sadly been overlooked, reduced and marginalized to nothing more than

fairy tales within the education system of today (Alpers, 1992). They have been consigned to the bookshelves of children as a source of endless amusement, to be giggled at and stripped of any authority (Alpers, 1992).

Royal (1998) stated that the nuances and history of *mōteatea*¹⁴, as a form of knowledge transference have managed to stay intact and maintained their integrity as part of an oral tradition. The language of the *mōteatea* is distinctive and unique within its composition, structure and configuration (Royal, 1998). The original meaning in reference to people, place and history is still understood. As a vehicle of culture, language, *mōteatea* play a pivotal role in the preservation of the Māori means of knowing, Māori traditional practices and customs, especially regarding methods of transferring knowledge through the telling of our stories in a musical form (Royal, 1998).

Royal (1998) highlights the integrity of Māori traditional cultural practices and oral traditions in the following statement:

Traditionally, Māori information and knowledge resided in the memories and minds of the people. It was not recorded in books or in any other such medium. Knowledge was passed down from parents and elders to children in informal and formal learning situations by vocal expression. Oral literature was recited continuously until it was carved into the house of the mind (p. 20).

Tau (2003) claims that there is a problem of defining the boundaries between myth and history. He asserts that this is particularly evident in Ngāi Tahu traditions where historical events become encrusted with elements of myth. Tau (2003) describes *pūrākau* as narratives that involve characters of divine origin, whose deeds take on super human feats such as creation, the control of natural forces and features or the

¹⁴ Oral lament, traditional chant, sung poetry or to grieve

defeat of life threatening enemies. All the characters and events have a functional purpose within *te ao o Ngāi Tahu*¹⁵ (Tau, 2003). *Pūrākau* were impressed upon the *whānau* to explain natural phenomena, a code of conduct suitable within the tribe or to act as a blueprint for particular rituals unique to the community (Tau, 2003).

Tau (2003) examines the nature and forms of Ngāi Tahu traditions through *waiata*, *karakia* and *whakapapa*. He analysed key events and relationships within manuscripts written by the *kaumātua* (tribal elders) of the tribe in the nineteenth century and compares them with the traditions of other tribes. In doing this, he is able to capture and transcribe much of the *pūrākau o Ngāi Tahu* for the next generation of his *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

Models of inter-generational knowledge transmission

Pere (1994) argued from the point of view of not only an observer, but also a participant in the receiving and dissemination of knowledge. The transferring of knowledge from one generation to the next is part and parcel of the lived experience within the traditional Māori community society. The learning strategies that were implemented enabled family members as participant and recipient of the knowledge, to learn *kaupapa* Māori knowledge within the context of the *whānau* environment. Within the context of the *whānau* they learnt of *whakapapa*, *wairua*, *te reo*, *whenua*, *ohaoha*¹⁶ *whanaungatanga*, *papakāinga/haukāinga*, *mauri*, *tangihanga* (funeral proceedings), *mana* (power), *noa*¹⁷ and *tapu*,¹⁸ intrinsic principles and values pertinent

¹⁵ The world view of the people of Ngāi Tahu

¹⁶ Salutations, greetings, generosity, charitable, big hearted, production, distribution and consumption of goods, work roles

¹⁷ State of normality, being in a normal state

¹⁸ State of spiritual sacredness

to the *whānau* Māori community (Pere, 1994). These principles determined much of the economic status and *mana* of the *whānau*.

The Māori language is the main ingredient in the retention and maintenance of Māori heritage. The language encompasses *tikanga* and *kawa*, these cultural aspects are inseparable and the concepts of learning in the Māori traditions encompass *te ao* Māori (Pere, 1994; Royal, 1998; Kāretu, T., & Milroy, Wh. 2013). Māori ways of understanding and incorporating knowledge within their lived lives, balanced on the principle and values of every person being a receptor and a provider of knowledge, from the time they are conceived in the womb, until the time they die (Hemara, 2000; Kāretu, T., & Milroy, Wh. 2013).

The system of transferring cultural practices, protocols, customs and the economic lore of the tribe to the young generation was always based around the traditional concept of the traditional Māori society. According to Pere (1994), the oldest generation taught their *mokopuna* (grandchildren) history, mythology, tribal and local legends, tribal sayings, *waiata*, genealogy, *karakia*, various crafts, hand games and other leisurely pursuits. The children's parents and their generation taught them the practical skills of life such as harvesting, conservation and the gathering of natural resources (Pere, 1994). The planting, harvesting and storing of crops and the need to know and respect land was all part of the children's learning.

Pere's (1994) reflection of her upbringing within the rural backdrop of Lake Waikaremoana and Te Urewera was of a time, where every member of the society that she was raised in contributed to its survival. Through the communal society following the *tikanga* of *whanaungatanga* the importance of the survival for the people, particularly within *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* meant that everyone had a specific task to

ensure the people remained strong. Like Jenkins (1986) Pere described the significance of the *whānau* relationships within the community and the *papakāinga*:

...*whanaungatanga* deals with the practices that bond and strengthen the kinship ties of a *whānau*. The commitment of ‘*aroha*’ is vital to *whanaungatanga* and the survival of what the group sees as important. Loyalty, obligation, commitment, an inbuilt support system made the *whānau* a strong stable unit, within the *hapū*, and consequently the tribe (Pere, 1994; p.26).

The *marae* based community, in terms of the *whānau* way of life and survival, the growing up within a *whānau* that included grandparents, involved all extended *whānau* members participating in tasks such as planting, tending and harvesting gardens, gathering and preserving *kai moana* (food from the waters, lakes and oceans), and gathering firewood. She speaks of an era when all individual *whānau* members depended on each other to get through and by in life (Jenkins, 1986; Pere, 1994; Royal 1998).

A Māori education Model by Dr Rose Pere

Expanding on Pere’s (1997) “*te wheke*” (octopus) theory of mental health development where the body, head, eyes and each tentacle of the octopus is symbolic of Māori principles and virtues pertinent to mental wellbeing, is a model of inter-generational educational knowledge transmission. This model is a multi-layered complex system made up of many values and virtues. All the characteristics that lay within the model are in a constant state of interaction with each other, influencing one’s development and understanding. It is a model which identifies some of the facets identified symbolically in linking to the tentacles of the *te wheke* model. The clarifications of the terms by Pere (1997) named in her model reflect a community culture of yester year, rather than what is the reality of the present-day Pākehā (Morehu, 2005). As Māori of today have become assimilated into the dominant culture

of society, the goal of the *whānau* community collective, of working together for the common purpose has now in most cases become a thing of the past (Morehu, 2005). The diagram developed by Pere (1997) depicts her understanding of “...a Māori inter-generational knowledge transmission framework in terms of the youngest members of the *whānau* being recipients of *whānau* knowledge, where institutions do not stand in isolation, but actually merge into each other (p.5)”.

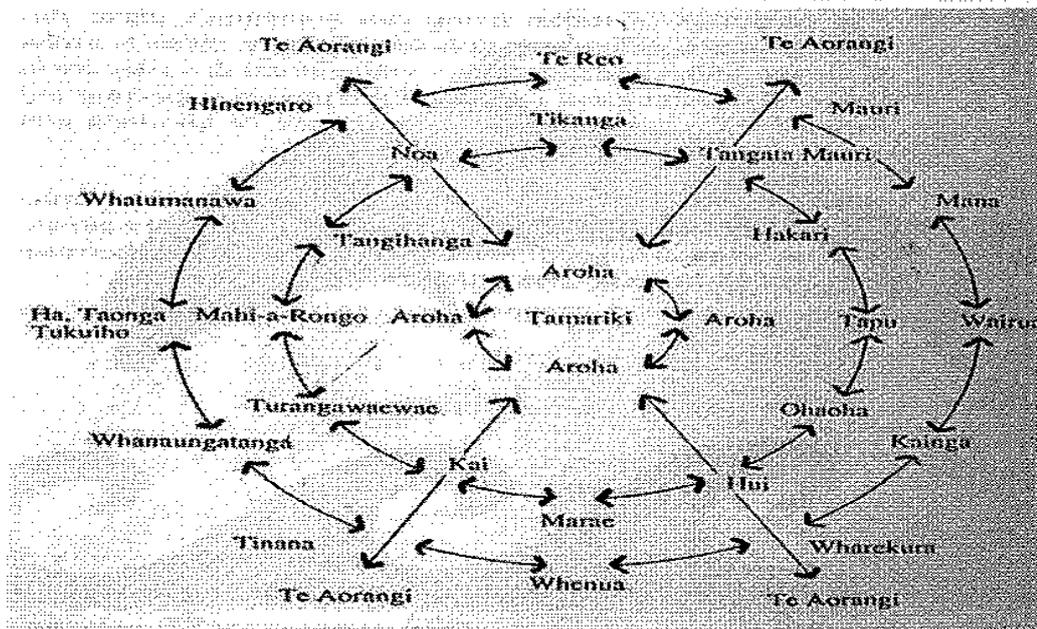


Figure 3. Image of a Māori education model developed by Dr Rose Pere, a framework reflecting the integration of, not the segregation of values and virtues.

(Source: Cited in *Te wheke: A celebration of infinite wisdom*.1997)

When referring to the principles and values depicted in Pere’s (1997) Māori inter-generational education model, the intellectual theories provide the notions and philosophies of the complex and diverse tangible and intangible phenomena, which influence a person’s development and understanding through their lived experiences with those phenomena. It is the phenomena of effulgent coherent (Meyer, 2014). It means all principles of the philosophy touch every piece of your practice. In Māori terms/language it is called *māramatanga*. In terms of *māramatanga*, it is that you have to be effulgent in your thinking processes. You cannot be thinking one thing and then saying another, you cannot be just saying something and not doing anything, you have

got to be both. You have to have an idea, you have got to have a plan and it's got to be effulgent, it's got to touch everything in your day. You have got to think in a way that is liberating, you have got to meet and be with people that are liberating as that is effulgent coherence of awareness and thus being emancipated to understand and receive the multi-facet and multi-dimensional values of *tikanga* and *kawa* that guides your practice (Meyer, 2014).

Te Pāharakeke model

When missionaries go in to a country to spread the gospel they try to learn the indigenous language of the people. So in order to appreciate and communicate with a culture, they had to learn and comprehend the language because it was with the language that they were able to catalogue the culture (Belich, 2001). Fishman (1991) argued that language and culture exist together as an intimate couple that are inseparable. In 2006, Te Puni Kokiri (TPK) and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, were commissioned to write a report on the state and health of the Māori language. Their findings uncovered some grave concerns as to the health and wellbeing of *te reo*. *Te reo* is inseparable from *tikanga* and *kawa*, so with the diminishing state of *te reo* comes much of the loss of traditional knowledge, via the medium of *te reo* (Te Puni Kokiri and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2006).

Like the model developed by Pere (1997) Te Pāharakeke (flax plant) metaphoric *whānau* support model was chosen by the Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori as a language revitalisation framework (Smith, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998). Though the framework is simple in its understanding as a strategy to regenerate the Māori language and culture it is very powerful in its philosophy. The *pāharakeke whānau* support model is a metaphoric analogy that is symbolic of the true meaning of *whānau*

connectedness. The values of *whanaungatanga*, reciprocity, and collaboration have been embraced as a metaphoric formation of the “*whānau*” within contemporary Māori society (Smith, 1994, 1995; Durie, cited in Te Whaiti et al, 1997; Metge, 1995; Rangihau, 1992).

Māori have modified their customary beliefs and practices, to develop ways of knowing and doing that can be described as modern Māori. An example of this can be identified within the tertiary sector boundaries at Auckland University of Technology (AUT University). For instance Māori staff that work within the tertiary education sector at AUT University, although, there may be no bloodline connection amongst them except for the wider *whakapapa* connection, such as the same *waka* (canoe), *maunga* (mountain) or *iwi* have all collectively gathered under the umbrella of Ngā Whānau Māori o ngā Wai o Horotiu. Another example of urbanised Māori from different *iwi* or *hapū* connecting under a similar umbrella is the Māori Student Association at AUT University, which is an affiliated AUSM (AUT Universities Student Movement) student group that sits under the title umbrella of Titahi ki TUA (TKT). Like the AUT Maori staff network, the Māori student body has been founded on the knowledge values of *whānau*, *whakawhanaungatanga*, *manaakitanga*, *wairuatanga*, *kaitiakitanga*, *pono*, *tika* and *aroha*. These values which have been inter-generationally transmitted from within their own individual tribal *whakapapa* and *pepeha*, have thus become the foundation cornerstones of the TKT student movement and the Māori staff network.

However, in terms of inter-generational knowledge transmission “*Te Pāharakeke*” is the perfect metaphoric image to be used to ensure that the *tikanga* and *kawa* developed

to sustain Māori communities continues within the Māori *whānau* community of the present era (Morehu, 2005; Reedy, 1991).

Te Pāharakeke reflects the support structures of the Māori *whānau* community, where the exterior outer blades represent the *kaumātua*, the interior outer blades of the flax plant represent the wider *whānau*; and the child is the central shoot of the plant, which is thus nurtured and protected by two supporting exterior and interior blades that symbolises the grandparents and parents respectively (ibid). The survival of the plant and its future depends on how well the outer blades protect the central shoot. If the shoot is removed the plant dies. For the survival of the plant, for the continued method of inter-generational knowledge transmission within the *whānau* the central shoot, the *mokopuna* must be protected and nurtured to continue on into the future. This is a metaphor (Reedy, 1991).

If the *whānau* support organisation is robust to withstand the perils that may come then all the *whānau* members will benefit bountifully. The custom of a *whakataua*¹⁹ and a *waiata*, are often used to demonstrate the importance of the value that *whānau* have, in terms of supporting and nurturing their *tamariki*, *mokopuna*, which the metaphoric image of the *pāharakeke* depicts (Morehu, 2005; Reedy, in Walker et al, 1991). This model guaranteed support from *kaumātua* and *mātua* (parents) to the *tamariki*, *mokopuna*. The “*pāharakeke*” image provides and offers a metaphoric appearance to reveal the importance of strong and valuable relationships between all family members across the generations.

¹⁹ A proverb of whom the author of the colloquial saying is known

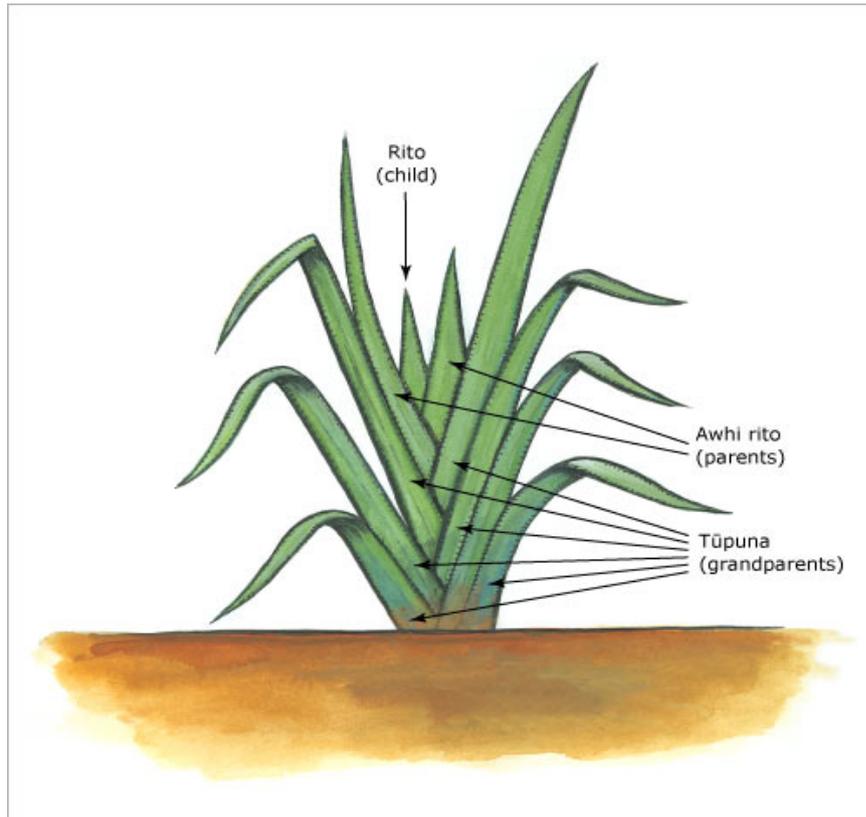


Figure 4. Image of Te Pāharakeke – Flax bush metaphoric analogy of whānau support
 (Source from: <http://www.paharakeke.co.nz/about/harakeke-folklore-rituals/>, 2014)

The physical appearance of the *pāharakeke whānau* model and its logical foundations, are essential to an inter-generational knowledge transmission research based study (Morehu, 2005; Reedy, 1991). Because it enables an investigative view of the importance of *whānau* support, and how important the Māori language and culture is across four generations of the same *whānau* (ibid).

Rangihau’s conceptual model of the Māori world view

The late John Te Rangianiwaniwa Rangihau, a distinguished Māori scholar who was immersed in *te ao* Māori provides a diagrammatical and theoretical model from which to understand a Māori world-view (Ka’ai, 2008). The model informs Māori about the way in which they best develop physically, spiritually, emotionally, socially and

intellectually as a people. Furthermore, the cultural concepts contained within the model collectively provide the foundation for Māori identity (Ka'ai, 2008).

Rangihau locates *Pākehātanga* (Pākehā world) on the periphery of the framework, thus depicting an interface with the Pākehā world. This is an important feature of the model as it does not propose that Māori be assimilated, integrated or subsumed by non-Māori into the dominant culture (Ka'ai, 2008).

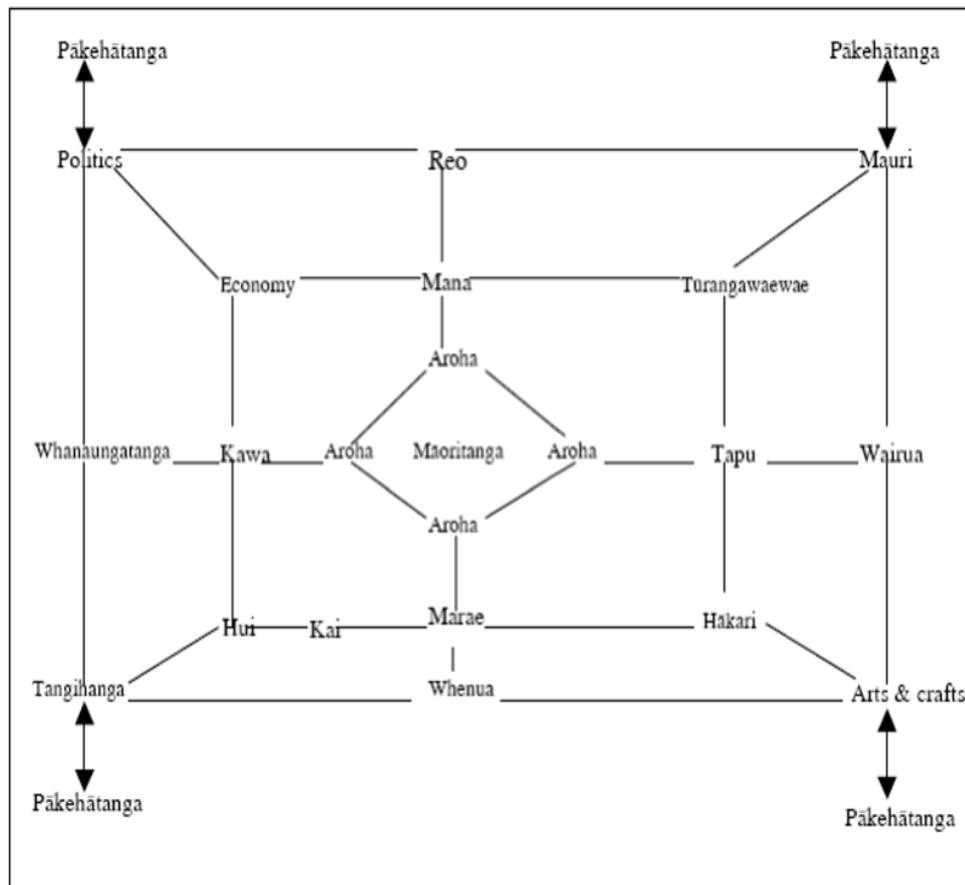


Figure 5. Image of Rangihau's conceptual Māori world view model.

(Source from: <http://www.tekaharoa.com/index.php/tekaharoa/article/view/33/8>, 2014)

The placement of the cultural concepts in the model reflects the primary relationships between the concepts. For example: the first layer/tier from the centre outward is “Aroha” (love, concern for others, sympathy, charity) which emphasizes the notion

that *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* are committed to the survival of their kinship groups to ensure their identity as *tangata whenua* (the indigenous people of the land) for future generations (Ka'ai, 2008).

A *kaupapa* Māori approach defines perspectives that reflect Māori values and preferences (Ka'ai, 2008). The practices of traditional teaching and research for the advancement, distribution and maintenance of knowledge will produce spaces and approaches that are based on *whānau*, *hapū* and or *iwi* development as opposed to an individual approach for advancement (Smith, 1999). The research approach for this study as already stated will be interactive from one who is not only an observer but also one who is a participant within the framework of the inter-generational transfer of knowledge. The research approach will be a *kaupapa a Ngāti Mākoru* methodology when researching and identifying Ngāti Mākoru ways of doing and being, regarding their relationship with the lakes, rivers, waterways and entities within their area. It will be through these *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* whakapapa connections to the land and waterways that the validation of *mātauranga* Māori, *mātauranga o Ngāti Mākoru* that a framework will be provided to inform the research question.

Rangatiratanga – Self-determination

According to Metge (1967) and Durie (1998) *whenua* is of essential importance to the identity and *mana* of the Māori. Māori have a strong connection to the *whenua* through the natural line of *whakapapa*. It is that possession that was held, maintained and protected by one's *tīpuna* and handed on to the next generation. It is the *tūrangawaewae*, one's home ground, where they can confidently stand as *tangata whenua*. It is through the interconnected relationship of *whakapapa*, that Māori and the land are bound together metaphysically and spiritually (Durie, 1998; Metge, 1967).

...It is the “land of our ancestors”, a legacy bequeathed by a long line of forebears who loved, fought and died for it, and a tangible link with the heroes and happenings of a storied past (Metge, 1967. p. 85).

Since 1840 and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, land alienation and confiscation by the Crown has undermined the ability of Māori to assert control and ownership of their lands (Mead, 2003). However some Māori have been able to maintain their *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship, protection) responsibilities of some portions of land which are of significant value to them (Mead, 2003). Traditional Māori society experienced positive economic sustainability and development under the mantle of their own leadership, through values such as *utu* (reciprocity), *rangatiratanga*, *manaakitanga* (care), *whanaungatanga*, *kaitiakitanga*, *tikanga* and *kawa* (Mead, 2003). Value systems such as these ensured that the decisions made on behalf of the *hapū* and *iwi* are made with integrity and wisdom (Walker, 1990). However with the advent of colonisation, the loss of land and the pressure for Māori to adapt to the new societal systems and values, caused a constant decline and erosion of traditional systems and brought with it new principles to how Māori should live and socialise (Walker, 1990).

The customary ownership and protection of land was entrusted in the community, and the continued occupation of the land formed the main proof of entitlement (Moon, 2003). Administration of the land was decided cooperatively on a communal basis despite different *whānau* occupying subdivisions of the land (Moon, 2003; Durie, 2005). What tends to be practiced now is that a title of resource consent and ownership by individual trust over land which was once thought to be “un-conceivable, now play key roles in the management, protection and value of the properties (Moon, 2003).

Durie (2005) reaffirms customarily Māori land ownership was based on a hapū occupation concept as opposed to an individual title in the following statements:

“Fundamentally, Māori land tenure was based on relationships, and rights to land were an expression of the relationships of people to their environment, as well as to each other. Land interests could not be held without reciprocal obligations to contribute to a common (community) good” (p. 78).

“Tangata whenua, a term applied to Māori who have a long-standing relationship with a particular territory or site, recognises the central importance of land to Māori identity, tribal integrity, and economic sufficiency” (Durie, 1998. p.116).

However, with colonization and the subsequent need of land for settlers, a system was introduced by Pākehā where the division of land via surveying and economic benefits to the colonial government, associated with land accumulation as acquisitions became realized and thus accepted as the norm (Moon, 2004). Consequently the division of property and in many cases unlawful acquisition of Māori land, resulted in Māori being disenfranchised and alienated from cultural values, to work within a system in total opposition to their own traditional structures (Kamira, 2003).

Within the Māori world view, all things that exist in the metaphysical, spiritual and living world including animals, fish species, insects, trees and plants or inanimate objects possess their own unique *mauri* or life force (Pohatu, n.d.). The treatment, care and protection of these resources are essential to their sustainability and the environment, not only for the *iwi hapū* of today but also for future generations.

Kaitiakitanga - Guardianship

Royal (2009) states that for one to have an understanding of the role *kaitiakitanga* plays in Māori society one must first have an understanding of the Māori world view.

Royal (2009) argues that because Māori were completely immersed within their

developing world, they had no real need to articulate a term such as *mātauranga* Māori. Traditional Māori society was encapsulated and absorbed by their relationship with *te ao* Māori (Royal, 2009). The knowledge grew within the context of that relationship, as *tikanga* and *kawa* developed (ibid). Contemporary Māori society is now being asked to look at this frame of knowledge to clarify what this sphere is that encapsulates *te ao* Māori (ibid). This term has been coined as *mātauranga* Māori. The values and belief systems for Māori have been inherited from their spiritual homeland of *Hawaiiki* and adapted to suit the New Zealand environment (Stafford, 1967; Royal, 2009). Those systems have continued through centuries of occupation in New Zealand and, although through time changes, many traditional cultural beliefs and practices have remained similar and constant (Henare, 1995).

Kaitiakitanga then points to the guardianship and protection of resources (land, language, knowledge, *wāhi tapu*, burial grounds) that have been entrusted and handed down through the generations from one's *tīpuna*. It is the inter-generational bond and role of the *whānau* and *hapū* to protect and care for those resources and *taonga* as these are fundamental to the sustainability of their *mana* (Durie, 2005). For Māori this role is thought of as a commitment and a responsibility rather than a right due to ownership (Marsden and Henare, 1992; Durie, 2005).

Mitchell (1944) and Whaanga (2004) agree and uphold that the connection between Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te* Wairoa with the rivers, lakes and waterways is not only for the nourishment and commercial welfare of its people, but also for the metaphysical and spiritual element that is rooted in *whānau* and *hapū* identity. For Marsden & Henare (1992) the resources entrusted to Māori, are considered *taonga* and continue to be looked upon as such. These components also embody the values, beliefs and concepts

of *mana*, *wairua*, *tikanga*, *kawa* and cultural integrity, which are important and integral characteristics of the Māori world view (Royal, 2003). Durie (2005) stated that Māori do not only have an exclusive invested economic interests in the land but also have a spiritual and metaphysical relationship with locations that have a special meaning and personal interest to them as a *hapū* or *iwi*.

Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa* depended strongly on the native vegetation, wildlife and fish resources supplied by the lakes, rivers waterways and surrounding environment from Te Urewera, *te roto o Waikaremoana ki te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa*, (The Urewera National Park and Lake to Mahia peninsula). Their economic development, health and wellbeing were influenced substantially by the environment in which they lived. Although people do not rely as much on the lakes, rivers, waterways and land for their sustainability as they once did, the *moana* (sea shore, ocean, lake) and *whenua*, native vegetation, wildlife and fish resources are still regarded as one of the primary foundations for the tribe's cultural and spiritual identity (Hippolite, 1996; Stafford, 1967).

Durie (1998) presses forward the notion that it is the responsibility of Māori to transfer the knowledge and understanding of *kaitiakitanga* to the next generation. It is a mandatory requirement: “*hapū* and *iwi* have inherited an inter-generational responsibility to ensure that they pass on to their descendants an environment which has been enhanced by their presence and efforts” (p. 40). The ability and measurement of Ngāti Mākorō and other surrounding *hapū* of the region to form a strong relationship with their tribal environment is not totally dependent on but is closely tied to their participation and collaborative work under the Tiriti o Waitangi with the local council and government (Hippolite, 1996).

Kia manawanui – Be steadfast and determined

A key factor of Māori fortitude is the continuing relationship that they have with their *tūrangawaewae* (home ground). This connection is strengthened by the principles of *rangatiratanga*, *kaitiakitanga*, *manaakitanga* and *whakawhanaungatanga*. Māori tides of continued existence depend not solely on the mauri (energy and life essence) of people but also on the bonds that have been forged between *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* with their traditional surroundings including their lands, lakes, waterways, seas, flora and fauna (Durie, 2005).

As indigenous people of Aotearoa, Māori have had to endure, withstand and resist all the challenges and changes that have been detrimental to their communities. Although the Māori culture and society may have bent extensively under the pressure and weight of the colonial oppressors they did not break (Belich, 1996). Māori have been able to show strength and fortitude of character, under pressure by the colonisers to turn their backs on their culture, and to accept without question or reserve all that the western education and neo-liberal society has to offer (Belich, 1996). Māori have been able to successfully manage and navigate the processes of integration into the imposed colonial governance and social structures, whilst being able to maintain a high level of cultural uniqueness and spiritual awareness (Durie, 2005).

Durie (2005) argues that the relationship between Māori and the environment is vital to Māori principles, beliefs and values system which are embedded in Māori philosophy. Therefore the role of “*Kaitiaki*” for Māori is to safeguard the preservation, sustainability and maintenance of their natural environment. Within the last few decades significant developments in regards to the Treaty of Waitangi have taken place (Ward, 1999). Through the process of repossession, cultural redress and

compensation from the Crown, many tribal lands and fisheries have been returned to *iwi* and *hapū*. How the Māori corporate body within each *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* cope, manage and process these changes, will determine the success of these new redress projects. These newly established *iwi* corporate bodies will need to consider how the outcomes and effects of their decision making will impact on their future generations (Ward, 1999).

Kahungunu ki te Wairoa, arā, Ngāti Mākoro kaitiakitanga

For generations the relationship that the Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa* (Kahungunu people of Wairoa) people have had with their rivers, lakes and waterways has been of mutual benefit to both the people and the rivers themselves (Wairoa Star, 2011; Pa Karaitiana, personal communication, Kaumātua, Te Reinga Marae and Ruataniwha Marae, 2011; Apiti, 2009). It is summed up in the *whakataukāki* “*Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au*” – “I am the river and the river is me” (Belford, 2013). As such not only does the water and the river represent branches of *whakapapa* but also the lifeblood of the people. The health of the water, its people and the creatures and plants that dwell in or near it are intimately connected to the wellbeing of the people of *te awa Wairoa*, the Wairoa River (Belford, 2013; Wairoa Star, 2011). The common bond between them is a shared respect of how the river provides for the people and how the people protect their environment (Wairoa Star, 2011; Pa Karaitiana, personal communication, Kaumātua, Te Reinga Marae and Ruataniwha Marae, 2011; Apiti, 2009). The people’s wellbeing is also synonymous and goes hand in hand with the full name of the river, Te Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Mātangirau (Wairoa Star, 2011; Pa Karaitiana, personal communication, Kaumātua, Te Reinga Marae and Ruataniwha Marae, 2011).

The *tuna* (eel) is a traditional food source with high cultural and spiritual significance that the people of Te Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Mātangirau continue to enjoy and maintain, a precious resource that many *whānau* along the river partake in (Aquaculture Legislation Amendment Bill, 2008). With access to *tuna* in large quantities in the past, this led to at times, conflict with other groups competing for the same resource. This conflict is mirrored today in the contemporary setting with tensions arising from not only the ownership of the rivers and waterways in Aotearoa but also the access and control of its myriad resources. These range from metal dredged out of the river beds for roads through to control of the water and its use in hydro-electric dams for the North Island power grid (Wairoa Star, 2011).

However the focus of this discussion will concentrate on *tuna*. The importance of the *tuna* as a *taonga* for Māori of Wairoa and Aotearoa cannot be overstated. Not only are historical and customary issues at stake but also the existence of the Wairoa *tangata whenua* as *kaitiaki* of their waterways and lands. One of the critical issues revolves around ownership, of *tuna* and the waterways. The economic viability of this resource is also questioned. If it is a viable resource, how that resource would and should be managed.

Eel statistics

Freshwater eels are found in many river systems and lakes throughout Aotearoa, New Zealand (NIWA, 2010). According to the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, there are two native species within the waters across Aotearoa. The short-finned and the endemic long finned eel, are distinguished by the length of their dorsal fin, which is roughly equal to the ventral fin in short fins but extends well forward towards the

head in the long fin (NIWA, 2010). Historical records report eels of up to 2m being caught, but it is rare to find eels longer than 1.5m today.

It is said that eels spend part of their life cycle in seawater and part in fresh water, with the spawning grounds of the native eels being thought to lay hundreds of kilometres away in deep ocean trenches near Tonga (ibid). The delicate leptocephalus larvae ride on oceanic currents back to New Zealand, where they turn into tiny glass eels just before entering the freshwater river mouths and streams (ibid). Eels are well adapted to upstream migration, being good climbers (ibid). They have an important ecological role as top predators in the freshwater lakes, rivers and streams of New Zealand, once they have grown beyond a metre, feeding on *kōura wai māori* (fresh water crayfish), insects, fish and any other food resource that may come into their domain (ibid). In the wild, eels reach sexual maturity after 20–50 years and they then migrate back to the Pacific to spawn, after which they die (NIWA, 2010).

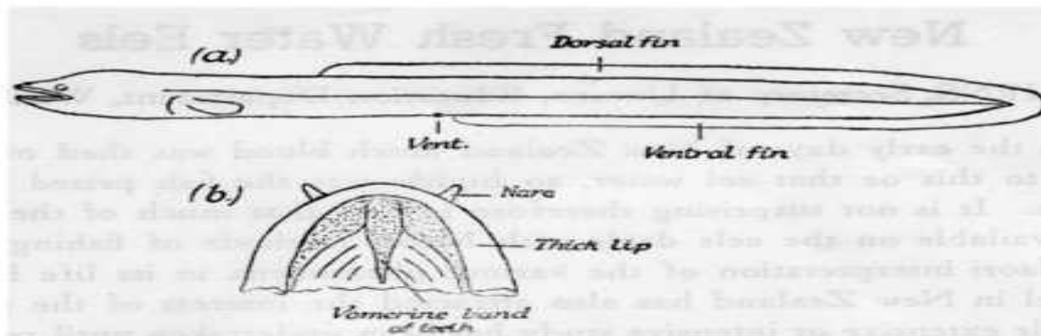


Figure 6. Image of long-finned eel. (a) Outline of eel showing position of dorsal fin, thick lips and position of eyes; (b) upper jaw. (Note central or vomerine band of teeth.)

(Source from: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Bio03Tuat02-t1-body-d1.html>)

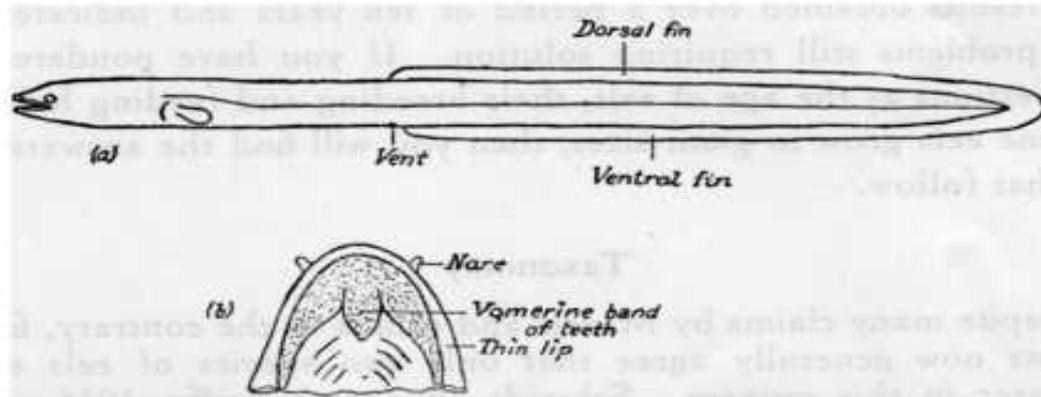


Figure 7. Image of short-finned eel. (a) Outline of eel showing position of the dorsal fin and eye; (b) upper jaw. (Note the central or vomerine band of teeth and the thin lips.)

(Source from: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Bio03Tuat02-t1-body-d1.html>)

Conflict - Local Māori knowledge versus Western

It was traditionally believed by Māori, that the quantity and condition of eels in a waterway were connected and protected through *mauri* (life essence) in the form of talismans, usually stones. These were placed near eel weirs, often at the base of the posts at the downstream end (Best, 1929). The *mauri* could be damaged through wilful acts of sabotage or through neglect. There were rules of conduct around this restriction area that were strict and maintained in the extreme (Mead, 2003). Economics and other activities were largely focused on promoting the welfare and prestige of the *hapū* (Mead, 2003). Moreover exchanges of treasured resources such as *tuna* between groups were handled by reciprocal gift exchanges, and for Māori this determined their *mana* and was part of their *tikanga* (Mead, 2003).

As forementioned, *tīpuna* Māori lived collectively in contrast to the individualistic economic and commercial development that came with the early settlers. They practiced a different philosophy, and followed a different model of economic exploitation of the environment and its resources (Merrill, 1954). However Māori

learnt relatively quickly and skilfully to work with Europeans and their models (Merrill, 1954). Māori were able to turn their hands to the skill and modes of the early settler economic exploitation system, and became proficient in running business and increasing their ability to trade (Belich, 1996). Though Māori adapted quickly the values of *utu*, *manaakitanga*, *kaitiakitanga*, *rangatiratanga*, *tikanga*, *kawa*, *tika* and *pono* within business continued to be the values trusted and used by Māori.

Taonga tuku iho

Amongst the cosmology and the *whakapapa o* Te Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Mātangirau, *ki te awa o* Waiau, *ki te awa o* Hangaroa, *ki te awa o* Ruākituri, *ki a* Waikaremoana there are many references to eels and their ancestry alongside and with *tangata whenua* (Pa Karaitiana, personal communication, Kaumātua, Te Reinga Marae and Ruataniwha Marae, 2011; Apiti, 2009). In regards to the people of Te Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Mātangirau, not only is their *whakapapa* linked to the waters of the river but also to the beings and entities that created and exist within it (Pa Karaitiana, personal communication, Kaumātua, Te Reinga Marae and Ruataniwha Marae, 2011; Apiti, 2009). This highlights the differences in perspectives that Māori and European had for the land and its waters. For Māori these tribal traditions are encapsulated within the tribal *pepeha* and *whakatauakī* of the people of the *awa* which states; “*ko au te awa ko te awa ko au*” “I am the river and the river is me” (Belford, 2013).

These sentiments and traditions are not localized amongst the *whānau/hapū* from Wairoa only but are pan-tribal (Taylor & Keating, 2007; O’Shea, 1974; Young, 1998; Apiti, 2009). Many *whānau/hapū/iwi* claim a river or waterway and as such are claimed by that river or waterway in their *pepeha* (ibid). The issues of *kaitiakitanga*

and *manaakitanga* are important points to note early on. Of interest to this discussion are the similarities the *hapū* Ngāti Mākoro, Ngai Tama-te-rangi and Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa iwi* have with other coastal and *whānau/hapū* and *iwi* river people of Aotearoa – Waikato, Whanganui, Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Pāhauwera to name a few (ibid). As river peoples, they too make reference to their life waters and of the importance of maintaining their autonomy and customs in regards to the Waikato, Whanganui, Mōhaka and Waiapu Rivers (ibid).

For the purposes of this literature the similarities and issues that the Waikato, Whanganui, Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Pāhauwera have in the past and those they share with the many *hapū* across Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa* are common points of interest. However the environment and the tribal history of all *iwi/hapū* groups are different and so too is their interest in the wealth of *tuna* within their catchment areas. For Māori not only is *tuna* prized as a great delicacy, it was to be a major staple of their diet (Taylor & Keating, 2007; O’Shea, 1974; Young, 1998; Apiti, 2009).

Summary

This view of the literature in terms of the notions and values about the topic of inter-generational knowledge transmission and the *tikanga* of *tuna* fishing, in light of the *whakapapa* connection that I have as a case study subjective participant and an objective observer has been provided.

The impact that the Church and its teachings have had on the processes of inter-generational knowledge transmission, regarding the relationship that Māori have with the natural environment, the physical, metaphysical and spiritual have been detrimental to the retention of *mātauranga* Māori. The applied analysis of the impact of the Church can also be said of the impact of colonisation on *whānau* and *hapū*

knowledge. The economic structure of the *whānau* have become so dependent on now, which encompasses both the rural and urban *whānau* Māori communities has devastated traditional Māori social cultural constructs. This devastation is noticeable when a contrasting view of the *whānau* community of yesteryear is applied to the restructured *whānau* community of today. The relationships that once existed between *kaumātua* and *mokopuna*, *mātua* and *tamariki* have diminished because of the breakup of these *whānau* Māori communities. This diminishing of *whānau* Māori relationships is seen within the inter-generational transmission of knowledge practices, now applied across contemporary Māori society. The ideas that have arrived since the coming of the Pākehā, with their ways of thinking and ownership of the land, their laws of governance and push for economic gains have caused the erosion of much of the practical traditional knowledge practices.

Thus in terms of the literature, the attempt was to look at and understand the notions and values of knowledge transmission, within a broader context across *te ao* Māori and *te iwi* Māori, from within the sphere of their own specific *tikanga* and *kawa* as it is pertinent to their own *marae*. Thus, for Ngāti Mākoro, the understanding of the notions and values, protocols and customs when looked at through the lens of the literature, and the lens of *te ao* Māori, the image and direction of the research questions, in terms of inter-generational knowledge transmission, becomes uncluttered and focused on what is currently happening to Māori knowledge bases if not nurtured.

Chapter Four

Te kawau rerenga - creative variation of thought Inter-generational knowledge transmission model

“He ao te rangi ka uhia, ā, mā te huruhuru te manu ka rere ai”

“It requires clouds to clothe heaven and feathers to make a bird fly”

(Proverbial saying attributed to Tama-te-rangi in Mitchell, 1944; Whaanga, 2004)

This chapter speaks to the research question regarding the inter-generational knowledge transmission practices of Ngāti Mākorō. How do they/we honour and ensure this *taonga*, the art of *toitoi tuna*, *toi tuna*, *hī tuna* will always be available for their/our *mokopuna* to learn and experience?

Question (b) is the second of the three thesis enquiries that were asked within the introduction chapter. Thus this chapter seeks to provide a way forward and therefore examining:

- b) What would a model of inter-generational knowledge transmission need to incorporate in order to maintain Ngāti Mākorō *hapū* fishing practices and ensure that they continue to be honoured, nurtured, safeguarded and celebrated?

The following provides an historical backdrop of Ngāti Mākorō *whakapapa* and *pepeha*²⁰, which clarifies the connection the *hapū* has with the lakes, rivers and surrounding waterways, assisting with the contextualization of the ways in which Māori view their relationship with their environment (Belford, 2013; Wairoa Star,

²⁰ Ngāti Mākorō genealogy sequence, *hapū* saying, proverb - especially about a *hapū*, set form of words, systematic expression, figure of speech

2011). The chapter has also taken on the challenge to explore the development of a Ngāti Mākoru model of inter-generational knowledge transmission, cultivated and refined from the background story of the above *whakatauākī*²¹. A review of some of the recorded *tuna* fishing practices as documented by Elsdon Best (1929) is also examined. These recordings provided an outsiders view of some of the techniques used through the eyes of an anthropologist ethnographer that observed Ngāi Tūhoe fishing practices in the Urewera region which borders the boundaries of Ngāti Kahungunu ki te Wairoa.

This chapter began with the *whakatauākī* that is attributed to Tama-te-rangi. As the me-searcher the connection to this particular *whakatauākī* has intrinsic and historical ties to my *whakapapa*. This *whakatauākī* is the overarching authority that encompasses this research thesis, and speaks to the heart of that journey. This me-search thus being that of the inter-generational transmission of knowledge. The *whakatauākī* connected to the title of this thesis - “Te whakakāinga haere i te mana o ngā taonga tuku iho o Ngāti Mākoru”, “To honour and celebrate Ngāti Mākoru social cultural knowledge practices, to nurture them to allow future generations to participate”. It is about being able to have confidence in the knowledge of ones *tīpuna*, validating and safeguarding the cultural fishing practices of Ngāti Mākoru, so that they will not be lost and forgotten, but continue to be nurtured and practiced for their future generations.

The essence of the *whakatauākī* speaks to that of leadership, to that which says, one does not begin something unless they are properly prepared. Ensuring that you are

21 a proverbial saying of whom the author is known

properly prepared or have the skill set and resources needed before you begin is vital, this being reflected in a *whakatauaiki*²² that says “*E roa a raro e tata a runga*”, “The journey is long and the dark clouds are very near” (Wharehuia Milroy, personal communication, Professor of Māori Language, kaumātua Ngāi Tūhoe and Ngāti Kōura, 2013).

The *whakapapa* or *pepeha* that follows reveals the link that I have to this me-search. It is a lineage categorization which reproduces an indigenous model of inter-generational knowledge transmission. The principles and notions of the *whakapapa* present a valued knowledge base, that reveal imperative realities and philosophies of the way in which Māori view their relationship with their world. The following *pepeha* provides a verbal illustration into the Māori world-view, concepts and notions of being, ways in which Māori connect to their surroundings.

Ko Te Whakapūnake o te matau a Māui Tikitiki a Taranga te maunga
Ko Te Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Mātangirau me Te Waiau ngā awa
Ko Tākitimu te waka
Ko Ngāti Kahungunu te iwi
Ko Ngāti Mākorō te hapū
Ko Whetu Mārama o Te Mira te marae
Ko Tipuranga rāua ko Riteria ōku mātua
Ko Wiremu Tipuna taku ingoa

Mākorō is the *tangata tipuna* (eponymous ancestor) of the *hapū* Ngāti Mākorō (Mitchell, 1944; Whaanga, 2004; Toiroa Burrows, personal communication, Kaumātua, Whetu Mārama Marae, 2005).

²² Remarkd by Taharakau in undertaking a journey without a rain coat.

Whakapapa ki te wai - Relationship to the river

As with all *iwi* Māori relationships, the relationship that Ngāti Mākorō have with their waterways and *whenua* are important to their identity and natural resource practices.

Durie (1998) stated:

A Māori identity is secured by land; land binds human relationships, and in turn people learn to bond with the land. Loss of land is loss of life, or at least loss of that part of life which depends on the connections between the past and the present and present with the future (p. 115).

Thus, Ngāti Mākorō, an inland people, whose land boundaries, along with Ngāi Tamate-rangi are based around several rivers that feed into the Wairoa River. These are the Waiiau River, Marumarū River and the Mangapoike stream. Our river is also fed from the waters of Lake Waikaremoana through the Waikaretaheke River and from Te Reinga falls, of which the Ruākituri River and the Hangaroa Rivers feed into. These waterway connections that are made note of in this paragraph are used to continue the *whakapapa* connection, of this research through the words of a *waiata* (song). I add this *waiata* as an illustrated example of verbal Māori knowledge transmission, how Māori histories and relationships with people and the land are passed on to the next generation.



Figure 8. Image of Te Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Mātangirau river mouth looking back over the Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te* Wairoa region toward the *maunga* Te Whakapūnake o Māui Tikitiki a Taranga, the highest peak in the background.

(Source from: <http://www.wairoadc.govt.nz/wairoa/index.htm>, 2014)

The title of the *waiata* below is Ngā Wai Whakakomiro – The Reviving Waters.

Ngā Wai Whakakomiro

Aue taukuri e.....

Tuana au i te puwaha o Te Wairoa Tapokorau
Ana atu taku tirohanga, ki te Waiiau ki te Hangaroa

*Chorus

Ui atu ai no whea mai koe, komirimiri kohurihuri
Ui atu ai no whea mai ahau - Aue taukuri e....

Hoki mai te ha o te Waiiau, Na Rangatira ke te au o te wai
Mai Waikaretaheke ki Putere, ki Te Kapua – O – toku ringa

*Chorus

Hoki mai te ha o te Hangaroa, Na te reihi ke – o wai ake
Ko Ruamano rāua ko Hinekorako,
Te hanga - me te mahana

*Repeat 2x

Waikaretaheke ka hono ki te Waiau ka puta ki Hangaroa
Hi!!!!

The Reviving Waters

Aue taukuri e..... - Sigh of relief (the feeling of coming home)
I stand at the mouth of the Wairoa Tapokorau,
My mind drifts as I gaze upon the Waiau and Hangaroa

*I ask the question where do you come from, you empower and endow me
And then I ask the question where am I from
Aue taukuri e..... - Sigh of relief (the feeling of coming home)

The breath of the Waiau responds,
That it was Rangatira who created the swift flowing waters
From Waikaretaheke to Putere and to Frasertown.

*Repeat

The breath of the Hangaroa responds, it was because of the race.
Whose race was it? It was Ruamano and Hinekorako
that created the river and warm flowing waters?

*Repeat 2x

The Waikaretaheke meets with the Waiau and they both meet with the Hangaroa

(Waiata lyrics composed by Dorothy Tareti-Mei Rangikahiwa Tohiariki & Melody
composed by Barlow James 'Moose' Tipuna, 2007)



Figure 9. Image of Lake Waikaremoana in the Urewera National Park
(Source from: <http://www.wairoadc.govt.nz/wairoa/index.htm>, 2014)

The *waiata* was a recently written song taught at a *whānau marae* based *wānanga*, for the *hapū* Ngāti Mākoru, Whetu Mārama Marae. One of the central *kaupapa* of the *wānanga* centred on Ngāti Mākoru cultural practices of *hī tuna*, *toi tuna*, *toitoi tuna*. The *waiata* is in reference to the relationship that the people of Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te* Wairoa, Ngāti Mākoru have with their river and the *whakapapa* links to the two *taniwha*²³ that created it. In reference to the two *taniwha* that created the river, they were a brother and a sister who lived in the Urewera (Apiti, 2009. Pa Karaitiana, personal communication, Kaumātua, Te Reinga Marae and Ruataniwha Marae, 2011). The brother's name is Ruamano and the sister's name is Hinekōrako. According to Māori history and epistemologies, the two *taniwha* decided to have a race to see who

²³ Taniwha are supernatural creatures whose forms and characteristics vary according to different tribal traditions. Though supernatural, in the Māori world view they were seen as part of the natural environment.

could reach the ocean first (*Te Moana nui a Tangaroa*) (Apiti, 2009; Pā Karaitiana, personal communication, Kaumātua, Te Reinga Marae and Ruataniwha Marae, 2011). In doing so Ruamano created the Ruākituri River and Hinekōrako created the Hangaroa River. They both met at Te Reinga falls, where Hinekōrako is said to reside today underneath the water fall and Ruamano is said to have continued on out through the Wairoa River to the sea after seeing that his sister had reached Te Reinga before he did (Apiti, 2009; Pā Karaitiana, personal communication, Kaumātua, Te Reinga Marae and Ruataniwha Marae, 2011). For the *whānau o Te Wairoa Tapokorau, Kahungunu ki te Wairoa* the link to the river is mythological and cosmological.

It is also said in Kahungunu historical narratives that Ruamano and Hinekorako were two of the *taniwha* that protected and guided their ancestral *waka*, Tākitimu, on its journey to Aotearoa (Mitchell, 1944). Ruamano led the way in front, as he was a huge *taniwha* that could carve through the waves and flatten out the sea for the *waka* (large sea faring boat). He also helped guide the *waka* when Tamatea-ariki-nui (Captain of *te waka* Tākitimu) could not navigate because of rough seas, clouds and mist. By day Ruawharo (High Priest of *te waka* Tākitimu) would use Kahukura (rainbow) to guide the *waka* and by night he would follow Hinekōrako (lunar halo) (Apiti, 2009; Mitchell, 1944).

Te kōrero pūrākau o te whakatauākī - History of the proverbial saying

Mākoro is the second child of Hine-manuhiri who was the daughter of Kahukuranui, the eldest son of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine. Hine-manuhiri married Pukaru who was the son of the noble Ruapani, paramount chief of the Tūranga-nui-a Kiwa (Gisborne) people. The children of this mixture of chiefly blood were, Tama-te-Rangi, Mākoro, Hingaanga, Pupuni and Pare-ora (Mitchell, 1944; Whaanga, 2004. Toiroa

Burrows, personal communication, Kaumātua, Whetu Mārama Marae, 2005). In life they were frequently referred to in discussion as, “*Te Tokorima a Hine-manuhiri*” (The five of Hine-manuhiri), however, of the five, Tama-te-rangi was the senior (Mitchell, 1944; Whaanga, 2004. Toiroa Burrows, personal communication, Kaumātua, Whetu Mārama Marae, 2005).

Mākoru is recognised as being an essential figure in an occurrence that led to the proverbial saying that opens this chapter, “*He ao te rangi ka uhia, ā, ma te huruhuru te manu ka rere ai*”. According to the narrative histories of Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa*, Ngāti Mākoru (Mitchell, 1944; Whaanga, 2004. Toiroa Burrows, personal communication, Kaumātua, Whetu Mārama Marae, 2005), Tama-te-Rangi, Mākoru and their *taua* (war party) were about to leave on their expedition to exact *utu*. Tama-te-rangi however was reluctant to recite the *tohi* (ceremonial rite) before the *taua* left, so the younger Mākoru approached his brother with the question, “*E tā, e tū ra ki te tohi, i a tātou*” (“Sir, do get up and perform the rite over us”) (ibid).

Tama replied with the chapter opening *whakatauaāki*. On hearing this, Mākoru understanding the significance of what had been said and because he realised his *tuakana* (older brother) was inappropriately dressed, removed the *korowai* (cloak) from his back and placed it over the shoulders of his *tuakana*. Not stopping there, he also presented his wife Hine-muturangi to his *tuakana*, knowing full well what these gestures meant. Hine-muturangi was recognised as a *wahine toa*, a woman of great standing and nobility, born of high rank and well regarded in terms of her *whakapapa*. Hine-muturangi was considered to be a prolific provider in terms of her ability, to be responsible for her husband and provide him with the necessary requirements that a *rangatira* (leader, chief) needs to lead his people. She was recognised by the people

as being a woman of *mana* (authority), a well-established weaver of fine garments which provided warmth, comfort and also the mantle of leadership to the wearer (Mitchell, 1944; Whaanga, 2004; Toiroa Burrows, personal communication, Kaumātua, Whetu Mārama Marae, 2005).

These two significant deeds of humility that were performed by Mākoru enabled Tama-te-rangi, to wear with authority the mantle of *rangatira* (leadership, chieftainship) for all those that had gathered. Professor Tīmoti Kāretu (2007) referred to a *whakataukī* that supports the actions of Mākoru, “*E kore te ure e tu, e kore ngā raho*” A Māori sexual metaphoric verbal illustration that unashamedly states: “That without testicles, a man cannot sustain an erection” or in other words “A chief cannot be a chief without the people” So therefore, for Tama-te-rangi to wear the mantle of chieftainship, he had to have the support of the people through the endorsement of Mākoru. This historical narrative becomes the backdrop to the inter-generational knowledge transmission model developed around the metaphoric use of the *korowai* (cloak) and *kaiwhatu* (weaver).

Impact of anthropological historians on mana wahine

Metaphorically attached to the *whakataukī* and historical story of which Mākoru played a significant role by his actions is the “Korowai Kaiwhatu”²⁴ model. Some outsider observers of *te ao* Māori may cringe and recoil at the imagery depicted in the narrative of this cultural heritage practice (Waring, 2013; Haraway, 1998; Jaber cited in Du Plessis & Alice, 1998). Thus, because of today’s societal views of indigenous cultures, being very reluctant to acknowledge or understand the significance this

²⁴ An inter-generational knowledge transmission framework

particular moment and action played within Ngāti Mākorō, Ngāi Tama-te-Rangi *whakapapa*, *kōrero pūrākau*. If looked at, through a lens of contemporary western paradigms and epistemologies, this particular Māori way of doing things in the pre-colonial era, the significance could be misunderstood. To do so would be to acknowledge that the historical Western ways of conduct are the only civilised way to act and behave.

Colonisation has influenced all historical records, including that of gender roles portrayed in *pūrākau* Māori (Smith, 1992; Orange, 1996; McLean, 1996). The marginalisation of women with the gendered lens of colonisation is well-known to have distorted traditional gender roles, to fit with what was acceptable and understood by that of the colonisers at that time, as being normal and appropriate (ibid).

The rewriting of *pūrākau* Māori by outsiders, playing down the gender role of Māori women is a particular phenomenon painted the worldwide over (ibid). The political agenda of colonising anthropologists from yesteryear is also evidenced, by the painting of indigenous people as noble savages, serving the purpose of their ideologies of Māori society (Smith, 1992; Orange, 1996; McLean, 1996). Stories that marginalized women, seemed to undermine the *mana* (power) of women and then make the statement, that that is what *kaupapa* Māori research methods perpetuates is not the case at all. In reiterating the story, a *mana* sequence within the *whakapapa* of Hine-muturangi is brought into play and uplifted.

The lens used within the cultural context of the *pūrākau*, as the backdrop for the inter-generational knowledge transmission model explored, must be a lens of *kaupapa* Māori, Māori research methods, epistemologies and ways of being and understanding. This research must be looked at through this lens to understand and embrace the pride,

humility and significance that is felt and exuded by the descendants of both Mākorō and Hine-muturangi.

The metaphoric imagery of Mākorō removing the *korowai* from his back first of all, then placing it over the shoulders of his *tuakana*, gave instant recognition to Tama-te-rangi as being the *rangatira* of the people, in the eyes of all that were gathered and awaiting the performance of the *tohi* (Mitchell, 1944; Whaanga, 2004; Toiroa Burrows, personal communication, Kaumātua, Whetu Mārama Marae, 2005; Kāretu, 2007). The bestowing of Hine-muturangi to his *tuakana* was also very significant, because Hine-muturangi was already recognised by the people gathered at the meeting place as a *wahine toa*. The people acknowledged her noble *whakapapa*, and her *mana* as a well-established weaver, a provider of warmth and comfort that she bestowed upon a leader's shoulders (ibid). The actions of Mākorō were a profound statement, a deep acknowledgment and recognition that endorsed the leadership of his elder brother. The metaphor of the *korowai* and *kaiwhatu*, each has its own significant statement and power that is intrinsically tied to and woven into the very fabric of inter-generational knowledge transmission. Both are connected together in support of one another and in recognition of what they both provide to each other in terms of *mana* and prestige.

Exploration of Te Korowai Kaiwhatu model

The Korowai Kaiwhatu model is a framework that comes from a *kaupapa* Māori, a *kaupapa o* Ngāti Mākorō epistemology and ideology. In essence it relates to being Māori and being connected to Māori philosophy, Māori values, Māori principles and ideologies. They are approaches of connecting into Ngāti Mākorō ways of being, sharing, nurturing and development. It is a model based on metaphoric analogies that

connect to the processes involved with weaving a *korowai* garment. All the emotional, visual, physical, mental and spiritual parallels regarding the passion, senses, time/planning, thinking processes and energy required of a weaver to produce such fine garments of acknowledgement and success are incorporated within the model framework.

These metaphorical ideas share comparisons of being to those connected to that developed by Mason Durie's *whānau* health framework "Te Whare Tapa Wha" which are inter-connected and envisioned by the following:

- The emotional being – the unconditional love and respect that the weaver has for the intended recipient. The connection that is brought together through the emotional bonds of *whānau* and *whakapapa*. The passion to be successful.
- The vision being – when planning to make the *korowai*, what the garment would look like, how it would sit on the person that it is made for and for what purpose it is being made. The vision to see the final outcome of what success looks like. Connected to the mental being.
- The physical being – the gathering and preparation of the materials to make the *korowai*. The amount of time and energy put into weaving fine hand-crafted garments. The hand tensions placed on each stitch woven into the garment which reflects the weaver's knowledge experience. Good physical health.
- The mental being – The mathematical sequencing required to maintain the different patterns and arrangements of the weave, and the patterns of feathers and or ornaments. The mental fortitude to stay on target to achieve the set objective outcomes. The inseparables of mind and body. Connected to emotional being.

- The spiritual being – The *wairua* connection through *karakia*, *mōteatea*, *waiata* and fellowship between the *kaiwhatu*, the *korowai*, the *whānau* and the intended wearer. The unseen and unspoken energies of faith and spiritual awareness.

The *korowai* is a cloak of symbolic identity that imbues notions of leadership, of recognition, of responsibility, of endorsement and acknowledgment, a cloak of achievement that also reminds one of their *whakapapa*. It is a cloak that comforts, warms and embraces.

The *kaiwhatu* is the weaver of fine garments such as the *korowai*, and is thus symbolic of a weaver of knowledge, a weaver of the strands which bind and hold the emotions, the histories and *pūrākau* of esoteric and academic knowledge, a weaver of education, one who is patient and enduring, persistent and persevering, one who is knowledgeable and caring.

So in terms of the *korowai* and *kaiwhatu*, one does not exist without the other as they are both intrinsically connected through *kaupapa* Māori, *kaupapa o Ngāti Mākoro* principles, ideologies and philosophies.

Te whatu o te korowai – construction

The metaphorical relationship between the *kaiwhatu* and the *korowai*, is thus of mutual advantage to one another. The *kaiwhatu* who makes the *korowai*, the garment of acknowledgement, represents in terms of the *kaupapa* of inter-generational knowledge transmission, the support structure of emotional attachment to the knowledge which is shared, so that those *whānau* members (upcoming generations) that are engaged and involved with that knowledge, in turn become *kaiwhatu* themselves with a *korowai* of their own that displays their inherited and their own personal characteristics. The

korowai representing the cloak of achievement and responsibility that is characterised by the way the wearer of the *korowai* carries themselves.

He Kaiwhatu - the weaver of the whenu and the aho

The weaving of a *korowai* involves the intertwining of the *whenu* (vertical strands) and the *aho* (horizontal strands). The *whenu* represents the *āhuatanga* (characteristics) *whakaheke* (inherited characteristics) of *whanaungatanga*, *kaitiakitanga*, *rangatiratanga*, and *mana*. The *whenu* provides the strength to the *korowai*. They may also represent all the different people who work together for the success of inter-generational knowledge transmission (Hīroa, 1926; Fenton, Mareroa & Keung, 2012).

The *aho* binds the *whenu* together, to give the *korowai* shape, thus metaphorically, the *aho* is the *whakapapa*, the *tikanga*, *kawa* and *uara* (values) of *whānau*, the *kotahitanga* (unity), the *manaakitanga*, *tiaki tangata*, (support and care), the *awhi* (embracing) and *ngā hononga* (connection) (Hīroa, 1926; Fenton, Mareroa & Keung, 2012).



Figure 10. Personal image of the *whenu* (vertical strands) and the *aho* (horizontal strands) used in the weaving technique to create a *korowai*

(Photograph taken by Wiremu Tipuna at Wairoa, 2 January 2011)

Te Tāniko – The border

The *tāniko* of the *korowai* is represented by *pūrākau*, the stories of history that bind, hold and present the finishing touches to the completed garment, through the *tikanga* and *tinu* of *ako* (teaching), helping to hold the shape of the *korowai* and telling the story of the *korowai*. It may include elements such as *wairua* (spirituality), *tinana* (physical), *hinengaro* (mental), *whānau*, *taiaroa* (environment), and community aspects (Hīroa, 1926; Fenton, Mareroa & Keung, 2012).

Te Here – The cord, the bindings

The *here*²⁵ represents participation, responsibility (individual/*whānau*), and leadership, the combining of the alpha - the beginning and omega - the ending of the two cords, which holds the completed garment in position upon the wearer's shoulders (Hīroa, 1926; Fenton, Mareroa & Keung, 2012).

The patterning of the feathers

This model therefore represents the weaving together of *tikanga*, *mātauranga* and the principal values of the *whānau*, where each strengthens the *korowai*, the quality of Māori inclusion, empowerment, and services. Like a treasured *korowai* these elements are interwoven, with each being as important as the other to give the *korowai* strength and help it to fulfil its purpose and potential. The diverse intricate weaving techniques form the different patterns of the *korowai* (Hīroa, 1926; Fenton, Mareroa & Keung, 2012).

²⁵ Pronounced he-re, rolling the 'r' as in the Spanish pronunciation of 'arriba'



Figure 11. Photograph of *whānau* Māori from Wairoa wearing *korowai* escorting Sir James Carroll's *korowai* onto Tākitimu Marae, Wairoa.

(Source from: <http://theyee.ca/Life/2011/07/08/ArtifactsGoHome/> August 16, 2013)

The completed korowai

The completed *korowai* is the culmination of much planning and effort, bringing together many elements to make a *taonga* (treasure). However, it is much more than that, it reflects “honour, leadership, identity, warmth, protection, skill and beauty” (Fenton, Mareroa & Keung, 2012).

The Korowai Kaiwhatu model represents the protective cloak that embraces, develops and strengthens *whānau* relationships, as supported by the following *whakataukī*: “*Kia tū ngā kaiwhatu o te pito mata Māori*” – “Stand tall all you weavers of Māori potentiality.” Through this developing inter-generational knowledge transmission model we can weave together various interconnected elements essential for *whānau* success and make a cloak with its own unique fit, with a construction and form that fits them alone.

This model is being developed under the umbrella of wanting to ensure that the cultural fishing practices around fishing for *tuna*, that are also to this day still practiced amongst the *whānau/hapū* of Ngāti Mākoro, that the *tikanga*, *kawa*, *kōrero* and *mātauranga* continues to be passed on, woven through the tapestries of *kōrero pūrākau* shared to future generations of the *hapū*.

The Korowai Kaiwhatu inter-generational knowledge transmission model is a framework to guide and support *whānau* with their cultural knowledge understanding. As the participants and me-searcher share *whakapapa*, I will conduct the investigative interpretations and inquiry as an active participant of the me-search questions. This me-search examines the inter-generational transfer of *mātauranga a Ngāti Mākoro* (Ngāti Mākoro knowledge) across four generations (Allen and Montell, 1981). The practical application of inter-generational knowledge transmission is focused on the cultural practices around the *tikanga* (customs) of *hī tuna*, *toi tuna*, *toitōi tuna*, *rapu tuna* (eel feeling), *rama tuna* (spot lighting), *hūpai tuna* or *patu tuna* (eel striking), *hīnaki* and *pūurangi* (eel traps/pots). The earlier writings recorded by Elsdon Best (1929) provide an outside observer's view of some of the techniques practiced by Māori in the early 19th century, of which many of the techniques continue to be used within Ngāti Mākoro and Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa* region today.

Outside observer recordings of Maori eeling techniques

The techniques of eel fishing take on many forms and vary according to *hapū* tradition, location, season and habitat (Best, 1929).

Hīnaki tukutuku– eel trap

The *hīnaki tukutuku* is a basket-like pot that was set in open water with bait, or used at *pā tuna* (eel weirs) without bait during a *tuna heke* (eel run out to sea) (Best, 1929). *Hīnaki tukutuku* were intricately woven, works of art (Best, 1929). Ordinary *hīnaki* had one entrance (Best, 1929). When they were set without a weir, the entrance faced downstream (Best, 1929). The eels would smell the bait, and swim upstream to find it (Best, 1929). The *hīnaki* is anchored with stones and or tied to a stake, a tree, or a pole driven into the stream bed (Best, 1929).



Figure 12. Image of unfinished *Hīnaki/Pūrangi*: Woven from the *akatea* (aerial roots) of the *rata* vine. This *hīnaki* was started by Haturu Puhara and Kini Robinson under the direction of Manuka Toataua. All are from Iwitea, Wairoa.
(Source: Artefact is held in the Wairoa Museum)

Rapu tuna - Feeling for eels

Rapu tuna is a technique practised during the day when one had to actually be in the water and feel along the banks of the creek, by one finding both entrance and exit holes grabbing the eel and throwing it up the bank (Best, 1929).

Rama matarau tuna - Spot lighting and spearing

Eels feed mainly at night, so people hunted them in the dark, using a rama (torch flare) and a spear or hand-net (Best, 1929). *Māpara*, the hard heartwood of the *kahikatea*, was made into torches (Best, 1929). *Kauri* gum, found in the far north, burns easily, so it was used with dried flax leaves for torches (Best, 1929). In the South Island they were made from bundles of dry, finely split *mānuka* or supple jack (Best, 1929).

Matarau or eel spearing was another common method. The shaft was around a metre long, and it often had several points, including the sharpened shaft. A single-pointed spear was known as a *taotahi*, or *pātia* in the South Island (Best, 1929). The spear's points were usually made from hardwood such as *māpara*, or sometimes whalebone (Best, 1929). Today, eel spears are usually made from metal. A three pronged spearhead can easily be bought in a shop and lashed to a wooden handle (Eugene Tūruki Tipuna. personal communication. Kaumātua, Whetu Mārama Marae, 2011; Best, 1929).

Hūpai tuna and Patu tuna - Eel striking or stunning

Hūpai tuna or *patu tuna*, when fishers used a thin rod to stun eels in shallow water, often at night by the light of a torch (Best, 1929). When you struck the eel you would aim for the tip of the tail as this is where the nervous system of the eel is believed to be (Eugene Tūruki Tipuna. personal communication. Kaumātua, Whetu Mārama Marae, 2011; Best, 1929). A companion would string the eels together and drag them along or put them into a bag.

Pūrangi/Pā tuna - Eel weir

The *pā tuna* was a common device for catching eels in rivers, streams and the outlets of lagoons and lakes (Best, 1929). Weirs were used in autumn, to catch eels as they headed downstream to spawn in the sea (Best, 1929).

Fences in the water guided the eels into a net and then into a *hīnaki* (Best, 1929). *Pa tuna* were useful when rivers were in flood or flowing heavily (Best, 1929). As eels would run mostly at night, some people sometimes stayed up to empty the *hīnaki* as they filled (Best, 1929). This particular tradition is not carried out by *whānau* Māori in this present time as it is very time consuming.

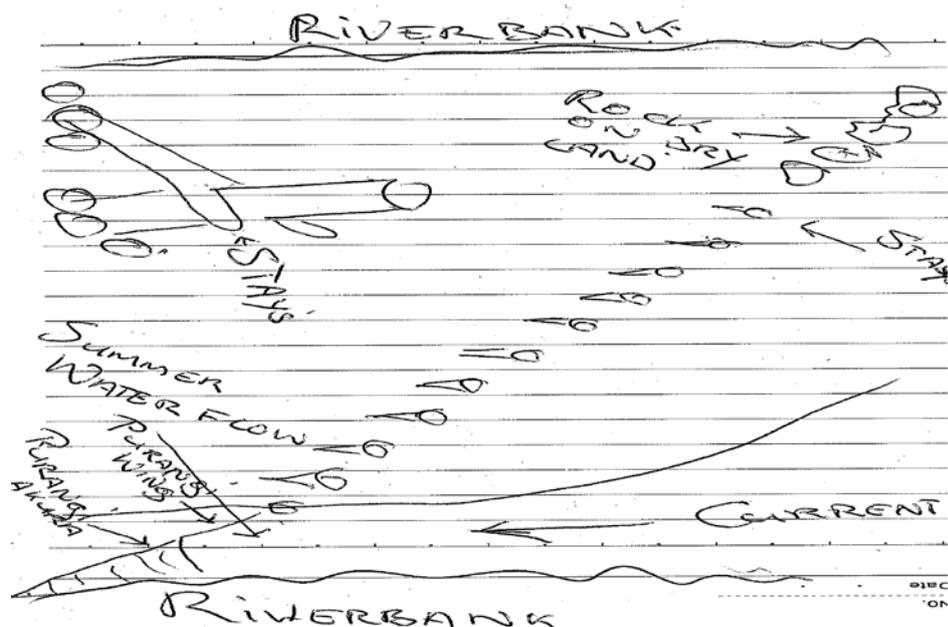


Figure 13. Personal image illustration depicting the setting of a *pā tuna* with a *pūrangi* used on the Marumaru River by Eugene Tipuna. 2013

Toitoi tuna/toi tuna – Eel bobbing (fishing without hooks)

A bob was made by threading worms onto flax fibres (now commonly replaced by string). The bob was tied to a rod, usually of *mānuka*. When the eel's teeth caught on the fibres within the bob, the person fishing would swing it ashore. Eels are largely

nocturnal and avoid light – so eel-bobbing was done in early evening; or sometimes in the day after it had been raining when the water was muddy (Eugene Tūruki Tipuna. personal communication. Kaumātua, Whetu Mārama Marae, 2011; Best, 1929). An eel bob is made up of *mōunu* (bait), *whitau* (string or thread) or *poi noke* (worm ball) (Eugene Tūruki Tipuna. personal communication. Kaumātua, Whetu Mārama Marae, 2011; Best, 1929). The *whitau* or *poi noke* is a bob made from earthworms, while *tui huhu* is made from *huhu* grubs. In Ōtaki, spiders were put in a small flax bag (Best; 1929). In the South Island, *noke waiū* (big white worms) were used with *wīwī* (split flax and rushes) (Best, 1929).



Figure 14. Personal image of *whānau* practicing the *tikanga* of *toitoi tuna* up the Mangapoike creek
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna at Mangapoike Creek, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)

Summary

The importance of these social cultural fishing practices to the cultural heritage of Ngāti Mākorō, Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te* Wairoa and *iwi* Māori further afield, is in a critical state of decline. The loss of these *tikanga* and *kawa* of our *tīpuna* regarding

these social cultural practices mean the loss of *pūrākau* Māori and the emotional attachment and connection that the people have with the land.

Much like the critical state of the Māori language, regarding the percentage of fluent *te reo* Māori speakers, the same assessment is also given to the social cultural practices followed by *iwi* Māori today concerning *toitōi tuna*, *hī tuna*. Likewise, the data provided in the report by Te Puni Kokiri (TPK) and Te Taura Whiri I te Reo Māori (2006), the similarities exist with the social cultural practices around these fishing *tikanga*.

With the loss of cultural land to farming and various government policies (Belich, 2001; Simon & Smith, 2001; Selby, 1999), *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, social cultural practices have become increasingly difficult to continue. Thankfully, also like the pockets of resistance that have managed to continue the viability, *tikanga* and *kawa* of *te reo* Māori, the pockets of resistance practicing the *tikanga* and *kawa* of *toitōi tuna* and *hī tuna* remain intact as well, for now.

The exploration and development of the Korowai Kaiwhatu inter-generational knowledge transmission model, created using metaphoric symbols of status, and the incorporation of the historical backdrop within Ngāti Mākorō, Tama-te-rangi, Hine-muturangi and Ngāti Kahungunu *kōrero pūrākau* adds to the philosophical theories and notions of indigenous thought, indigenous ways of thinking and doing. Although the *whakatauaākī* used pertains to Ngāti Mākorō and Ngāi Tama-te-rangi *kōrero pūrākau*, the framework template used is considered to be transposable to other *iwi* Māori or indigenous peoples to use as a template. There are proverbial sayings with historical backdrops within indigenous cultures, *whakapapa* that exist within all indigenous *iwi* of the world.

The insertion of an outsider's recording of Māori fishing practices such as Best (1929) was included as a reminder that, although these traditions have been recorded and that Māori do have a reference to fall back on, to help retrieve knowledge, the most successful way of retaining these humble social cultural practices and *kōrero pūrākau* that is attached to these practices, is much the same as that of retaining *te reo* Māori, it is by Māori for Māori, the emotional, experiential usage and connection to the knowledge. The practice of being engaged in the knowledge, physically, metaphysically, emotionally and practically, *whānau* sharing together, working together, talking, laughing and crying together, engaging with one another on every spectrum of the knowledge scale, being involved in the sphere of knowledge that is *mātauranga* Māori, *tā te ao* Māori (Royal, 2009).

Chapter Five

Pūrākau Whānau: Whānau Narrative Stories

Connecting to the research question

Splicing the in-depth *whānau kōrero pūrākau*, the *whānau* narrative interviews into the research question and interweaving their lived experiences with the desired outcome of the me-search, weaves and strengthens the connections of the *whenu* and *aho* (lines of genealogical knowledge) within the *korowai*. The Korowai Kaiwhatu metaphoric analogy of weaving a garment of repository knowledge, provides a bridge to the challenges that stand before us as *whānau* Māori. The celebration, honour and encouragement to maintain this repository knowledge *taonga* of our people is challenged by the social cultural construct within society today. Interweaving the elements of knowledge with the research question, through the experiences and practices of each contributing *whānau* participant, binds and weaves together various unified fundamentals and rudiments essential for *whānau* success, to make a mantle of interactive experiential knowledge with its own distinctive fit, with a construction and form that fits them alone.

The beginning of this thesis raised the question regarding inter-generational knowledge transmission and its crucially important status to social cultural sustainability.

In what way do they/we honour, celebrate and encourage this *taonga* to do with the art of *toitoi tuna, toi tuna, hī tuna* for their/our *mokopuna* to learn and experience?

This me-search examined the following questions:

- a) How do we as a *whānau* honour, celebrate and nurture the *taonga* regarding Ngāti Mākoro fishing practices of *toitoi tuna*, *hī tuna*?
- b) What would the model of inter-generational knowledge transmission need to incorporate to maintain Ngāti Mākoro tribal fishing practices and ensure that they continue to be honoured, nurtured, safeguarded and celebrated?
- c) How can descendants of the *hapū* Ngāti Mākoro, engage with their cultural fishing practices while being away and isolated from the land of their *tīpuna*?

The outcome for the research question b) was captured within the folds of Chapter Four, whereas the research question outcomes for questions a) and c) are more closely aligned to Chapter Three: Literature Review and the in-depth interviews of Chapter Five respectively.

Ngā kōrero pūrākau

The in-depth interviews that follow cover a cross section of four generations of *whānau* from Ngāti Mākoro. The oldest participant being 70 years old at the time of the interview, the youngest being 10 years old. All the research participants have *whakapapa* connection to the *hapū* Ngāti Mākoro along with affiliate connections to many of the surrounding *hapū* within the *iwi* catchment of Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te* Wairoa. Within the group of these research participants from Ngāti Mākoro are also connections to the *iwi* of Ngāi Tūhoe, Rongomaiwahine, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngāti Porou, Ruapani, Ngāti Raukawa, Te Aitanga a Māhaki, Te Arawa, Taranaki, Ngāi Tahu and Tūwharetoa. Of the cohort of research participants that were interviewed four of them have the ability to hold a conversation in *te reo* Māori, with two of them

being native language speakers and the other two being second language speakers, however only one of the research participant interviewees communicated their whole interview in *te reo* Māori. The transcription of the interview in *te reo* Māori is maintained in its entirety without translation. As to translate the text would be detrimental to the essence and quality of the *kōrero pūrākau* shared.

All inter-generational case study *whānau* members bring with them cultural ways of knowing and doing that are reflective of their own experiences. There are 11 *whānau* members that are interviewed as part of the case study, the *whānau* participants comprised two first-generation *whānau* participants, six second-generation *whānau* participants, two third-generation participants and one fourth-generation participant. Each *whānau* participant reflects a combined image of a Ngāti Mākoru narrative storyboard of close to one hundred years of shared inter-generational knowledge. The combined one hundred year Ngāti Mākoru story board exists because of the first-generation's *whānau marae* community upbringing, with the research participant's *kuia* Nanny Mei and *koro* Mākoru. This me-searcher's *koro* and *kuia* were born in the early 1900s, thus the narrative story connection through *whakapapa* of the fourth-generation participant reaches back close to one hundred years within Ngāti Mākoru *kōrero pūrākau*. The *pūrākau*, storytelling as a narrative methodology is a powerful way of maximizing opportunities for all participants, to share in the power and control regarding what they want to share about of their own lived experiences, and how those stories will be retold (Bishop, 1997).

The collaborative storytelling methodology acknowledged by Bishop (1997) argued that the authority and command over research does not rest with the me-searcher, rather, it is a shared and collaborative relationship between the me-searcher and

participants. The procedure of learning to share the power and control over the knowledge, within the me-searchers mind fitted comfortably as the research participants were freely willing to share and give of themselves, to the project of writing about the inter-generational knowledge transmission methods and processes within the *hapū*, Ngāti Mākorō.

The interviews were comprised of a set of semi-structured in-depth interview questions, which allowed the research participants to freely speak in terms of their engagement experiences with the knowledge. It was not until the interviews were transcribed that as the me-searcher, I realised how much in terms of the interviews I was perhaps leading the participant's responses. However, the interviews tended to pan out more like a conversation because within the interview conversations, I as the me-searcher felt a deep sense of wanting to soak up as much of the *kōrero pūrākau* as possible, due to the relationship that I had missed out on and severed relationship with *whānau* because of the loss of my father. Thus in my eagerness to soak up the *kōrero pūrākau*, it also fed into my desire to have this knowledge to share with my *tamariki* and *mokopuna*, so that they don't miss out on their opportunity to learn, and have their own emotional experiences with the knowledge. However in saying this, the interview process provided a vehicle for participants to share and reflect on their relationship, not only with the knowledge but also on their relationships with other members of the *whānau* within the *hapū* of Ngāti Mākorō, those that have passed on and those that still remain.

The *whānau* stories were developed initially from semi-structured interview questions and conversations. These conversations were conducted in a dialogical, spontaneous manner about the lived experiences of the research participants (Bishop, 1997). The

goal of the project was to examine and merge the stories of the research participants, to create a free flowing story time capsule out of the lived experiences. To look at the story time capsule and reflect on how the effects of time, colonisation, urbanisation, the advent of commercialisation and the arrival of new materials and belief systems have perhaps impacted on the *whānau* dependence on *tuna* as a natural and staple food resource. The case study illustrates the importance that inter-generational knowledge transmission plays in the maintenance of, and the experiential lived relationships that *whānau* have with the *tikanga* that surrounds and embodies the important cultural practices of *tuna* fishing. The narrative stories begin with excerpts from the transcribed interviews of the first-generation members, and continue on to the fourth-generation members, each reflecting on their relationship and interaction with the knowledge. However, it must be said here, that not all the research participants have had a direct and personal connection with each of the in-depth interview research questions, as their connection to *kuia* and *karaua* with whom some of the inter-view questions allude to is through their engagement in the knowledge and with their parents, uncles, aunties, older siblings and cousins.

In the context of western research parameters which concerns the protection of the research participants, it was assumed that for the purpose of identifying each of the interviewed research participants, in the relaying of their *kōrero pūrākau*, should they wish to remain anonymous in terms of the recorded and transcribed data, that each of the generations would be coded in the following way to provide some protection for each of them:

- Fourth-generation members = 4A
- Third-generation members = 3A and 3B

- Second-generation members = 2A, 2B, 2C, 2D, 2E and 2F
- First generation = 1A and 1B

However, each research participant has freely indicated that they do not mind being identified personally within the transcribed material presented within this written thesis.

Each of the generations has been afforded the opportunity to provide their *kōrero pūrākau* and emotional connection with each of the interview questions. It is a natural occurrence that the earlier generations interviewed would have more indepth *kōrero pūrākau* than the later generations due to the earlier generations having more time and emotional experiences with the knowledge. However, the later generation are still considered as important contributors to the body of knowledge as they are more reflective in terms of the outcomes that have occurred due to the contemporary Māori society of today. It must be said here that in the time that has passed since the indepth interviews were conducted that for the third and fourth-generation participants, their emotional experience with these important social cultural practices has increased exponentially due to the extra time that they have spent engaging in the practice since the beginning of this me-search project.

The photographs attached to this chapter are of the participants, Ngāti Māgoro *whānau* members practicing the *tikanga* of eel fishing and preparation.

Transcribed and summarised in-depth interviews

Earliest memories of catching eels and how they learnt to catch them:

Puawai Tipuna (age 70, first generation):

My earliest memories are of when we were kids. We used to tag along with your uncle Duke and all the other older boys from Rangiahua. We used to watch them, just feeling for them, sometimes up to their necks feeling around with their foot for the holes. Then they dive down for them boy, not dive down deep, but they have to get down under there to pull them out on their finger. Big buggers too, boy! They just suck, out of the hole and up on the bank. When they throw them up, that's when we, all us kids that were there, just pounce on them. Sometimes there were about eight or nine of us kids, not just our family but all our friends too. But look out if you miss it from up there. We were only four or five years old. We would go up the Mangawhero creek for a couple of miles. We used to go right up behind Pākiri Lake. Sometimes those big boys had to carry some of us back, because they had gone up that far, and they dragging the eels along on some bunches of flax and carry us at the same time. On our way back sometimes they also getting those bloody *Kutai Kākahi* (fresh water mussels), they were horrible bloody things; I bloody hated the bloody things. I never ever got a taste for them, they big bloody buggers too. Our parents would eat them but you could see that they would have done without it. They taste like bloody boot and mud put together. But well if it meant *kai* well then they eat it.

Tūruki (Rusty) Tipuna (age 60, first generation):

I was about six or seven when I first started going out eeling, I hated it because my first job was bag boy for about four or five years. Part of the work of being a bag boy was to dig all the worms and making the *whitau* out of flax, named *Ruapani*. This is really the only type of flax we would use as it would produce a nice strong *whitau* that wouldn't break so easy. Our old *kuia* showed us how to do it. The cutting of the rods and looking for a nice light stone to make a sinker was also a part of that *mahi*. Very few had vehicles, so the catching of the horses if you didn't have any transport means, was all a part of the bag boy *mahi*. That was the situation in those days. Luckily there were about three or four of us that were all about my age to share the work load. Prior to getting the worms we had to do everything from preparing the bags to getting the water for the cleaning of our eels the next day.

The experiences of the two first-generation participants although they are brothers, have contrasting outlooks to one another in terms of their first encounters with the practices of eel fishing. For one it was about just tagging along with the other little kids in the village community and following the bigger boys up the creeks, as they went along feeling for the eels. It seems to have been a rather fun experience as they were growing up. All the young kids there together, play while the bigger boys are in the creeks, feeling around in the banks feeling for holes that eels may be hiding in. However, always being at the ready to pounce at any moment when they heard the call that an eel was coming. While the other's first up experience even though a different technique is used (eel bobbing), it was perhaps not as pleasant, as for him it was more about having to do a lot of work and preparation before he even got a chance to have a turn with the eel rod. This unpleasantness may have also been influenced because he wanted to be able to catch his own eels on the rod and not have to just wait up the bank. The overarching theme coming through in these two first-generation interviews is that of *whānau* and *whanaungatanga*.

Hemi (Plute) Tahuri (age 57, second generation):

I would say we were about nine or ten before we were actually allowed to go; we always went with the older ones like my father and our uncles. When they went to dig the worms, we went too, our job was to pick up the worms and put them in the bucket. We started wanting to go out ourselves and do everything ourselves, and so we started to take up their positions and do all of the eeling ourselves.



Figure 15. Personal image of myself digging for the *noke papā* (glow worms) where my *tīpuna* have always gone to locate the glow worms.
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)

Sonny Tipuna (age 50, second generation):

The first time I went out I would have been six or seven, we would go out with the old man, our job was to grab the eels and put them in the bag. Bag boys was what they used to call us, part of our job as bag boys was to dig for the worms. That was the hardest job, digging for the worms. We all had our pet places for digging the worms and you would keep them secret so no one else would know where you went to get your worms.



Figure 16. Personal image of the *whānau* Tipuna of Ngāti Mākoro digging for the *noke papā*
(Photograph taken by Latoya Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2007)

The age of the above two second-generation participants is more closely aligned to that of the second first-generation participant, and thus in terms of the closer *whānau* community living environment, they out of most of the second-generation participants had more interaction with our *kaumātua* (elders). In terms of the cultural practices to do with eel fishing, eel bobbing, the relationship and the knowledge that they were lucky enough to enjoy and experience with our *kaumātua*, my father and their own dad's is priceless. It is priceless in the sense that it is knowledge from a first-hand acquisition perspective.

Kitea (Lucky) Tipuna (age 36, second generation):

My earliest memories are with my father. He would take us out in the weekend. The three boys, my older brother myself, I must have been five or six and our younger brother. He would take us out to Waitai valley, out on the other side of Te Uhi hill heading out towards Whakakii. My job was to stand on the bank with the sack, to look after my younger brother and grab the eels when my dad or older brother biffed the eels up the bank. I think I used to get quite jealous of my older brother, because I could see him in the creek with dad, me being younger I want to hop in there too, but thinking about it now, my father was probably thinking about water safety. Because when you're feeling for the holes sometimes you have to put your head right down to the water and put your arm right into the hole. But as a kid you don't see things like that, all you see is your older brother in the creek with your dad while you are on the bank and he's next to dad enjoying himself so to speak. After I turned 7, I was allowed to hop into the creek with dad. But in terms of the emotional connections, they were hot summer days with the sun on your back, they were kind of like our play times, where we were learning and having fun at the same time with our dad. It was good with our father those times spent with him.

Dorothy Tohiariki (age 34, second generation):

He aku wa tuatahi, he ōku pakeke āhua whitu, waru pea i taku pakeke i taua wa, me te haere tahi atu mātou ko ētahi o karangatahi, aaa ko John Tipuna, Jodee Campbell, Nicky mātau ko Huck. Nā reira, i timata mātau i te rapu haere ngā noke papā mo te hi tuna, aa me ki ko ngā glow worms, tae atu mātou ki te tahi takiwa o Mangapoike, ki reira, kerī ai wētahi o ngā pike ki te rapu i wawa noke, matatoru ana i te wawa noke ahau ngā hoki te Raukawa i puta mai wawa noke, a ka kiri mātou i wawa puke i te rapu wawa noke, ka whakaraua i ētahi ipu, ka tahi ka hoki a mātou i te mutu ki

te kāinga o a mātou matua keke a uncle Tai, ā i reira a mātou tapahi ai te Harakeke. Ki uncle Tai i te muka o te harakeke. Te ingoa o te harakeke, a te Makaweroa, ae koira, a ko tae atu rau te tae o te Harakeke, kakariki te tae, engari ko tōna tuara whano te tae, whano te tae o te tuara, aa e au ki tōku kui ko nanny Gladys, Gladys Kelhune, aaaa koira te Harakeke papae mo te hanga piupiu, nā te mea kikī ana te Harakeke i te muka, a he Harakeke mārō hoki, māku taku wa ngā taku papaku, he uaua ki te hāpene i taua Harakeke, nā te mārō, aaa nā reira, karekau au i te mea pai ki te hāpine i wawa harakeke, ka waiho ma Huck ma, engari, ko taku he āhua tapahi ma te ana pipi, te ana kuku rānei, a nā rātou ka āhua waro i ngā rau ka puta pai ai te muka, ka mutu tērā ka timata te roa ra haere i ngā muka, ka puta pera i te tuaina, ka mutu tērā ka tiki mātou aue, ko ta Jodee ko Nicky ma ka tiki ngā wire, aaaa te āhua hanga te āhua pakupaku, aaa pera i te nira, a ka āhua here, ehara i te mea ka herengia, engari ka rāua te muka ki roto ra ka timata te wero atu ra ki ngā noke. Aaa i reira hoki wētahi hinu, he hinu poaka he ngāwari ake ai te kuku mea mai o ngā noke, aaa nā reira, he whakamahi wētahi hinu poaka, engari he mārō rawa te hinu poaka, i a mum, i hiria mai a mum i wētahi hinu kau, nā te mea he ngāwari ake, ka ngāwari ake te tere o te noke i te whitau, ka tahi ka timata te werowero haere o ngā noke, engari, i a uncle Tai wētahi o ngā momo rākau, i whakawaruwaruhia, a e rite ana te āhuatanga ki te nira, te hangai i tetahi mea i te paku rākau, aaa he ngāwari i tērā rākau ki te whakamahi ngā noke ki te mahi i te (steel fence wire).

Hermis Tipuna (age 37, second generation):

I was a bag boy, so you couldn't go get a rod until you had the bag. I would have been about four years old at the time when I first started going out, my job as the bag boy was to catch the eels as they came out of the water where we were eeling. Or carrying the wires when they're spearing. What you would do is thread them through on to the wire and then carry on walking up the creeks behind the ones with the spears. I would have been about four then.

Trixie Tipuna (age 34, second generation):

My earliest memories of eeling, I was six. Our father used to take us out, my first job was the bag holder, sack holder, to pounce on the eels when they are thrown up on the bank of the creek. I was seven when I first started getting in the creek. Morehu and I would swim in the creek while dad, Alan and Lucky were getting a feed. Morehu and I would just watch while we played in the creek. We would try and find some holes and do what they were doing.

The essence of true *mātauranga* Māori transmission being practiced as each following generation follows the example of the previous generation. The age of the next cohort of second-generation participants regarding their first experience is similar to one another, with all of them also starting out as being bag boys or the bag holder. Although their experience of being the bag holder is slightly different to that of the first-generation participants, much of the work was still the same. The second-generation participants saw it more as an opportunity to be out with their fathers and just copying what they did, picking up the worms and putting them in the containers and just generally enjoying the moment. The exciting time for them was when they had to pounce on the eel as it was thrown or tossed up the bank from the rod or after feeling. However, the experience of one of the participants is slightly different to the others, as she discusses her first experience in *te reo* Māori, which has put a slightly different light on the way she has peeled back the layers of knowledge regarding her interaction and experience with the practice of *toitoi tuna*, *hī tuna*. The overarching themes here in these transcribe interviews once again are *whānau*, *whakawhanaungatanga*, *manaakitanga*.

River-Lee Tipuna (age 10, third generation):

I was six when I first went out eeling with mummy and them. I'm nine now, we went up to lake Waikaremoana. We went to watch Nanny Mākere as she was catching all the little eels trying to make their way up the dam wall to the main lake (Lake Waikaremoana). Nan would catch the little eels in a kind of trap and put them in a bucket to release them into the big lake. When she released them she would count them as well.

I haven't had a bite on my rod when I have been bobbing or caught an eel yet, but I have had to jump on the eel and put them in the bag when mum and them have caught them and throw them up on the bank. I grab them with my hands and put them in the bag.

Spike (Jack) Tahuri (age 32, third generation):

I was about six when I first went out eeling; I was a bit scared of the dark, being left there in the dark all by yourself; I went out to dig up the worms with the old man, he took me out bobbing. He and I went to dig up the worms just below Pākowhai Marae.

The two third-generation participants, even though they have lived in two different generation time zones, the age of their first encounters and experience with the practices of eel fishing are the same as those from the first generations. However, the first experience of the younger participant was seeing her nanny Mākere catch and release all the baby elvers stranded in the catchment holder as they made their way up onto the lake Waikaremoana power dam, which blocked the baby eel's access into the lake. The older third-generation's first experience was a little bit scarier for him as a six year old being left in the dark by himself to bob for eels, but as he started catching the eels and realising his dad was still very close helped to settle his nerves.

Jacky-Dean Tahuri (age 15, fourth generation):

I remember the first time I went out I was crying. I can't remember how old I was when I first went out. But I'm 14 now. When I first went out there, nah I didn't like it.

Although the earliest memories of each generation interviewed are similar in terms of their ages and their first encounter, over the distance of time and the creation of new materials the processes engaged in, in terms of the *tikanga* around *tuna* fishing, have adapted and changed with each generation. Their first jobs within the process of *tuna* fishing, each has their own experiential emotional connection to the knowledge and what it was like for them at the time. Some hated it and others loved it.

Kōrero from kaumātua regarding eel fishing practices:

Puawai: first generation

When I got older I would go out with the old people, going into Pākiri Lake. I sat in on one of their church services when they came back from eeling, they have a big *karakia*. At the time I'm thinking aue lets go home. They all gather there, all these old fellas gathering at about midnight and they start having a big *karakia*, and I'm there, as a young fella getting *hoha*, thinking geees mum!! Hurry up!! Bloody wasting time here, hurry up its getting cold!! But no, they always did it the right way according to *tikanga*, they do the right thing and then away home. Even before they used to go out they used to have a big church, but us young fellas, used to think ah bugger that, the last fella can go to church not us. But you know what, now that I come to think of it, I would love to see it again. I wish a lot of times that I would have taken more notice of that sort of thing, that part of the *kaupapa*. I hate telling people this; I wish I had taken more notice of them doing their *karakia* to Tangaroa. Its things like that I regret, I regret it now. But they do their *karakia*, then they off. They just get exactly what they want and then you just starting to catch your eels and then man it's time to go home. It might piss you off but they had their ways about them, they take no more or no less than what they needed.

Tūruki (Rusty): first generation

The moon phase, it does not apply when you are looking for *kai*, I am of the opinion that if you miss out on a *kai* and you miss out on a *tuna* in the creek, it's because you skills are not up to the play and you are being totally lazy. We have been taught these skills and they are something to be treasured. As a child I was taught that you prepare yourself; you prepare the *haukāinga* for when you return and when you go out there, you are not coming home empty handed. That was the way our *karaua* looked at life, they never waited on the moon, even on a *korekore*, a presumed time where fishing was bad, and they would always come home with a *kai*. All the days of a *korekore* if your fridge is empty then go and get a *kai*, but do not bank on Tangaroa to provide you with a better day, put all those superstitions behind you.

One thing I must mention, our old *karaua* would always have a big *kai* and a *kōrero* about where they going, they would have a *whakamoemiti* before they left, not *karakia*, that only applies to other religions. A *whakamoemiti* prior to leaving and give thanks on our return. One time I heard fella saying are we going to have a *karakia* before we leave and then one of the other old fellas said "we do not do incantations...." Because that's what a *karakia* is, we will have *Whakamoemiti*... a prayer... and ever since then

I have done the same with all of our *moko*, this is what I learnt as a boy over 50 years ago.

Hemi (Plute): second generation

My father and them used to do their *whakamoemiti* before they even thought about going out. I asked him why they did that and he said well that's what his father used to always do and so he did. For them going out eeling was a big thing back in the day. Back then they wouldn't just go out anytime they felt like it, as it was quiet hard to catch eels. There was quite a lot of planning involved when they went out eeling. He used to have a look at the Māori calendar, look at it and see what things were happening, look at the position of the moon and what it was for the day. I sort of go and have a look outside and then say to myself, "I think I might just go and have a look" sort of thing.

But also there are a few places where like the older ones would never go, because they were *mataku* of those places, hence them not going there. My father used to talk about those places. He reckoned that they used to be sitting there and the old people are talking away there and they looking around and wondering who the hell they talking to, because they are talking to those who have already passed on.

The comments offered from the two first-generation participants and the comments of the oldest of all the second-generation participants, present very contrasting influences in terms of their connection with the Rātana faith, *tikanga* Māori and the use of the fishing phases of the Māori moon. Although they have all spoken about having a church service before they went out, the use of the terms *whakamoemiti* and *karakia* for some have a stronger meaning for them than for others. Although as one of the first generation had said when he went out with the old people at that time, watching them have their church service before they go out, for him as a young man, doing a church service just did not fit with his plans of growing up. However, the acknowledgment of wishing he had spent more time listening and watching them do their church service is something that he regrets having to deal with now. For the other first-generation participant and the third-generation participant, although they too have both

contrasting and similar views about the use of *whakamoemiti*, their use of the Māori calendar with its moon phases for the both of them are at opposite sides of the pendulum. One uses the moon phases as he was taught to ensure a catch and the other uses his skills that were taught to him by the elders to catch his eels. The one using his skills has the mentality that if you are hungry, then prepare the *haukāinga* first, do all your preparations and then go out, but you do not come home empty handed.

Dorothy: second generation

Kua pātai au, kua karakia ke tātou i a tātou i te kāinga, he aha tātou ki te karakia anō ai, kua he tātou!? Aaa ka mea mai tōku kuia,” e hee, tuatahi, i mahi ki te kāinga he mea Whakamoemiti, he mea he karakia hapati mea ki, he karakia thanks giving mea ki, aa he karakia ripeneta, aaa kia wātea ai te tuara a mua i a tātou haerenga. Ka tahi ka huri me te pātai, he aha tātou karakia anō ai ki konei? Aa maumau!! Korekau te kaha o te kāinga ka karakia anō, ka mea mai tōku karaua, kaore, ko te take, ka karakia anō tātou, kia rite ai tātou mo te uru ki taua wāhi kei te inoi atu, karakiatia kei te tuku reo whakamoemiti, ki ngā mana atua ki ngā manawhenua, me taku whakaaro, me taku whakapono ki te Hāhi Rātana, tahi ana ki te atua. Te aha te take ki to ki mai ki ngā atua, ko wai rātou ma, he taku whakaaro, ko ta te atua ki runga ra, ka mea mai tōku karaua he mauri tōna āhuatanga katoa o te ao kikokiko nei, aaa he ita to hia ina to mea tipu, he wairua ano ta rātou, nā reira me inoi atu tātou kia Tane, aaa kia riro mai e ia, kia whakaae mai e ia kia kite ai ta tātou i te tahi o ōna uri, hei uri pai ma tātou hei heri ki tērā atu o ngā atua o Tangaroa, aaa ēnei ra kai te mārama ahau ki o ana kupu. I taua wa, e hoha, engari e noho tonu mātou ki reira ka karakia ai, aaa ka mutu ēra karakia ka timata mātou kia heke ki runga atu taha o taua wāhi, aaaa ka tau atu mātou ki ngā rākau ka whakaaro atu au, ka rite noa, aaa ka tahi ko tōku kuia ka whakaatu ia anō i ai, aaa ka timata anō te karakia, me taku whakaaro, aue kōrua tahi ra nā purari pōrangī, korekau i te paku kaha o kautau inoi karakia, aha noiho, hiahia ahau ki te hoki ki te kāinga, he hoha, hoha katoa ahau ki tērā, aaa ka ki mai tōku kui aaaa he ihu hupe anō koe, nā tou inoi nā tika mau te rongō i ēnei o to taha hoki. Aaaaa ko te take o taku kuia kua mārama ahau naianeī, taua wa, e he inoi noiho ki tōku inoi anō, engari ko tōku ingoa katoa ko Dorothy Mei Rangikahiwa Tohiariki, ko ta te Dorothy nō ta te kuia o tōku Pāpā, koira tana ingoa, Aaaa ko ta te Mei no ta te kuia o tōku Māmā, koira te māmā o tōku māmā, Ko ta te Rangikahiwa, i te pai nei o tōku māmā o te tahi o ōna uri, ko Aunty Rangi tōna ingoa, engari ko tērā ingoa a Rangikahiwa, ko tetahi o te kui no te taha o tōku māmā, e kuia tērā e noho i te taha o Whetu

Mārama. Aaaa nā reira te ki mai o tōku kuia pāpā, he tika māku te rongō o wera ōna āhūatanga no te mea ko wēra ingoa e toru, me tōku ingoa whānau no te ao kōhatu, no tērā ōna wa. Aaaa nā reira, ehara i te mea, tīwhiri e au te ingoa, engari, he mana anō au i o ana ingoa, nā reira he tika kia whaiwhakaaro ki wēra o rātou tipuranga, me tana ki mai ehara ko au anake tērā kaituhi koikoi haere, Aaaa taua wa, he kōrero noa iho ki ōku taringa mārō, nā taku tamaititanga, engari, ēnei ra, kei te mārama te ki o tōna kōrero, aa nā reira ka karakia ana i reira mātou i mua anō ra i wēra rākau a ka karakia tōku karaua, ka tahi ka mutu ana karakia mātau ka timata te uru, engari ka whakaaro ano au, ae ka tiro tiro ngā rākau hikoi haere mo ahau, engari ko tōku karaua, koia te me haere whakamua, i timata au te hikoi no iho ka aukati tōku kuia ai me tana ki mai me whai ahau tōku karaua, māna anō ma a tātou e arahi, ahakoa no Te Arawa nō Te Whanau a Apanui tērā ōku karaua, tae mai ia ki tēnei wāhi noho atu ai ia ki te Mira, ki te taha o te whānau Johnston, Koia ngā kaimahi o Tommy Johnston, i taua wa he rangatahi no iho ia, aaa te wa i piki atu mātou o wēra maunga he ono tekau ōna pakeke, nā reira kua wha tekau tau ki tēnei wāhi, nā reira i wawata e ia ki taua wāhi, aaa koira taku wā tuatahi ki tērā wāhi, nā reira, i mea mai tōku kuia, he waiwai tapu ahau, he tika mātau kua whai ki tōku karaua ko ia te mea mōhio, kei hea a ta tātou take, me taku whakaaro, aue e pūrari hoha kōrua, korekau anō au te hiahia ki te hoki ki a kōrua taha ki tērā wāhi, engari, i reira mātou, nā reira he tika kia whakarongo, nā te mea, koira nā mātou tipuranga, ahakoa, ōku whakaitanga, ōku hetanga i o a rātou whai, ko rāua tonu tōku kuia tōku karaua, he tika me whakarongo.

Ka mea mai tōku karaua me mutu taku makamaka, makapatai, me whakarongo noa iho, nā reira, kua whai atu au i a ia, ko tana momo waiata e puta ana i tana waea, ehara te waiata me ki te waiata a ringa te waiata tira, he waiata karaua ke, aaa korekau he tino rangi, engari ko ngā kupu, kei te mahara,

“Ko te kake aku ake wai Kake atu ake wai ki te iu a Tane, kake atu tōku ngākau ki tōna whakaitanga, kei hea ra te uri e”

Aaa taua wa kaore au i tino mārama, te kiko o ana kōrero engari, ēnei wā, tino mārama haere he momo takutaku, he momo karakia tonu i roto i taua wai, aaa me tana hononga ngākau a wairua ki wēra ōna tipu, ōna tipua me ki, ki wēra o ngā mana kia kite pai ai wera mea te rākau pai, kia kite pai e ia te uri pai o Tane i a hei ai e mātou i te tango. Aaaaa ka pau te rima miniti, a ka tu ia mua i te tahi rākau toro tika te āhua, korekau he paku piko o roto, aaa ka whakaaro ake au, ka pai tapahi noa iho, engari, e he!! Ka tau atu mātou i mua i ngā rākau aaa ka takutaku anō, aaa ihu hupe tonu ana te āhūatanga me te whakaaro, aue!!! Karakia, karakia, karakia!!! Karakia,

karakia, karakia aaa he ngoikore kōrua, aaaa roto i ōku whatu pakeke ake, he waimarie nōku e kite i wēra ōna āhua, aaaa kua mārama hoki te tikanga takutaku i te mea, ehara I te takutaku inoi, he takutaku Whakamoemiti ke.

I whakamoemiti atu e ia a tātou mo tōna whakāturanga ki aia, te wāhi tu ai taua rākau, nā reira i tuku e ia te whakamoemiti ki aia ka whakaaro au kei he te saw/toki?, hei tapahi te rākau, ēngari i he anō ōku whakaaro, i aia tetahi momo waea, he whakaaro au he waea metara, engari, i waenga i taua here, he paku kōhatu pounamu pea, he kākāriki te tae. Aaaa āhua roa rānei tēnei te āhua (inch) engari, he puare mai tetahi pito ki tetahi pito, ki ōku whakaaro he waea, engari ko taua momo taura, he momo harakeke ke, ia taha he herehere, ko tana, ka kukume haere, he āhua roa rānei te āhua, engari ko ngā tahataha kai rawa ana! He āhua, ehara ki te axe head, ehara te toki, engari kaore anō au kia kitea ki taua. I whakaaro au ko te waea tērā, engari ehara tērā i te waea, mea mai tōku kuia, he taura hoki ke, aaa he whakaaro ko te mea puare o waenga, me taku whakaaro me whakaraua noiho te taura ki roto, engari i mea mai tōku kuia kaore, i reira ke taua puare, kaore au i paku pātai atu a whai muri tērā. Aaa ka kukume haere taua taura, a kātahi ka tapahi taua rākau. Aaa whakaaro ae, hikina te rākau me hoki atu tātou, engari korekau i ae i pēra, aaaa ka tu ia ka karakia anō, ka whakaaro au, geeee kai te hea kai au kei te hia inu, engari heri atu mātou i te kore, ko mātou no iho haere, korekau he inu, aaa ka mea mai tōku kui kaore he roa mea mutu, aaaa nā reira, ka karakia anō ia, aaa korekau au i pātai atu i taua wa, hoha taku kui i whakautu tau pātai, hoha taku karaua i whakautu pātai, nā reira, ka noho wahangu kia mātaki, aaaa ka karakia anō mātou, ka tahi ka hiki te rākau, aaaa ka timata mātou ka puta ki taua momo ngahere, ka karakia, mua i te timata piki maunga, ka karakia i te keokeonga o te maunga ka karakia i te hekenga maunga ka tau atu ki te kāinga ka karakia anō, ka tahi ka mea mai tōku kui, aaaa mea haere tātou ki te kai.

I have chosen to include a vast tract of transcript from this interview as it provides within it an immense amount of information regarding the relationship that the *whānau* had with the metaphysical, cosmological and physiological environments. The *kōrero* remembered from the old people regarding eel fishing practices, by the cross section of the *whānau* interviewed varies and is at different levels. For some there isn't much or it is fragmented and for others there are lots of *kōrero* from the old people about different ways of doing things. The loss of some knowledge is also evident in terms of *karakia tawhito* (traditional Māori incantations/prayers) and the pre-colonisation,

pre-Christian use of the word *karakia*. However, the interpretation of there being a difference between *whakamoemiti* and *karakia* is also strongly evident. To my understanding the use of *whakamoemiti* from a post-Christian perspective is that, *whakamoemiti* was a *kupu* preferred by the *mangai* (mouthpiece) of the Rātana church to move away from the belief system of pre-Christianity and *tohungatanga*. Thus, *whakamoemiti* is a prayer of praise and thanks giving, a coming before Ihu Karaiti and beseeching of him to provide for one's every need. The term *karakia* on the other hand, has a root system and history that pre-dates colonisation, and has connections with *tohunga*-ism and Te Whare Maire which was considered to be a house of learning that practiced the black arts of *makutu*. However, the contemporary use of the *kupu karakia*, although its use pre-dates Christianity in Aotearoa New Zealand, is also now freely used today in relation to post colonialism and post-Christianity, as Christian Church services that are conducted in *te reo* Māori use *karakia* as a prayer of praise and thanksgiving and a prayer of requesting and asking of Ihu Karaiti.

The *tikanga* around the church services had or the *whakamoemiti*, *karakia* being offered during the preparation periods before one actually goes eeling were used in every single process of the *tuna* fishing expedition. For those that have a good grasp of *te reo* Māori, they are able to look at things slightly differently through a lens of *te reo* Māori. The *kōrero* reflected upon in these transcriptions around this notion of thinking, regarding *whānau* inter-generational knowledge provides a good lens, by which one is able to measure the *whānau* perspectives in terms of their own personal engagement philosophies, with the *kōrero* shared and the body of knowledge delved into. It is interesting to note that the interview that is recorded completely in *te reo* Māori provides a lens into the knowledge and the way that the *whānau* engaged with their world prior to the English language becoming the main medium of

communication. The use and dependence on *karakia* throughout the whole process from the point of waking up in the morning at the beginning of one's day to the beginning of setting out to selecting a rod, to the journey of walking to find the tree on the *maunga*, to the selecting and cutting of the rod, before even going out to catch the eels. *Karakia* was prevalent throughout the whole process and every stage of the journey.

The learning experience:

Sonny: second generation

It's addictive. Every weekend we would go out as soon as we got home from school on Friday. We would go and do our cows, feed our pigs, go and get the old lady some firewood then go and dig our worms and out we go Friday night. I loved it, I mean you might get a bit scared when it used to rain and you didn't have a torch to see where you were going. Most of our eeling was done at night time, we used to like going out on a full moon cause then you kind of know where you're walking.

But what I know about eeling I teach that to my baby and she loves it, loves everything about eeling.

Sonny shared about the addictive feeling that he has with the *tikanga* around eel bobbing from when he was a boy. It is a passion he has shared with his daughter and many of our nieces and nephews. His infectious appetite for eeling has rubbed off on the younger generation that he has shared the experience with.

Kitea (Lucky): second generation

We were always trying to get our father's approval. We were quite competitive with one another in terms of who would get our father's applause. We would say "I will do it, I'll put my hand down the hole to get the eel Dad", and the other would say "no I will". As boys we used to argue over the trident spear and the gaffs. My father would say, "No he's the older one so he should have the big spear" and so the rest of us would go "eah gaaat!!" Alan was good at eeling though. But one time we were at Waitai valley, we were chasing this eel that we got out of the bank, calling out to our older brother that this eels coming, for him to spear it, next

minute he puts the spear through his toe. I just started laughing my head off, I didn't think "oh my poor brother, he speared himself", and I just laughed and laughed. So I said "oh well I will take the spear then". It was about who can get the biggest eel, who could get the most eels, who could be the bravest and the best, and who should carry the big spear.

Our dad never spoke to us like a school teacher because we would have lost interest in it very quickly. For us as kids, it was about the doing and getting involved. It was more about getting in the water, Dad saying "put your hand down here in this hole, now can you feel that"? And you would say yes, and he would say that's ok, and he would tell us how to hold the eel to pull it out of the hole and throw it up on to the bank.

The competitive nature between Lucky and his brothers to gain their father's applause was eagerly contested between them all. For them as young boys their greatest pleasure was not only about spending time with their dad, Uncle Duke, but also about the acknowledgement received by their dad when they had done something good. It is a sense of a father who has taught his sons well in terms of the traditional cultural knowledge to do with the practices of eel fishing.

Jacky-Dean: fourth generation

When I first went out there, nah I didn't like it. I just follow dad when he is making the bobs and stuff and do the same as he does. But I enjoy going out eeling now, its mean-as now.

The experience in terms of the learning and the emotional engagement felt, by the cross section of those *whānau* members interviewed, indicates that each had their own sensations to deal with at that time. For me as being part of my own case study, it is an enormous and overwhelming feeling of being aware, of the emotional and engaging upbringing missed out on, in terms of what *whānau* members interviewed experienced.

For some it was an amazing and addictive experience of time spent with *whānau*. Spending time alongside them in the water during the day, along the river banks, or

the preparation in terms of going to dig up the worms in places that have been handed down through the generations, remembering the time spent with *whānau* on long hot summer days throughout the weekends or with Nan and other *kaumātua*.

For others of the *whānau*, a traumatising experience because of a fear of being in the dark without a light. However, although the emotional experience swings to both sides of the pendulum, the connection that *whānau* have with the knowledge of our *tīpuna* will bind them to the knowledge. They will be memories for future generations to reflect on and engage in so that they are able to connect with that knowledge and be in-powered.

Nanny Mei and her interactive participation when it came to eel fishing:

Puawai: first generation

As we got older we would say we going out eeling today mum, she would say, have a look at the moon and they look up there, that's their calendar, you know the Māori moon, and we'd say aaah load of bloody bullshit, waste of time that bloody thing, and she'd say, oh well you not going to get anything tonight, and boy they almost on the nose, they almost on the ball boy. Man the old lady and them stuck by that moon, now I use it to cause I think they right man, I always go by the moon now.

I remember another lake too boy that I have pulled some eels out of, they called it Hoputamariki, up Mangapoike just before you get to Aniwa, the old people reckoned they lost a couple of babies in this bloody lake. Anyhow I told my old lady and this old fella, old Maki Johnston that I got these eels, and the old lady goes "where you get these eels from?" so I said, in Lake Hoputamariki, then they started mumbling away to themselves and then I say, "what the bloody hells wrong with these eels?" then they bring up this thing, "these eels probably ate on those kids on this lake", and I said to them, "ea that was way before your fellas time", they said to me "an eel can live for a hundred years boy" and I said to this old jigger old Maki Johnston, "ah well that's why you *whakapai* the *kai* before you eat it!!" and this old fella start cracking up aye and he says to me while he laughing "yeah you right boy *kei te tika koe* boy" and they all laughing away there. But yeah boy they were bloody huge things.

As the first-generation contact participant connected to our *kaumātua* and our *tīpuna*, Puawai shares not only how he has changed the way he used to think as a young man in terms of the Māori calendar used by the old people to now understanding it and using it himself as a guide for himself and his *mokopuna*. Puawai also shares about some of the emotional feelings felt by our *tīpuna*, Nan and some of the old people regarding not visiting certain areas because of things that may have happened before their time in certain lakes and waterways. That even though they had a strong faith they were still tied to some of the beliefs connected to the Whare Maire, and the notions of *tapu* and *mākutu* and *mataku* (bewitched and afraid). However, Puawai's sense of humour manages to help lighten some of the burden felt by some of the old people.

Hemi (Plute): second generation

Nanny Mei, when making the *whitau*, she used to always say, you go to that one there and you get that one, and yet to us when we looked at the flax, when we were young it didn't mean anything to us, we actually couldn't tell the difference and we really didn't bother to ask to tell you the truth, well we may have asked but didn't really take any notice. But she knew which ones to use to make the *whitau*. She used to show us how to do it, but see now aye, modern times aye we just use a string. There were no restrictions on women within our *whānau* in terms of *toitoi tuna*; otherwise Nan would not have been helping with the building of the *pūrangi* along the Marumaru River.

Sonny: second generation

Nanny Mei used to like it when we used to go eeling, because we used to tell her in the morning as we catch our bus to school out in front of the meeting house. We used to tell her we going out that night and she used to have our *whitau* all made up and already done for us to make our bobs bro, and when we get home from school, go and get our worms make up our bobs and we were off.

Some eels got no guts in them, certain times of the year so it's not worth gutting them, so we used to leave the scum on and just thread them onto some flax through the gill and out the mouth, tie the end into a loop for

Nan, have about four of those eels on a flax loop tied up. Nanny Mei used to just do them on a fire and drag them over the hot stones, she used to *rara* them, *pakarara* eels. I've done it, but you only do the small eels, they normally about 250mm long. Yeah Nanny Mei used to do the mean ones, we used to like going there and having a feed of *rara* eels. She used to hang them up in the fire place and when we get there we used to say "oh nan you got any eels?" she would say nothing and so we would have a look up the chimney, cause she used to leave them hanging up, we used to grab them down and put them straight into a steamer, cause when you get them down they look like a piece of board, but soon as you put them in a steamer they swell up and you can chew on them and just spit the bone out. Nan was good like that.



Figure 17. Personal image of the *harakeke* (flax) called *Ruapani* that is used to make the *whitau* (string) after extracting the fibres.
(Photograph taken by Wiremu Tipuna at Wairoa, 2 January 2011)



Figure 18. Image of the *muka* (flax fibres) extracted from the *harakeke*. These fibres would be rubbed down the leg to make the *whitau* (string).

(Source from: <http://theyarntree.com/store/fibersspinning/fibers/flaxtop.html>)

Nanny Mei loved interacting with her *mokopuna* and her children, she loved being able to do things for them and to help them in any way that she could. Within the two interviews with Sonny and Plute, the evidence of Nan helping her *mokopuna* to prepare for when they were getting ready to go out eel bobbing, are experiences that only the first generation and older *whānau* of the second-generation participants were able to experience. Although not all of those interviewed in the cross section of *whānau* had the experience of having Nanny Mei involved within their emotional experience of the *tikanga* around *tuna* fishing. The interactive knowledge experienced with her *kōrero* and knowledge shared, are still practiced and remembered today by those that spent time with her and those *mokopuna* who have had the amazing opportunity to practice and learn those techniques that our *kuia* shared with them. Thus still allowing the door of opportunity to remain open for those *mokopuna* that have not or still need to gain that experience.

Digging up your worms and where whānau were taught to look:

Tūruki (Rusty): first generation

The glow worms, we have our own traditional place to dig for glow worms at Whetu Mārama and Pākowhai, that have been in existence since I was a child and my father and his father, there was always this one place but once again farming has changed the geological forming of the hills but the worms are still there, at one stage, the worms were 2 to 3 feet long, but now we are getting about 7 to 8 inches long which is still big in comparison to the garden worm farms that we got around here. I've dug in the Mōhaka area where the worms might be longer than the ones we have here but they are very wide apart. Waikaremoana is the same, few and far between, Te Reinga, that's a good place but they are short and stumpy worms, they about 5 inches but fat as my thumb. They good worms but they a very weak worm, its body structure doesn't hold they not firm.

Tūruki talks about the various places he has dug for the worms that our *whānau* use when eel bobbing. He shares about what the body structure of the worms in different areas that he has dug is like and the impact of farming on many of those locations. Though it may seem that he is by himself and that he is not teaching anyone else in the *whānau*, the knowledge that has been passed on to him is also knowledge that he has passed on to his sons, daughters and *mokopuna*. This being part of the Ngāti Mākorō methodology of inter-generational knowledge transmission. The *kaiwhatu* or weaver of knowledge assisting *whānau* to weave a *korowai* of knowledge, that they will themselves be able to carry with them and then share with future generations of Ngāti Mākorō.



Figure 19. Image of noke papā (Glow Worm)
(Photograph taken by Latoya Robin at Wairoa, 2 January 2007)

Hemi (Plute): second generation

I have places that I use, and I will take people there as well, but whether they keep it to themselves is entirely up to them. There are still a lot of places and for me myself, I really don't have to go far. I can just go outside my door, like just out here. In terms of the soil that you dig for the glow worms the kind of soil you are looking for is where the old dirt is. The dirt that hasn't been disturbed since the old days by farming is where you should look. When all the farms started coming along, they started taking all the native land and native bush away from around here and all that sort of thing. There are still places around here that still have that sort of undisturbed dirt and forest. As long as there is not too much clay around you should be fine. The soil can't have too much water or no water at all in it. So it's probably a balance of both in the soil. The worm is going to need the water to survive in there but not to the extent where the water is going to wipe it out.



Figure 20. Personal image of Te Mahara holding up a handful of *noke papā*
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)

Sonny: second generation

There are quite a few places we go to. There is a place just below your guy's place that I have dug worms up, just at the bottom of Titirangi road. I don't go there that much as I would rather go to places that are closer to me so I don't have to go far. There is a place on the left just between the Mill and Pūtahi when you're driving into town from Frasertown.

But the main place we really use is still out at where the *whānau* have always gone to dig up their worms. Digging for worms is probably the hardest job when prepping to go eeling.

Hemi (Plute) and Sonny talk about the many places they use and know about, but don't use so much as well so that they are able to manage the resources they have, as they too are aware of the effect that farming has had on the soils that the worms live in. However Spring Hill is still an area used by them as it is by all our *whānau*.

Hermis:

I go to where all the *whānau* go as well. But when you come in from Lake Waikaremoana, there are just plenty of places to go and get your glow worms. I look for them in wet damp areas, not too wet though and not in pumice soil but damp kind of soil. You can actually smell them too.

It is noted that each *hapū* and *whānau* had their regular areas where they went to find and dig up their worms to go fishing for *tuna* (Best, 1929, Wairoa Star, 2009). Ngāti Mākoro continues to use the same areas that were handed down from our *tīpuna* to this day. For those *whānau* members that are less experienced, in terms of knowing where and what type of soil to look for to dig up the giant glow worms, these places are shown to them so that they are able to have a place to start, in terms of the first stage in the cultural practice of *tuna* fishing. As it is with Ngāti Mākoro, that when *whānau* go out bobbing for eels they only ever use the giant glow worms, not the little garden worms that are found around the house. However, those *whānau* members that are more experienced in knowing what type of soil to look for and the type of area and environment in which to find the worms are able to as one *whānau* member has said “smell them”. This knowledge comes about by the practicing and preparation methods used in the *tikanga* of *toitoi tuna*, bobbing for eels.

Making the worm bobs to catch the eels:

Puawai: second generation

We had to make them properly right from scratch, there was no bloody string hanging around then boy, you had to go too far to the shop. We would make our *whitau*, better than a string today too; we made it out of flax. Well mum she taught us how to do it. But now you just take what's available, I mean you still get the *whitau* off the flax but there is flax's that you can almost get a metre of *whitau* off, beautiful too, strong. The funny thing about it man when you get the *whitau* after the worm has been chewed, just the *whitau* itself can get eels, the baits gone but the bloody smell seems to stay in that *whitau* aye, because it's a fine mesh and you can catch bloody eels if they on the bite.

Hemi (Plute):

When we first started making our bobs, we used the *whitau*, the flax, and the one who used to get the flax for us was our grandmother. Now we use a string and a wire, but back then it was a *whitau* and a *wīwī*, a *wīwī* grass, trying to thread a worm on to a *wīwī* grass was probably the hardest thing we used to try and have to do when making the bobs, cause it just bends

and what not have you, but yeah you just sit in the paddock with the worms and your *whitau* by the *wīwī* grass and if the *wīwī* grass bends too much then you just get another one. But what I can recollect from the *whitau* made from the flax is that they were actually better than the string that we get now, way better. You didn't dry it you just did it straight away and then you rolled it. Rolled it into like a string down the legs.



Figure 21. Personal image of the (wire) needle that is now used and *whitau* to thread the *noke papā* being held
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)



Figure 22. Personal image of *Wīwī* grass in the paddock which was sat next to and used as a needle to thread the *noke papā* if a needle was not available
(Photograph taken by Wiremu Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)



*Figure 23. Personal image of the needle fronds from Wīwī grass being held of which a whitau is attached to thread the noke papā
(Photograph taken by Wiremu Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)*

Sonny: second generation

It wasn't till we were about 12 – 13 that they started teaching us how to thread the worms on the *whitau*.

Nan used to prepare all the flax, the only thing that used to match the flax *whitau* was the bale twine, what they used to sow the sheep wool bales up with. We used to take some of the string to thread our worms with to make our bobs. It saved a lot of work, but if you had a good *whitau* you thread the worms onto it and the bob would last you all night. When we make our bobs for eeling we only use worms, nothing else. For us it's got to be worms cause that's just the way we were taught to do it and that's the way our kids are taught to do it as well, they learn how to thread the worms on to the string to make their own bobs, cause if they don't then they don't go eeling. It's got to be the big fat glow worms as well, we don't go out and get the garden worms, that's just a waste of time and they useless.



Figure 24. Personal image of threading the *noke papā* onto the needle and *whitau* (Photograph taken by Elena Tiuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)



Figure 25. Personal image of threading the *noke papā* onto the needle and *whitau* (Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)



Figure 26. Personal image of myself and my son Te Mahara sharing in the knowledge of threading a *noke papā*
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)

Puawai, Tūruki, Hemi (Plute) and Sonny all have extensive experience of using the *whitau* (flax fibred string) to thread their worms, to make their bobs. This experience being learnt from spending time with Nanny Mei, enabled them to have the knowledge to also pass on to future generations of the *whānau*. It is claimed by all those interviewed that the *whitau* for making the bobs is still the best, because the smell of the worms tends to linger in the flax fibres for much longer than it does within the strings produced today.

Trixie: second generation

I was about 28 or 29 when Morehu took us out to a spot where he and Alan always used to dig worms. I took this one River-lee with me; she just held the container for the worms while we dug. We got the worms, made the bobs when we got home. Morehu rummaged through the shed for some wire and made up some needles and grabbed some hemp string. The needles were just a bit of wire, with the end bent over to make an eye to loop the string through and to make kind of like a big needle and thread.

He showed us how to thread the worm's up through the middle of the worm straight on to the wire and then strait on to the string. After about my 3rd or 4th time of threading a worm I started to vomit. The smell of it at the back of mum's yard because there was no air circulation and just the smell

of worms, was just horrible but it was fun, good family fun. Morehu showed us how to put the ends together, put your finger through the middle of the loop, twist it around about 3 or 4 times and then bring the bottom of the twisted loop back up to the top of the 2 ends and then tie it off so that you are left with a kind of worm ball.



*Figure 27. Personal image of the threaded *noke papā* having both ends of the *whitau* brought together*
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)



*Figure 28. Personal image of threaded *noke papā e whiri iwituna* (being twisted)*
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)



Figure 29. Personal image of the whitau ends of the threaded noke papā being tied off to present the finished poi noke (bob)
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)



Figure 30. Personal image of completed poi noke
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)

River-lee: third generation

I didn't help to make the bobs; I just took the worms out of the container. I gave the worms to them to make the bobs. Then when I saw them getting dirty, I ran inside and washed my hands. I didn't go out bobbing with them that night cause I wasn't allowed to. I was too little. I was about three or four I think.



Figure 31. Photograph of Te Mahara with his completed poi noke (Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)

Spike and Jacky-Dean: third and fourth generation

We just made our bobs out of worms and that wool bale string from the wool sheds. The old man showed me how to make the bobs. I tend to make quite a few when I make them now, and use up all the worms that I get. But if I don't use up all the bobs when I go out I just bring them back and chuck them in the freezer for the next time. But yeah I do mine the same way he does his, by wrapping another string around the worm cause they last that bit longer.

Jacky-Dean: fourth generation

Dad normally digs up all the worms, I just follow him when he is making the bobs and stuff, and I just do the same as he does.

Ngāti Mākoru *toitoi tuna* fishing practices have always used the glow worms (*noke papā*, Ngāti Mākoru *kupu* for glow worm) to thread onto their *whitau*, when making their bobs for going out bobbing for eels. The things that have changed from the time of our *tīpuna* are the rods, with the inclusion of bamboo trees, the depletion of areas where, now you can only locate the glow worms in isolated pockets of land because of the corrosive effect of farming, the ready availability of string that you are able to purchase at a hardware store. Though there are some schools of thought amongst

whānau that the *whitau* is yet to be matched by modern day string. However the string that is used cuts down the work load and time it takes to make the bobs once you have your worms. In the past, all the material used when going out bobbing for eels needed to be made from scratch, which would be very time consuming and so needed to be planned out to incorporate the cycle of the moon phases, to ensure that when the people went out to catch eels via the method of bobbing that they timed it right, so that they could guarantee that a good catch would be caught, and ensure the *whānau hapū* would have *kai* to put on the table. Whereas today, because the materials can be located and or perhaps purchased quite easily, the process that used to perhaps take days or perhaps weeks of preparation and planning can now be accomplished within the space of about 6 to 8 hours, from start to finish. From digging up the worms to make the bobs all the way to catching the eels and putting them into the bag.

Nevertheless, although these material things have made an impact on the eel fishing practices of Ngāti Mākoru, the greatest impact to inter-generational knowledge transmission practices has been that of the rural to urban migration of *whānau*.

The different art forms and methods practiced:

Puawai: first generation

There is bobbing, spearing, gaffing, feeling, *hīnaki* and a *pūrangi*, I seen the old people make them, they used to make them long, bloody 8 or 9 meters, and the front of it must have been about 3 metres across, but then it went right into about the size of your socks.

Spearing: I seen Duke and them have to make their spears and gaff out of bloody wires or something that they picked out of somebody's bloody fence, it wasn't good wire like the high tensile stuff you have now, but I've seen them use nails to make a gaff, perfect boy. They made them with what was available. When you are spearing at night, if you get it, the art is that you got to push it to the bottom of the creek. Once you hit it, you got to go straight in and that's even if you got to fall into the creek, that's the only

way it's going to wrap around and stay there. The eel, it'll just kick up a hell of a fuss anyway if you pull it up, but the first thing it'll do is wrap itself around and stay there, until you get it out of course. If you can hit the head then well and good, it means that you don't go damaging the rest of the eating flesh.

Puawai mentions many art forms of eel fishing that he has used personally and that he has also seen used by other members of the *whānau*. Here he focuses on the resources that he has seen other family members use to make a spear or a gaff. He also talks about the size of the *pūrangi* that *kaumātua* used to make to set up for the *pā tuna* when the *tuna heke* (eel run out to sea) happens. He also focuses more on the art of spearing and what needs to happen, where you should hit the eel, to how you should get it up on to the bank without losing it back in the water.

Tūruki (Rusty): second generation

All the skills needed to get a *kai* have been taught to me by our *karaua* and have been honed over the years through practice and application from bobbing, spearing, gaffing, *hūpai*, *hīnaki*, *pūrangi* and on a boat. All these skills are yours to use.

Hūpai – is where you don't go for the head like spearing, you go for the tail. It stuns it, it spins the eel. The *hūpai* is like a blunt sword, where you actually whack it through the water on the tail, the tail of the eel is where all its nerves are so when you hit it, it stuns it for a few seconds which is enough time to grab it and put it in the bag.

Hīnaki - is not just throwing it into any old stream but to face the *ākura* (mouth of the *hīnaki*) upstream on the *tuna heke*, eel run out to sea. You don't need any bait in that type of eeling method; you just let the flow of the water do the work for you. A *pūrangi*, I've watched my uncle do it; it needs to be on a drawn diagram where you can actually go through his mind set. It's set on the same principles as the *hīnaki* facing upstream, with the *ākura* facing upstream. You swear that he not going to catch nothing because it's just a lot of sticks just pushed into the bed of the river just to divert the current.

When doing all your preparation for the *tuna heke*, it is all done during the summer, just virtually done with sticks and rocks so that the current flow

of the water is diverted. Because the eel will follow the strongest current, your job is to make sure you keep the mouth of the *pūrangi* clear of all debris, pushing all those things over to the stays that you have set up to get tangled up in them. It gives the eels more of a fighting chance, so that whatever gets through gets through. You only catch what you need. Then when it is time to pull up the *pūrangi*, you have to get in the water and lift the arse end of the *pūrangi* out to get your eels. But you tie a rope to the *pūrangi* so that if it breaks free you can just pull the *pūrangi* over to the bank and pull it out.

Rusty also talks about the different skills and arts that he has learnt over the years from our *karaua*, and acknowledges that all the skills he has been taught are gifts to be passed on to the younger generations so that they are able to get a *kai*. He mentions many art forms to do with eel fishing that he has practiced and talks about the art of *hūpai*, and explains what the art form is. He also focuses on the art form of the *pūrangi* and the processes of setting everything up to get everything ready for the *tuna heke*. His illustrated diagram presented in *Figure 13*. provides a fantastic example of Māori ways of thinking and planning.

Hemi (Plute): second generation

Bobbing - there is quite a bit of skill needed in bobbing. I tend to dig a hole at the back of where I'm sitting on the river bank. So when you bring it up you just drop it in the hole. I try and look for a place to eel where all I need to do is just lift it out of the water and then just drop it in the hole I've dug. There is no need to go biffing it over your head when you throw it up the bank. I also tend to look for places in the river that's got a bit of a current, cause when they grab on to the bob they actually got to kind of hold on to it you see, I have found that when there is a current they actually do hold on better.



Figure 32. Personal image of Te Mahara and I practicing the *tikanga toitoi tuna* in the creek under the Awamate Road Bridge
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)



Figure 33. Personal image of Te Mahara and I pulling his first *tuna* out of the Mangapoike creek
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 5 January 2010)

Kitea (Lucky): second generation

Hīnaki: my father was cool, really good at eeling; he had a *raupō*, or a Supple Jack *hīnaki* but he had a net wing to it, and he would put a stick through it. My father had made an *hīnaki*. We would set the *hīnaki* then come home and at about 5am Dad would come and say, boy we going and I would wake up and fly out of bed, it would be ice cold in the morning, we set it out at the Frasertown river or maybe just past Marumaru.

I never set the *hīnaki* myself because it was always too deep or dangerous. I'd just be watching my father jump into waste high water, setting the *hīnaki* and getting the *hīnaki* ready. We would use road kill for bait, I probably helped my father 5 or 6 times to set the *hīnaki*. He would always say the *hīnaki* just needs to be the right size for your family so you don't need to be too greedy. We only had a small trap, a small *hīnaki*. I would say oh man you can get heaps more with a bigger trap and dad would say, "No, no, you shouldn't be too greedy, you only need a *hīnaki* just to get you a *kai*". It was only our family, every time we pulled it up it was always full and so my job was to open up the back and make sure all the eels got into the sack and carry the sack up to the car.

Hermis, Tipu and Spike: second and third generation

Feeling: Uncle Ricky and Aldon took me to do that. Before you stick your hand in the hole you look for the other entrance or exit to the hole. There is always two ways into the hole that the eel sits in, varying on how big or long the hole is will give you an idea as to how big the eel is. If you can just put your hand into the hole then that will be an indication as to what size it is and if you can spread your whole open hand around in it well then she's a big one. So what you have to do is shut off their escape route. When the waters flowing down the creek the head end of the eel is normally facing the top side of the creek. You try and grab him around his ears or in his mouth, or put your little finger, middle finger, or both your middle and pointing fingers in its ear and your thumb in its mouth and pinch them together to whip it out. He will bite it, you already know he's going to do that, so when you have got your thumb in his mouth and he bites, he's not going to go anywhere; you close your fingers together and whip it out of the hole.

Spearing usually 3 prong spears, try and go for the head, you would have a better chance of getting it across the back of the head instead of in line with the head.

Tipu (Cab) second generation

The ideal way is like this cuz, hit it long ways.

Hermis: second generation

I thought it was better to hit it this way, across ways.

Tipu: second generation

Nah bro, the ideal is like that (long ways), cause unless your prongs shape in the eel can slip through the gap and off, or rip itself off and get away. So in terms of the size of the eel if it's a big fat one then you can afford to

go across the back of the head but if it's a medium size its more ideal to hit it long ways so that you have got more of your prongs into the flesh of the eel. But you just have to make sure your aim is on target that's all. Well that's what the old man told me anyway, and what I do now.

Hermis: second generation

Oh true? I normally just go in across the back of the head.

Hūpai: with a number eight wire, it actually stuns them, it's pretty good when they sitting on top of the water, when you go out some nights they not on the bottom of the creek bed they are sitting on the top, and you whack them on the tip of the tail cause that's where all their nerves are. I have seen the bro (Spike's) old man, Plute with a number eight wire, yeah he was mean as, he just whacked it on the tail and it stunned the eel and he just brought it to the bag without even touching it with his hands, just using the *hūpai* itself.

Spike and Jacky-Dean: third generation

Hūpai: with a number eight wire, when you hit the eel it just stuns it. When you're feeling for eels as well, you whack it on top of the water when you whip it out of the hole in the creek, because that stuns it as well, that was an experience, it was more fun than anything else. Put my hands in the hole or your feet because there are just heaps of holes. Sometimes there's nothing in them then at other time you might find the tail but you got to try and find where its head is. You just put your finger in its ear and just hold it with one finger, I don't put my thumb in its mouth. I heard you can though but I don't. The old man reckons he does it like that but not me.

The methods of *tuna* fishing within the *whānau* context have changed in terms of what the first method learnt was during those interviewed earliest memories. For some the first method was *rapu tuna*, feeling for eels and for others the first method was *toitoi tuna*.

However, what is a constant in terms of the *tikanga* around *tuna* fishing is the *tikanga* to do with *toitoi tuna*. From the first to the fourth generation interviewed, each one has engaged with the *tikanga* of *toitoi tuna*. As each *whānau* member became more experienced with each art in the *tikanga* around the different methods of *tuna* fishing,

they were then introduced to other *tikanga* around other methods of *tuna* fishing. Each process and technique has its own preparation procedures, so when the technique that is going to be used for that particular *tuna* fishing expedition is decided, then the strategies that are already part and parcel of the *whānau* knowledge protocols are followed. Those of the *whānau* that are taking on board the knowledge are learning and being up skilled as they engage and are involved with the method of *tuna* fishing.

Removing the para/hāwareware (slime) from the eels or leaving the slime on:

Puawai: first generation

You can leave the slime on. You get a good set, it sets the eel straight. If you take all the slime off and you dry it up before you *pāwhara* them the flesh is still kind of loose, you know you can't get the bone straight. There's nothing wrong leaving the slime on; it doesn't worry me leaving the slime on.

Sand or pumice, just put some pumice or sand in the bag with them and if they alive they clean them bloody self-boy. The majority of the time I just light the copper, dip them and scrape them with a knife.

Hemi (Plute): second generation

Eels from different places are different, some eels have less *para* on them than others, so we just hung them up and bled them, and with other eels we actually had to dip them in hot water and scrape the *para* off. To get the *para* off well we'd use a knife, sack, sand, pumice, sawdust. I've even just wiped them on the grass after dipping them in hot water and then wash the grass off with water.

River-lee: third generation

Nah, I haven't cleaned an eel yet, mum and them won't let me. But I have watched them clean them.



*Figure 34. Personal image of tuna threaded through the gills with harakeke and hung after being dipped in a bucket of boiled hot water to remove the para/hāwareware (slime) by scraping with a knife
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 5 January 2010)*

Tūruki (Rusty): first generation

When eeling on a fine night, bobbing, dig yourself a little hole, when you bring them up just drop them into the hole, you have loose dry sand in the hole, the *para* catches on the sand and all you do when you pick it up is just wipe it off with your hand, let them clean themselves. On a wet night you have to improvise, you can use saw dust. Saw dust in the bag does just as good a job as sand, they mingle and work their way through, and clean themselves.

Washing powder, that's yuck, I like to eat the skin. It does a good job cleaning off the *para* and that, it is excellent for that, but when the powder gets to the skin the tanning hide, it affect the skin.

Salt crystals are an excellent way, but very expensive. If you are catching your eels for a *hui*, a *tangihanga*, leave the *para* on its back, just use cold water to clean all the *paru* off, and when it's in the sun they harden quickly. Just hang them with the *para*, lop the bottoms of the tails off to bleed them and leave them to hang, bleed and dry. Because when you get your *manuhiri*, you only going to give them the best of the best, and the best is fresh, and not many people will eat the skin so you will feed them the flesh of the eel, the best part.

Spike and Jacky-Dean: third and fourth generation

I normally just leave them in the bag until the morning the next day, and then clean them the next day. I just boil up the jug or a pot of hot water and tip it in the bucket, get a strip of flax put it through its ear and up out the mouth, tie it up for something to hold when you dip it in the hot water, you just hang them up and just use anything to take the slime off like sand or sawdust, rag or a sugar sack or a butcher knife.

The methods to clean the *hāwareware* or *para* off the eels are varied but still used widely today. In my *whānau* boiled hot water in the old hot copper or poured into a bucket is used. Flax is pushed through the gills out through the mouth and tied in a loop, and then the eel is dunked into the hot water two or three times, which causes the *para* to come to the surface of the skin and be removed. It is hung on the line or held and then de-slimed with a sack, bracken fern or a knife. Sand, sawdust or *pungarehu* (ashes) are also used. Once the eel is cleaned, the tip of the tail is cut off so as to bleed them when they are hung to dry. The purpose of this is so that you are left with a white flesh and not flesh that is blood stained. The cleaning process can be a very messy process but is not always necessary, as it is some time dependent on the occasion or whether there is enough time. But once clean and dried the eel is made ready to *pāwhara* (fillet). Once the skin was dry they were taken down and with a sharp bladed knife filleted (*tuna pāwhara*) like a fish with the backbone removed and the eel opened up flat, this usually happened to the larger *tuna*. Salt and/or pepper were rubbed into the flesh and hung back on the line or *whata* (elevated hanging post) to dry.

Another *tikanga* practiced by Ngāti Mākorō and other regional *hapū* in the Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa* area is that of *tuna pakarara*. This is where *hāngi* rocks or roofing iron which is used more these days are heated over a fire and then the whole eel is dragged across the hot rocks and embers a couple of times. In this process the eel de-slimed

and pre-cooked at the same time, however this *tikanga* was mainly only done with the *hao* which is a small eel.

Preparing the eels for cooking and eating:

Puawai: first generation

When you *pāwhara* an eel, you don't throw nothing away, you eat everything, well not the guts but everything else, the head and all. I hated that, I never ate the head. But there is a special way to *pāwhara* an eel, you got to *pāwhara* right through the head and jaw. I thought I better start doing the old way, I said to Rusty "I think it's time we start doing it the way the old people taught us", and he said "ea no bastard eat the head", and I said "that's not the point, if we going to teach our kids something then we better bloody do it the right way". But you go right through along the back bone, cut through the middle of the head and you open it up. The only thing you take out is the gills and the guts, you eat the rest boy. I remember your old man used to just chuck the bloody head away, we were all the same us older ones to, just chuck the bloody head away; get a bloody screw in the ears for doing it to.

Tūruki (Rusty): first generation

The art of doing a *pāwhara* eel is to have the least amount of cuts in the eel as possible. When you cut, it is done with just 2 cuts either side of the back bone, which means that there will be no crevasses in the flesh of the eel for any flies to lay any eggs in the flesh of the *pāwhara* eel. If you drag the bone from the eel you will leave little pockets in the flesh, so you have to cut it off to keep everything smooth.

If the eel is the size of your arm or bigger then *pāwhara* the whole thing and take out the bone, but if its smaller then 2 – 3 fingers round, then just maybe take out one half, just so you can open it and salt it, leave the bone in or cut it into steaks and fry them up.

Pakarara or *rara*, it is a term that is used by *whānau*, *whanaunga* here when catching the *hao* as they are on their run out to sea. It's not a preservation of the eel, it's a way of preparing eel for quick eating, you don't have to clean the eel, as it is a way in and of itself to clean and pre-cook the eel at the same time, they are passed over hot embers or hot stones or a wire netting or a corrugated sheet of roofing iron that has been put onto the fire. And in so doing that a couple of times, all the *para* comes off, searing the flesh pre-cooking it, you don't need to gut it, you leave the

puku (guts) in so that when you *rara* them the *puku* is cooked too or petrified, the eel is virtually petrified, after it has been done.

The big ones would be a waste to *rara* them, because you can have a *kai* with those ones ne! Anything bigger than your arm you may as well *pāwhara* and smoke it.

When smoking them the bigger the eel, my belief is the hotter the smoker, as with the bigger eel you have to cook it at the same time as you smoke, or of course you can cold smoke it, which is done over 2 – 3 days, I like to smoke mine with *kouka* tree bark or the sawdust, failing that *kānuka* or *mānuka* is the next best thing. But cold smoke is the best, because the cold smoke and the salt in the body enable the flesh to cure better. I like to smoke it as to hard as wood. So that no bird or fly can get into your *kai* that is hanging from the roof of your whare, no deepfreeze is required, no elements because of the salt and the smoke nothing else is needed but it is rather your skill in how you address it.



Figure 35. Personal image of the *tikanga tuna pawhara*
(Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)



Figure 36. Personal image of the *tikanga tuna pāwhara* removing of back bone (Photograph taken by Elena Tipuna, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)

Hemi (Plute): second generation

I *pāwhara* from the back not the front, I *pāwhara* the head as well, where others would chop the head off, 9 times out of 10 when I *pāwhara* with some of the other *whānau*, I'm the only one that still has the head on it. With the bigger ones, there is actually a lot of *kai* on the head, just split it. When you *pāwhara* from the back and pull the bone out you pull the guts out to, so you don't have to gut them either. You will also find that the fin bone ends up all on one side to. If you do it from the front it winds up in the middle of your fillet.

When I *pāwhara* them I don't leave them to dry out, I prefer to just smoke it straight away instead of hanging them to dry. I understand why they dried them first back in the day, it was because they kept better. But I have never known eels to be kept very long now, because they all get eaten and with the inventions of fridges and freezers you can store them quite safely. Back in the day when they smoked them they smoked them till they were dry and hard like cardboard, to store them for a bit longer. But to do that now, takes all the good stuff out of them, I put them straight in the hot smoker and then eat them straight away once they done.

I'll boil up the bones, or fry them, grill them on a hot plate, a lot of people like them roasted, but when I boil them I just chop it up boil it with an onion.

Kitea (Lucky): second generation

Our dad taught us everything we know about eeling. My father taught us the cleaning the drying and bleeding, the boning the gutting and *pāwhara*. He taught us the preparation of the eel, the cooking of the eel.



Figure 37. Personal image of *whānau* Ngāti Mākoro sharing in the knowledge with *tamariki, mokopuna* how to *pāwhara tuna*
(Photograph taken by Latoya Tipuna at Whetu Mārama Marae, Wairoa, 2 January 2007)



Figure 38. Personal image of *tuna* being hung to dry before being smoked
(Photograph taken by Latoya Tipuna at Whetu Mārama Marae, Wairoa, 2 January 2007)

Trixie: second generation

When I was little I remember watching Dad smoking them and when he used to hang them. I used to like watching him when he would *pāwhara* them and gut them. But when he smoked his eels he would always do it out in his little shed, he would smoke them in a 40 gallon drum and because he was patient he would just sit there all day smoking his eels. We used to run in and out of the house backwards and forward and cause we would have a loaf of bread, we used to pinch a piece of bread run out and put our hands over the top of the drum and *tautau* (dip) our bread into all the juices have a munch and then run outside again.

When you *pāwhara* them you de-bone it, you take the back bone out to smoke it. The smaller eels we just gut them, and then chop them through the backbone into steak, fry them up in the pan or roast them in the oven for mid-morning breakfast. The ones we *pāwhara* we smoke them. The gut goes in the scraps and the back bone gets boiled up with onions and we eat the meat off that.

Spike and Jacky-Dean: third and fourth generation

What I have learnt if Jackie-Dean wants to know then I take him. But yeah, that's why I wanted to take Jacky-Dean out to teach him some of the stuff that the old man taught me when I was a young fella.

Eels were boiled, fried, roasted or smoked. Māori methods of catching and preparing eels today are still very effective. Some of these methods are still practiced today and are part of the traditional dimensions of Māori people's lives. In terms of the *tikanga* around preparing the *tuna* for consumption, the notion of *whānau* continues to be a resounding emphasis within the boundaries of inter-generational knowledge transmission. Caught up in the notions of the *whānau* kinship models, that of sharing and involving the younger generation in the methods of *kai* preparation, are the concepts and values of *aroha*, *tiakitanga*, *manaakitanga*, *wairuatanga*, *whakapono*, and *rangatiratanga*. Values that are in terms of looking after *whānau*, looking after our *kaumātua* and *kuia*, our *mokopuna*, taking care of our *manuhiri*, offering the best that you are able to offer in terms of *kai* and the preparation of *kai*, these *tikanga* being

encouraged and nurtured as values that will serve us well. For in terms of *tikanga* Māori, *tikanga a Ngāti Mākoro*, the younger generation will tend to be a reflection of the way they have been shown, taught and involved in the knowledge.

The different names and characteristics of eels:

Tūruki (Rusty): first generation

The *matamoe*, the sleepy eel, because of its breeding days being numbered, it's neither a male or female, it just lives for its day to day existence. They just stay in the one area; they are a cannibal eel. There is another, a *matemate* and a *matemataamua*, they are vicious eels, and they are the ones that will eat everything, including other eels and trout. They are called the child takers. *Kumukumu tamariki*, they are very vicious. The *matamoe* do not travel out to sea, most *matamoe* are big eels, they are very big, can get to 35 – 40kg. *Matamoe* will stay in the same type of environment, but you will know a *matamoe*, you will be able to tell the difference between a *matamoe* and a *kumukumu*, one is slimmer fast and vicious, the other is big slow and catchable, but old conservation want us to preserve these big eels but they of no use to us except in the pan.

The *hao* is a very delicious eel but because it runs out to sea I would be very selective in which eels I would take. The *hao* always runs just before winter. The types of eels we can catch in our area here at Whetu Mārama is the *tuna heke*, *hao*, *matamoe*, *mangaru*, and the *pakarara*. One eel that was also prominent in our Whetu Mārama area is the *piharau*. I have not seen it anywhere else in the waters around here, I may have tasted it in the last 5 years prior to this *kōrero* and so I try not to go out to often to gather that *kai*.



Figure 39. Personal image of a tuna matamoe caught by my whanaunga Aldon Tipuna with his hands practicing the tikanga rapu tuna (eel feeling) (Photograph taken by Aldon Tipuna at the whare of Sonny and Maria, Wairoa, 2 January 2011)

Hemi (Plute): second generation

The really good ones, the really rich fatty big ones, that's the *matamoe*, and normally they go in pairs, they are real nice eels. You can get *tuna heke* and the *hao* from around here as well, they not a very big eel.

I believe all eels are cannibalistic, because I have actually caught eels in this river that have had other eels inside them and they were not *matamoe* eels. So that's sort of given me the belief that must be all eel will take the opportunity to eat other eels. That's why I am of that opinion anyway.

The different names that the *whānau* have for the different types of eels are far broader and reflect more of the behavioural and characteristic traits that the eel has. The classification names that the Department of Conservation or NIWA have for *tuna* such as the long fin and the short fin are somewhat limiting in terms of their cataloguing and the behavioural patterns of the *tuna*. The names of the different *tuna* that the *whānau* use to classify the different *tuna* in the waters surrounding Whetu Mārama are names that have been passed on from *tīpuna* along with the knowledge around

catching *tuna*. The names reflect the specific characteristic and appearance of *tuna*, representing a knowledge base that has been nurtured and developed by *tīpuna* and their relationship with the surrounding waters of Te Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Mātangirau. The *matamoe*, *hao*, *pakarara*, *piharau* and *mangaru* are names of the various *tuna* that have been recognised and identified by the *hapū* of the Wairoa region and *whānau* of Ngāti Mākorō as being eels that are caught in the waters surrounding our rivers, lakes and waterways.

Further comments added: Commercial Fisherman

Puawai: first generation

One night, we came back from football training and we all stopped in at the Tavern. Your old man would have still been around too. I was still shearing too so a good 40 + years ago. Anyway we walked into the Tavern to have a beer and this big truck with a big tanker stopped outside. They were up the Waiau River; well the bloody tank was full of eel's boy. Anyway they came into the pub and they were talking away and they started to boast about the eels they got from here, and one of the *whānau* that come in behind them say "Auē these bloody buggers come here to take all our bloody *kai* away" and the buggers said "well that's because you bloody Māori's are too bloody lazy, you rather sit in here, in the pub". Well that was it, as soon as they said that they shut the doors of the bloody pub, went down to old Governor's place, got a bolt cutter and cut the bolt on their truck. They had this big tap outlet thing on the back of their tanker and they opened it up and the bloody things just whooshed out of the back of this bloody thing and out on to the road. The eels were all over the road, down the drain making their way back down to the river. Some of the *whānau* were out there picking up their share at the end of the drains toward their homes as the eels making their way back to the river. But yeah boy bloody thousands of eels all over the place come out of this thing. All their nets got taken by the locals, about a hundred nets. These buggers came from Palmerston or someplace like that. If the buggers didn't say anything or if they didn't stop and just carried on, they would have probably just got away with it then and no one would have been any the wiser about it. I haven't seen them back around here again aye.

Tūruki (Rusty): first generation

I bumped into one of the local Cockies (local farmer) a while back and he says to me, “that net of yours is getting pretty full aye” and so I says to him “huh!?! What you mean?” and he says, “that holding net of yours, that some of your young fellas have put in the creek on my place” well I asked him “where, who and when did my name bloody get used?” so he told me and I went and sorted that out pretty quickly. But when I got to the place where the cocky had told me the holding net was sitting in the creek the bloody thing was full to the brim. Anyhow I pulled out my knife and cut the rope at the top of the holding net and when it snapped it made a *hua* of a cracking sound. The eels just gushed out of the net and down the creek.

According to the *kōrero* of these two *kaumātua* of Ngāti Mākoru, one of the many transgressions to have impacted on the *whānau* cultural practices of *toitoi tuna*, *hī tuna* is that of commercial fishing for eels. By far the most devastating in terms of the commercialisation of *tuna* fishing in Aotearoa, is when commercial fishermen from outside of the Wairoa region come to the rivers, lakes and waterways in and around the region of Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa* with all their commercial nets, filling their tanker trucks with live eels to ship off to overseas markets. With the advent of commercialisation, the pressure on eel stocks and the *whānau tuna* fishing practices have increased exponentially. Commercialisation has brought with it greed and the power of the economic dollar. The mighty economic dollar has the power to create a new avenue of competition, to distort the fishing boundaries that existed between the *hapū* of Ngāti Kahungunu *ki te Wairoa*, that live along the river banks of Te Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Mātangirau. To protect the *whānau* cultural practices, around the *tikanga* and *kawa* that is intrinsic, to the different *tuna* fishing methods, *whānau* need to be vigilant in keeping an ever watchful eye open to safeguard the food resources that live within their rivers lakes and waterways.

Summary

As has already been stated in this chapter, the thesis question regarding inter-generational knowledge transmission raised the point, of the important need to keep practicing the *whānau* Māori social cultural *tuna* fishing practises to ensure the sustainability of the knowledge. The question asked was in what way do they/we honour, celebrate and encourage this *taonga* to do with the art of *toitoi tuna*, *toi tuna*, *hī tuna* for their/our *mokopuna* to learn and experience?

Two objectives of the question still remained to be fulfilled:

Ensuring that the *taonga* regarding Ngāti Mākoru fishing practices of *toitoi tuna*, *hī tuna* continue to be honoured and nurtured for future generations And;

How can descendants of the *hapū* Ngāti Mākoru, engage with their cultural fishing practices while being away and isolated from the land of their *tīpuna*?

The *whānau* stories revealed aspects about the diversity and intricacy of the lived emotional experiences. These collaborative stories and experiences help and assist in the celebrating and self-realising in-powerment of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* internal knowledge. Each participant's emotional connection to the knowledge *taonga* is vital to the sustainability of the *whānau* inter-generational knowledge transmission process. As each participant continues a legacy left behind by our *tīpuna*, that of the lived lives with whom they have had positive emotional experiences, that are our *tīpuna* and *mokopuna*. The future generation of Ngāti Mākoru need only return to the *haukāinga* of the *whānau*, *hapū* to help teach their babies and *mokopuna* of these social cultural fishing practices. It is best to keep these principles happening all the time as within the space of three generations it is so easy for a knowledge resource to be lost to *whānau*. For *whānau* that have moved away from the *haukāinga*, the difficulty of wanting to

use indigenous fishing methods of their *hapū*, without knowing what to do or where to go, would be a very heavy burden to bear if the knowledge practices were lost and forgotten.

For the *whānau* participants, these in-depth interviews provided for themselves and their *mokopuna* an opportunity to be heard. The interviews enabled them to share some of their experiences, which will continue to be heard in the future by Ngāti Mākoru descendants. What has been emancipating and in-powering about the stories, as narratives shared by each participant, is that each *whānau* member has been given the freedom, to say and speak their mind, to tell their own stories in terms of the knowledge they have picked up regarding *tuna* fishing and not have the fear of feeling that they really don't have anything to contribute. The experiences of the case study *whānau* and the reflection and theorising of those experiences, has been encouraging to not only myself as the me-searcher but also to each *whānau* member that was able to articulate and give of themselves to the research.

These *kōrero pūrākau* shared by the *whānau* participants reflected the impact of colonisation as *whānau* Māori have adapted their methods of practice with the use of new materials and the influence of commercial fishing and the selling of fishing licences to commercial fisherman. The changes in terms of the social cultural structure of the *whānau* model, within the community. These changes being clearly seen almost immediately within the lived social cultural construct, of the first and second-generation participants and the interactive relationship that we have with the phenomenon of the Māori world view.

Chapter Six

Kōrero Whakamutunga

Conclusion

This thesis set out to make a contribution to the importance of Māori knowledge, Ngāti Māhoro knowledge and ways of thinking. Contributing to academic scholarship in the field of Māori development and Māori advancement. The significant contribution being made in the field of Māori development is found within the positive sphere of inter-generational knowledge transmission. It is the acknowledgement towards the importance of retaining the practical application of social-cultural knowledge such as the *tikanga* and *kawa* to do with *toitōi tuna*, *toi tuna*, *hī tuna*. It is transformative thinking about Māori social-cultural practices that supports the positive reinforcement of *whānau* Māori knowledge. The moving away from the deficit theory thinking model that traditional knowledge is no longer valid in contemporary society and the realisation that within the traditional thinking processes of the indigenous Māori mind is the template for success in the future.

As the me-searcher, the contextualisation of being part of the case study, presented hurdles of its own to overcome. These being the normal western academic research methodology pathways, chosen by non-indigenous researchers inside the tertiary sector. However, the re-telling of my own experience regarding the separation from the knowledge of my *whānau*, and the knowledge relationships missed out on, provided the best context to the me-search journey. Providing this contextualising point of view allowed me the flexibility and scope to move within the framework and parameters of this me-search, thus enabling me to bring the me-search journey and the recapturing of *whānau* knowledge back to the forefront of a narrative story line. As a consequence of this me-search journey, the expedition brought me back to the place

of being and feeling safe, in both the Māori world and that of the Western education system of the tertiary sector.

Kaupapa Māori

The *kaupapa* Māori research methodology created an opening for the virtues of *kaupapa o Ngāti Māhoro* research methodologies. These fitted perfectly within the paradigms and notions of inter-generational knowledge transmission. Thus, providing a synopsis of several different research methodologies used by Māori academics that are relevant to this research topic; research that sits under the umbrella of a *kaupapa* Māori paradigm (Cunningham, 1998; Bevan-Brown, 1998; Atkinson, 1994; Smith, 1999). The sense of in-powerment derived from the knowledge that is part of our *whakapapa* and relationship with the land. The summoning of power from within, the power of knowledge, practiced, established and improved within *whakapapa*, which brings about the emotion of self-realisation and authority. This in-powerment being realised through *kaupapa* Māori, *kaupapa o Ngāti Māhoro* research methodologies.

Analysis of literature

The examination of literature brought the adaptation of Māori knowledge to new technologies further into focus. The literature provided the necessary element regarding the impact of colonisation on the knowledge systems of *tangata whenua*. As indicated by the writings of Māori and non-Māori academics, the impact on the social cultural structure of Māori society is wide ranging and deep (Metge, 1967; Walker, 1990; Bishop, 1994, 1997; Mutu, 1998; Ward, 1999; Mead, 2003; Spoonley, Macpherson & Pearson, Eds. 2004; Ka'ai, Moorfield, Reilly & Mosley, 2004; Royal, 2009; M. Durie, 1998, 2011). None is felt more so than that felt of the loss for many Māori that do not speak their language. This loss created a ripple effect on the social cultural practices and structures within *te ao* Māori. This loss is also reflected by the

loss of vast tracts of land through government policy and confiscation (Metge, 1967; Walker, 1990; Bishop, 1994, 1997; Belich, 2001). An example of this being revealed in the interviews; “when the farms began to be developed, most of the native soil was taken away as well and thus along with the native soil, the glow worms that our *whānau* use to make the bobs for eeling disappeared as well”. Thus, we can be thankful that the pockets of *noke papā* can still be located, that *whānau* within the *hapū* Ngāti Mākorō, still have the knowledge as to where to find them. The importance of this knowledge is vital to *whānau*, because they have always used this *taonga* to practice the *tikanga* of *toitoi tuna*.

Some of the *whānau* participants in the study also claimed to be able to smell the *noke papā* when looking for them. Thus the aroma is such that when they are digging or looking for the *noke papā*, they are very aware that if they cannot smell the aroma then there is more than likely less chance of finding the *noke papā* in that place. Their sense of smell has become so acute to the aroma they need to smell when preparing to go out bobbing for eels.

Inter-generational knowledge transmission model findings

The findings concerning the concept of a model to assist with the social hypothesis of inter-generational knowledge transmission, applied a philosophical approach of well used Māori metaphorical symbols to build a model that reflected and validated Ngāti Mākorō knowledge and ways of thinking and doing things. Through the conceptualisation of the Korowai Kaiwhatu Inter-generational knowledge transmission model the notions and philosophies of thinking that are espoused through Māori attributes of *whakapapa*, *pepeha*, *pūrākau kōrero*, *whaikōrero* and *waiata*, values and ideas that are intrinsic to the structure of the model as they provide the relationships, the reasoning and the history. The development of a theoretical Māori

framework, based on the background *pūrākau kōrero* and history of the *whakatauākī* attributed to Tama-te-rangi, was essential to the model's construct. The metaphoric use of this *pūrākau kōrero* and that of the *korowai* and *kaiwhatu* tied the past with the present. The connection between these two metaphoric analogies is synonymous in the way in which they are used to display the intricate weaving and interlacing of leadership, love, humility, trust, power and repositories of knowledge.

As the me-searcher, the examining of the epistemological social cultural foundations within the *whānau* support models developed by Pere (1997), Durie, in Te Whaiti et al (1997), Reedy (1991) and Rangihau (1992), allowed me to unveil the underlying ideologies of each model's framework, while revealing their common characteristics'. Thus providing a comprehensive understanding of the socio-cultural impact and influence that colonisation has played on the Māori support structures of the *whānau*. The dislodging of *iwi* Māori traditions that date back thousands of years before the arrival of the Christian Missionary Society also marked the impetus for western conceptions of civilisation. Therefore as a result of this impact, at least for *iwi* Māori, bringing about the start of the socio-cultural structural change within Māori society (Belich, 1996; Walker, 1996).

Social cultural impact findings

The impact of Pākehā educational ideologies and that of the institutionalisation of religion, have carved out huge gouges in terms of the thinking processes and knowledge retention methods used by post-colonial Māori. The contrasting learning methods practiced by contemporary Māori of today, now focuses on the categorisation methods that the education system uses, from day one when children go to school at the age of five. However, Māori can count themselves as being very fortunate for the pockets of resistance that exist in every *iwi* and *hapū*. Though there is overwhelming

pressure from the contemporary society of today in the commercial and economic sectors, for Māori to assimilate and patent all their cultural practices as well, within the methodical advancement of technology and that of the internet. The need for the emotional hands on engagement strategies between *whānau* and *hapū* members, is still very important to the notions, principles and philosophies of cultural knowledge, and will serve to continue to strengthen the people's connection to that knowledge.

However, that is not to say as indicated in the literature review, that there is not a need for this to happen, as *whānau* Māori migrate away from their *whenua* or Aotearoa to other parts of the world. For many Māori who have moved away, the internet is the only way for them to remain connected to the knowledge of their *whānau*. Therefore for them, that perhaps provides them with the chance to continue practicing some of the *tikanga* and *kawa* within their new social cultural environments. However, it is the idea behind this thesis and to the: why the model was written and created, that *whānau* be encouraged to continue strengthening their relationship with each other and the land. Motivating and inspiring *whānau* that have migrated, to not lose touch with their *whānau* and *hapū* cultural practices, but make the conscious effort to keep practicing where able, and/or to return home on a regular basis so that they themselves and their young ones, may experience the feelings and smells that are synonymous with their indigenous *whānau* knowledge and to remind us that this knowledge is valid and able to stand up to the scrutiny of outsiders.

Within the transcribed interviews of recorded *whānau* conversations, the evidence of the social cultural impact on the humble and important cultural practices that surround the *tikanga* and *kawa* of *toitoi tuna*, *hī tuna* is clearly evident. The evidence is unmistakably obvious to any reader that has an understanding of the social cultural ramifications felt by indigenous cultures due to colonisation. The impact can be seen

in the recorded narrative stories shared across the generations interviewed, from the *marae* community upbringing and relationships that existed in the time of our *kaumātua* to that of *whānau* today. The change in the language from *te reo* Māori to English, with the change in the language communicative medium, came the loss in terms of the conversation perspective and metaphoric use of *whakataukī*. The dependence on contemporary Pākehā made materials instead of the tools that were crafted from the resources provided and grown on the land. The understanding of which flax plant is the most useful for which purpose and how to prepare it to achieve the outcome desired. The use of and dependence on *whakamoemiti* and *karakia*, the belief systems used regarding which *atua* to pray to or if they even should do a prayer. The use of and difference in understanding between *whakamoemiti* and *karakia* and the acknowledgement of why they prefer and choose to use one over the other. Regarding the processes, all these changes point towards a contemporary world view of wanting to save economic time to getting things done as quickly as possible. The evidence speaks for itself in terms of the influence that overwhelmingly leans in the direction of being in the grasp of and dependence on contemporary ways of thinking and doing things.

Not all is lost

Fortunately, the evidence provided within the recorded narrative stories also verifies, that not all is lost in terms of the methods and procedures used when fishing for eels. The techniques followed and areas used to collect and gather other provisions, that have not yet had a patented trademark in terms of a commercially branded in store product, are still located and appropriated from the same places frequented by our *tīpuna*. Much of the same methods are followed by all the *whānau* of Ngāti Mākoru who shared their narrative stories, regarding the techniques they have been taught to

use and shared across the generations. Each of the different methods of fishing for eels described, used and practiced by the *whānau* of Ngāti Mākoru have different levels of knowledge and thus we as the *whānau* participants, become more adept at each art form used when practiced. Once the art form has been proficiently understood by practice then moving to the next method. The adaptation of Ngati Makoro intrinsic knowledge of eeling practices to fit the new technology such as wire, bail twine, sawdust and various other materials being the only major difference when considering the art practiced when fishing for *tuna*.

The question that had been hypothesised, surrounding the need to develop a model of inter-generational knowledge transmission, has been answered regarding the necessary importance that it is to the safe guarding of cultural practices for *hapū* and *iwi*. Ensuring that the future of the knowledge within the *hapū* is looked after for the coming generations had been identified. The model developed to assist with this process is perhaps the first step in this journey of the me-search.

Which brings about more questions as to where to from here for Ngāti Mākoru? What is the best way forward regarding research concerning Ngāti Mākoru? How the research would best serve them as a people? What would they like to do in terms of further cultural development? Would they like to be more involved within the research processes themselves? What would they like the framework and the questions of the research to focus on? The questions and directions from here seem limitless. However, as a potential researcher, these questions provide an exciting stimulus to a possible PhD thesis to follow.

APPENDIX A: Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet



Date Information Sheet Produced:

1 March 2013

Project Title

Te whakakāinga haere i te mana o ngā taonga tuku iho o Ngāti Mākorō: To honour Ngāti Mākorō social cultural knowledge practices and thus encouraging future generations to participate.

An Invitation

Hello, my name is Wiremu Tipuna, I am a Master's degree student enrolled at Auckland University of Technology (AUT). I extend an invitation to you to take part in this research project. Your participation is purely voluntary and would be greatly appreciated. Should you wish to not take part or withdraw at any time, this will not reflect badly upon you in any way.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this research is to explore and examine the model of inter-generational knowledge transference within the hapū of Ngāti Mākorō. This research topic seeks to discover how the hapū of Ngāti Mākorō ensures that the knowledge of their tīpuna concerning the catching and preparation of tuna (eels), the care of their fish resources within their lakes rivers and waterways continues to be passed on to their whakapapa. Your participation will make an important contribution to the sustainability and development of Ngāti Mākorō ki te Kapua. The outcome of this research will provide valuable insights to assist and support the future development and direction of the hapū. There are added benefits for other hapū within Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Mātangirau rohe as well as the wider Māori and non-Māori community. This research project will enable me to complete my Master's degree in Māori Development. It is possible that part or all of this research could be published.

How was I chosen for this invitation?

You have been chosen as a noted whānau member of Ngāti Mākorō whose repository knowledge in the practices of catching and preparing tuna (eels) continues to be evident in your life as part of the dissemination and reciprocity of Ngāti Mākorō knowledge, tikanga, te reo and Māori world view.

What will happen in this research?

For the purposes of gathering information for this project there is the option of participating in a focus group interview and/or an individual interview. Both will be conducted face-to-face and take approximately two hours. If you choose to participate in the focus group interview you can indicate your preference on the consent form. The focus group interview will be facilitated by me, the researcher. All interviews will be transcribed by me, the researcher. There will be two interviews, with both individuals and the focus group. The second interview will enable you to check and confirm that the information is correct and perhaps to contribute new information.

What are the discomforts and risks?

All interviews and gathering of information will be conducted according to tikanga Māori. The only possible discomfort foreseen may arise with the focus group interview where you will be answering in front of a group of people. You do not have to respond to any of the questions asked. If for any unforeseen reason you are feeling unsafe or uncomfortable during the interview or the research you have the option of withdrawing at any time and this will not impact on you in any way, shape or form.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

As already mentioned above, you have the option of not responding to any of the questions asked. You also have the option of withdrawing from the interview at any time and there will definitely be no repercussions or ill feelings towards you or any others.

To also alleviate any discomforts and risks the researcher will endeavour to ensure the health and safety of those being interviewed paramount.

Tikanga Māori in this particular case encompasses themes of tika (the appropriate and correct procedures for any given situation), pono (truth, honesty and integrity) and aroha (having regard for others and their wellbeing) and will be respected accordingly.

What are the benefits?

Your participation will be beneficial to the future development of the hapū Ngāti Mākoru ki Te Kapua, and could also have benefits for other hapū as well as the non-Māori community. It will also assist me to complete my Master's degree and that support is also much appreciated.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your individual responses will be confidential to the researcher, and focus group members will also maintain the confidentiality of the discussions. You will also have the choice of being named in the final report. To protect your privacy, electronic data will be stored separate from hard copies of data in locked cupboards in WB205, Te Ara Poutama building, Wellesley Street, AUT University. On completion of this research, the transcribed documentation will be destroyed after six years and the audio recorded data being stored indefinitely within the researchers possession for safe keeping as a taonga (treasured heirloom) for mokopuna of Ngāti Mākoru.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The only cost to you is your time. Interviews will be conducted face-to-face and take approximately 40-50 minutes.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Prior information concerning this research will be made available to all hapū members at Whetu Mārama Marae hui (meetings) and Wānanga at which I will be present to answer any questions. After the meeting I will provide interested persons with this information sheet and a consent form; those not present but who wish to participate will be approached by me at a later date. Once you have read this information sheet and I have answered any queries you may have, you may then sign the consent form. If you need more time to consider the project, you will have a further two weeks, following which I will again contact you regarding your interest to participate.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

In order to participate in this research project you need to complete and sign the consent form.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

As stated in the consent form, you have the option of receiving a copy of a report of the findings of this research.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Dean Mahuta, dmahuta@aut.ac.nz Phone: 09 921 9999 Extension 6427

Concerns regarding my conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEK, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz Phone: 09 921 9999 Extension 8044.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?**Researcher Contact Details:**

Wiremu Tipuna
WB205,
Te Ara Poutama,
AUT,
Wellesley Street,
Auckland

wiremu.tipuna@aut.ac.nz

Phone: 09 921 9614

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Dean Mahuta
WB405,
Te Ara Poutama,
AUT,
Wellesley Street,
Auckland

dmahuta@aut.ac.nz

Phone: 09 921 9999 Extension 6421

APPENDIX B: Consent Forms

Consent Form



Project title: Te whakakāinga haere i te mana o ngā taonga tuku iho o Ngāti Mākoro:
To honour Ngāti Mākoro social cultural knowledge practices and thus encouraging future generations to participate.

Project Supervisor: Dr Dean Mahuta

Researcher: Wiremu Tipuna

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project. That has been explained to my satisfaction by the researcher in the Information Sheet dated 1 March 2013.
 - I understand that I have the right to participate in either an individual or focus group interview. **I agree** to participate in (please tick relevant choice)
 - individual interview**
 - focus group interview**
 - I understand that the interviews will be recorded and then transcribed. **I agree** to the interview being audio taped and subsequently transcribed for the purpose of this project.
 - I agree to provide any information to the researcher on the understanding that my consent must be given for the use of my name or any other name given, and that any information will only be used for the purpose of this research project and any other subsequent publications that arise from this project.
 - I am fully aware that I have the right to ask for the tape to be turned off at any time throughout the interview. I also agree that all information remains confidential.
 - I understand and agree that electronic data will be stored separate from hard copies of data in locked cupboards in WB205, Te Ara Poutama building, Wellesley Street, AUT University.
 - I understand that I may withdraw from participating in this project at any time without explanation, and that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed should I so wish to happen. I also understand that I have the right to (please circle relevant choice)
 - request a copy of the audio tape and the written transcription for my own purposes **Yes/No**
 - request a copy of the tape and transcripts of the results of this research **Yes/No**
 - request a copy of the final report **Yes/No**
 - I have all my questions answered **Yes/No**
 - I agree to be identified in the research results **Yes/No**
- I have read all the above information and agree to take part in this research project under the conditions set out in this consent form.

Participant's/Parent or Gardian's signature:

Participant's name:

Participant's contact details :

Date:.....

Consent Form For Focus Group Interview



Project title: Te whakakāinga haere i te mana o ngā taonga tuku iho o Ngāti Māhoro:
To honour Ngāti Māhoro social cultural knowledge practices and thus encouraging future generations to participate.

Project Supervisor: Dr Dean Mahuta

Researcher: Wiremu Tipuna

- I have read and understood the information provided about the research project and this focus group interview. That has been explained to my satisfaction by the researcher in the Information Sheet dated 1 March 2013.
 - I understand that the interviews will be recorded and then transcribed. **I agree** to the focus group interview being audio taped and subsequently transcribed for the purpose of this project.
 - I agree to provide any information to the researcher on the understanding that any information given will be grouped with answers from other people so that I cannot be identified. Any information gathered will only be used for the purpose of this research project and any other subsequent publications that arise from this project.
 - I understand that all members of the focus group interview will be asked to keep the information provided in the group confidential
 - I am fully aware that I have the right to ask for the tape to be turned off at any time during my discussion.
 - I understand that I may leave the group at any time, and understand that my leaving will in no way affect the rest of the discussion. I also agree that I have the right to (please circle relevant choice)
 - request a copy of the written transcription for my own purposes. **Yes/No**
 - request a copy of the tape and transcripts of the results of this research. **Yes/No**
 - request a copy of the final report. **Yes/No**
 - I have all my questions answered **Yes/No**
 - I agree to be identified in the research results **Yes/No**
- I have read all the above information and agree to take part in this research project under the conditions set out in this consent form.

Participant's/Parent or Gardian's signature:

Participant's name:

Participant's contact details :

Date:.....

APPENDIX C: Child Participant Information Sheet

Child Participant Information Sheet



Date Information Sheet Produced:

1 June 2013

Project Title

Te whakakāinga haere i te mana o ngā taonga tuku iho o Ngāti Mākoru: To honour Ngāti Mākoru social cultural knowledge practices and thus encouraging future generations to participate.

An Invitation

Kia ora I am Wiremu Tipuna, I am a student studying at Auckland University of Technology (AUT). I am doing some learning and writing about when our whānau go eeling together. It is about how they learnt what they know, how to do what they do and where to go when they go eeling. I would like to ask you if you would like to help me in this learning and writing project that I am doing about what you have learnt about eel fishing. Would you like to talk about what you liked and what you didn't like about going out eeling with Koro, Nan, Mum, Dad, Uncle, Aunty, your cousins or your brothers and sisters? You don't have to talk if you don't want to it is all up to you. If you want to stop at any time or don't want to talk anymore that is fine. You will not be growled at by anyone if you change your mind or want to stop. If you don't want me to use or write anything that you have said in my learning and writing then you can just let me know and I won't use any of the words you have said.

What is the purpose of this research?

I am learning and writing these things down as part of my study at university. I am wanting to write about how all this knowledge that our whānau have is passed on in our whānau, which includes you.

How was I chosen for this invitation?

You were chosen because I have been told that you have been out eeling with your mum, dad and or other whānau. They have said that you have been out eeling with them.

What will happen in this research?

I will record our talk and then I will write out everything that you/we have spoken about to do with the things you did when you went eeling. Then you can read what you have

said by yourself or with mum or dad, anything you don't want to be said or want to be rubbed out will be taken out of the writing.

What are the discomforts and risks?

All our korero should be in a safe whānau environment with mum or dad there to support you so there should be no reason to feel scared or afraid. If at any time you are feeling unhappy or uncomfortable during the korero, you can choose to stop. Your choice to stop will not affect the way anyone thinks or talks about you in any way at all.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

As said above, if at any time you are feeling unhappy or uncomfortable during the korero you can choose to stop talking, this will not affect the way anyone thinks or talks about you at all.

I will take all the responsibility to make sure that where we talk is the most comfortable place for you to be in, so that you are able to talk freely. Also if you want to have mum or dad with you that is absolutely fine.

What are the benefits?

You will be helping to develop a written document/book about how the knowledge of our hapū Ngāti Mākoru ki Te Kapua, teach and share the knowledge around eeling with the next generation, which is you.

How will my privacy be protected?

Whatever you say will be private to me only, and the people that you want there during the time you are talking. You will also have the choice of being named in the final report.

To protect your privacy, the voice recording of our korero will be stored separate from hard copies of data in locked cupboards in WB205, Te Ara Poutama building, Wellesley Street, AUT University. When this study is finished, the written/transcribed papers of our conversation will be destroyed after six years and the audio recorded data being stored and kept permanently within my possession for safe keeping as a taonga (treasured heirloom) for mokopuna of Ngāti Mākoru.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The only cost to you is your time. Interviews will be conducted face-to-face and take approximately 40-50 minutes.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Before we start I will speak to all those that might be interested in talking and helping me to do my study and letting them know what I am doing this writing for. Once you have read this information sheet possibly with mum or dad, and I have answered any questions you may have, you may then sign the consent form. If you need more time to think about this project, I will give you a further two weeks to think about it, after which I will again ask you to see if you are interested in having a talk.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you would like to take part you will need to fill out and sign the consent form, you are more than welcome to have mum or dad help you do this.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

As stated in the consent form, you have the option of receiving a copy of a report of the findings of this research.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Dean Mahuta, Phone: 09 921 9999 Extension 6427, dmahuta@aut.ac.nz

Concerns regarding my conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEK, Madeline Banda, Phone: 09 921 9999 Extension 8044, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?**Researcher Contact Details:**

Wiremu Tipuna, Phone: 09 921 9614, wiremu.tipuna@aut.ac.nz

WB205,
Te Ara Poutama, AUT,
Wellesley Street,
Auckland

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Dean Mahuta, Phone: 09 921 9999 Extension 6421, dmahuta@aut.ac.nz

WB405,
Te Ara Poutama, AUT,
Wellesley Street,
Auckland

APPENDIX D: Child Consent Form

Child Consent Form



Project title: Te whakakāinga haere i te mana o ngā taonga tuku iho o Ngāti Māhoro:
To honour Ngāti Māhoro social cultural knowledge practices and thus encouraging future generations to participate.

Project Supervisor: Dr Dean Mahuta

Thank you for completing this form – If you are happy to continue can you please ask your parents or caregiver to sign below:

..... (Signature)

..... (Date)

However, only if they (your parents/guardian) feel that you understand what the project is about and that they are happy to support you.

Researcher: Wiremu Tipuna

If there may be any concerns regarding the nature of this project, they must be first notified in the first instance to the project supervisor, enter your name, email address, and a contact phone number.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEK, Dr Rosemary Godbold, rosemary.godbold@aut.ac.nz, 09 921 999 ext 6902.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date final ethics approval was granted, AUTEK Reference number:

please circle one of the faces below if you are happy and understand the information provided about this research project. ☺ ☹

please circle one of the faces below if you understand that you have the right to participate in either an individual or interview with a group. ☺ ☹

I agree to participate in (please circle one of the faces below to indicate your choice choice)

Individual interview: ☺ ☹

Interview with a group: ☺ ☹

- **please circle** one of the faces below if you understand that the interviews will be recorded and then typed out on paper: 😊 ☹️
- **I agree** to the interview being audio taped and subsequently typed out on paper for the purpose of this project: 😊 ☹️
- **please circle** one of the faces below if you agree to provide any information to the researcher on the understanding that your consent must be given for the use of your name or any other name given, and that any information will only be used for the purpose of this research project and any other subsequent publications that arise from this project: 😊 ☹️
- **please circle** one of the faces below to indicate you are fully aware that you have the right to ask for the tape to be turned off at any time throughout the interview and that you are also aware that all information remains private: 😊 ☹️
- **please circle** one of the faces below to indicate that you understand and agree that electronic data will be stored separate from hard copies of data in locked cupboards in WB205, Te Ara Poutama building, Wellesley Street, AUT University: 😊 ☹️
 - **please circle** one of the faces below to indicate that you understand that you may withdraw from participating in this project at any time without explanation, and that all relevant information including tapes and typed out interviews, or parts of, will be destroyed should you so wish to happen: 😊 ☹️
 - **please circle** one of the faces below if you would or would not like a copy of the audio tape and the written transcription for yourself: 😊 ☹️
 - **please circle** one of the faces below if you would or would not like a copy of the tape and transcripts of the results of this research: 😊 ☹️
 - **please circle** one of the faces below if you have or have not had all your questions answered: 😊 ☹️
 - **please circle** one of the faces below to indicate that you have read all the above information and agree to take part in this research project under the conditions set out in this consent form: 😊 ☹️

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date on which the final approval was granted AUTEK Reference number type the AUTEK reference number

Note: The Participant will retain a copy of this form.

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