

3 feet under: Is the traditional hāngī in danger of a cultural disappearance?

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Abstract

The sharing of familiar foods is but one of the ways a cultural group identifies itself. But what happens if a cultural group begins to lose touch with its food traditions? How does the growing disappearance of these culinary cultural markers affect a cultural group's sense of identity and its spiritual and ancestral connections? In today's **Māori** society, the **hāngī** is one of the last remaining traditional food preparation techniques still in use, but its use in its traditional form is growing more infrequent. Prior to European arrival in New Zealand, the **hāngī** (earth oven or **umu**) was used daily as the primary technique for the cooking of **kai** (Belich, 2007; Leach, 2010). The gradual introduction of European cooking techniques and oven apparatus has relegated the use of the traditional **hāngī** technique to **hui** or times of celebration and loss - particularly on the **marae** (Leach, 2010; Salmond, 1975).

Yet even that role is quickly disappearing. Today's **marae** kitchens are now equipped like a commercial restaurant or hotel kitchen, while there is now an increasing array of gas fired portable "**hāngī**" or MultiKai cookers (Coster, 2016; "MultiKai Hāngī Cookers," n.d.; "Te Kohatu Hāngi Cookers," n.d.). In this research project, I set out to explore the cultural significance of the **hāngī** as a cooking technique within **Māori** society through the voices of those familiar with **Te Ao Māori**. Food itself continues to play an important part of **Māori** social gatherings through the concept of **manaakitanga**, but, in the instance of a **hui** for example, does it matter in any way if the food is not cooked in the traditional **hāngī**? Does the non-use of the **hāngī** as the cooking technique reflect in any way on the prestige of the event and/or on the **mana** of either guest or host?

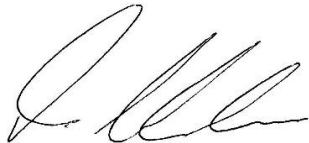
Through key informant interviews, this research project found two clear, very differing outlooks in how the **hāngī** is viewed and valued that depended on a person's personal background. For those that grew up within a strong **Māori** culture, it is not the **hāngī** itself that they miss but the times when the events were bigger and more regular. It is these nostalgic recollections around which their affinity with the **hāngī** is based. For those whose interactions with it began later in life, the **hāngī** has not only provided a window into **Māori** culture, but provides both a professional and financial opportunity.

But as seen in this study, of arguably greater importance is the role the **hāngī** plays as a cultural gathering and learning space within **Māori** culture. It is around the **hāngī** that many aspects of **tikanga**, social and environmental protocols, and **manaaki** are learnt. In doing so, the **hāngī** provides an anchoring point around which this process of cultural reaffirmation can take place. It is this aspect of the **hāngī** – the social and cultural educational opportunities that it provides – that this study highlights to be its most valuable today, and is the aspect that **Māori** are most likely to lose if the **hāngī** continues to shift to a more commercial practice.

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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 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.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'R Richardson', written in a cursive style.

Signed: R Richardson

Date: November 10, 2017

Te reo Māori

“Ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro tāua, pērā i te ngaro o te Moa”

“If the language be lost, man will be lost, as dead as the moa”

Waitangi Tribunal (1986)

In undertaking research within a **Kaupapa Māori** framework (see chapter four) the researcher acknowledges the importance **te reo Māori** plays within that framework. Traditionally, the transfer of knowledge within **Māori** culture was oral based – stories, traditions, and knowledge were passed on verbally between generations (Haami, 2004; McRae, 2017; Moon, 2005). It was not until after European arrival that **Māori** knowledge was recorded in written form – almost exclusively in English for European consumption (Belich, 2007; Consedine & Consedine, 2012; King, 2003). Over time fluency in **te reo Māori** declined as the colonisation of **Aotearoa** by Europeans increased and repression of the language grew (Tribunal, 1986; Walker, 1990).

Yet, just as food conveys cultural meaning, language is an intrinsic part of a person’s culture (Jiang, 2000; Kramsch, 1998). In discussing **Kaupapa Māori** theory, Graham Hingangaroa Smith explains the importance of **te reo Māori**’s role in a **Kaupapa Māori** framework when he argues;

*A **Kaupapa Māori** base (**Māori** philosophy and principles) i.e. local theoretical positioning related to being **Māori**, such a position presupposes that: The validity and legitimacy of **Māori** language and culture is taken for granted; the survival and revival of **Māori** language and culture is imperative; the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing, and over our own lives is vital to **Māori** survival.*

(Graham Hingangaroa Smith, as cited in Pihama, 2001, p. 123)

While currently attempting to learn **te reo Māori**, sadly I am a long way off being fluent. Yet, through this research project I can attempt to acknowledge and respect **te reo**. In utilising a **Kaupapa Māori** framework, this research project plays a role, albeit a very small one, in the revival of **te reo Māori**. To acknowledge **te reo Māori** I have chosen to highlight words of **Māori** origin in bold text. In doing so I am consciously recognising **te reo Māori** as a unique and beautiful language in its own right – not as an appendage of the English language. It also makes the point that in many cases a direct translation is not appropriate or inefficacious. I have however included a glossary giving definitions sourced from the **Te Aka Māori**-English, English-**Māori** Dictionary and Index by Professor John C Moorfield.

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This research project applied for and was granted ethics approval from Auckland University of Technology's Ethics Committee (AUTEK) on the 9th of June 2017.

(Application number – 17/185 3 feet under: Is the traditional hāngī in danger of a cultural disappearance?)

1.0 Introduction

Sharing of a familiar food is but one of the ways that a cultural group identifies itself. Food is central to a cultural groups sense of identity - how it determines hierarchy, how it organises itself, and who it lets join. Culturally, who we choose to eat with differentiates the included from the excluded, or in other words, it can provide a way of defining the “us” versus “them” (Fischler, 1988; Kerner, Chou, & Warmind, 2015). What we eat, and how we eat it, represents our culture, our background and influences (Kittler, Sucher, & Nelms, 2011; Van Den Berghe, 1984). Food can and does play the role of cultural touchstone or marker – it is more than merely nourishment for the body.

Yet, in today’s world of global free trade, of instant and constant communication, of increased mechanisation and highly advanced food engineering, the food that we eat is becoming increasingly homogenous - what one culture eats is in some cases little different from another. With this increased blurring of food identities comes the risk that a culture or peoples can lose connection with its traditional foods and its historical food growing and preparation techniques. In doing so, I argue that a social group risks losing a greater part of its culture than may at first seem obvious. On a day to day basis, food remains one of the few cultural constants – we need to eat every day, and so every day we eat the food of our own culture. Those able to, may experiment occasionally with food of another culture, such as dining out in a restaurant, but we continue to come back to the food of our own culture – the food we grew up with, the food our friends and families eat, the food with which we are most familiar and thus most comfortable with. In doing so we reaffirm our membership of our cultural and social groups repeatedly and on an almost daily basis.

But, if the food that a cultural group eats regularly no longer has any traditional or spiritual connection to them, then they risk losing that regular reinforcement of, and reaffirmation to, a tangible aspect of its cultural heritage - they lose a definitive marker of cultural identity. The result being that an individual’s reaffirmation of their own culture comes on an intermittent basis as opposed to a regular one. This in turn places greater pressure on other potential sources of daily cultural identity, such as language or clothing, to provide that continuity and connection.

Traditionally, **kai** plays a prominent role in **Māori** culture. **Māori** food traditions can be said to extend back nearly 3000 years into the Pacific from whence the early Polynesian settlers of New Zealand, the early ancestors of the **Māori**, arrived (Belich, 2007; Leach, 2010). Oral traditions state that food descended from the **atua**, and that it was through the actions of the **atua Tūmataunga** and his desire to seek **utu** on his brothers for their cowardice, that **kai** was made **noa** and thus able to be consumed by humans.¹ This mythological connection has led to the harvesting, preparation and cooking of **kai** being surrounded by a series of spiritual, cosmological and environmental beliefs and rituals (Moon, 2005; The **Māori** Language Commission, 2010; Williams, 2013). The concept of **manaakitanga**, too, plays a pivotal role in **Māori** social interaction in which an obligation is placed on the host to provide food, sustenance, and hospitality to a guest. In return, the host gains **mana** from the exchange (Martin, 2010; Mead, 2003; Neill, 2016). Yet, traditional **Māori** foods and food techniques have gradually disappeared as **Māori** have adapted European foods and food techniques, or assimilated into, initially, **Pākehā** society and now today's multicultural New Zealand society (Burton, 2009; Fuller, 1978; Leach, 2010; Statistics New Zealand, 2013a)².

One of the last traditional food preparation techniques still in regular use in **Māori** society is the **hāngī**, or earth oven.³ Prior to European arrival in New Zealand, the **hāngī** or **umu** was used daily as the primary technique for the cooking of **kai** (Belich, 2007; Leach, 2010). The gradual introduction of European cooking techniques and oven apparatus has relegated the use of the **hāngī** to **hui** or times of celebration and loss - particularly on the **marae** (Leach, 2010; Salmond, 1975). Yet even that role is quickly disappearing. Many of today's **marae** kitchens are now equipped like a commercial restaurant or hotel kitchen, while there is now an increasing array of gas fired portable "**hāngī**" or MultiKai cookers (Coster, 2016; "MultiKai Hāngī Cookers," n.d.; "Te Kohatu Hangi Cookers," n.d.). This has allowed **marae** to cater quickly and efficiently for their **manuhiri** without the need for the traditional earth oven **hāngī**.

This research project sought to better understand the cultural significance of the traditional **hāngī** in regards to **manaakitanga** and cultural reciprocity. It sought, too, to understand the role of the **hāngī** within the greater context of **Māori** cuisine, culture and society. It set out to explore the cultural significance of the **hāngī** as a cooking technique within **Māori** society. I

¹ The story of **Rangī-nui** and **Papa-tū-ā-nuku** (the Creation Story) – see chapter two.

² Auckland is, as of 2016, the world's 4th most culturally diverse city in the world (International Organization for Migration, 2015)

³ For ease of understanding and unless stated otherwise, the term **hāngī** refers to the traditional in-ground, soil covered earth oven. The term **umu** refers to a shallower, non-earth covered, earth oven.

asked whether this change in cooking technique – from **hāngī** to modern cookery appliances – has changed how **Māori** society views **tikanga** surrounding food and **manaakitanga**. Simply put, if a guest is fed food cooked in a commercial oven rather than the traditional **hāngī**, does that impact on the level of **mana** or respect shown to that guest, or consequently, the level of **mana** reflected on the host? And if the **hāngī** continues to be used less, what, if any, impact will this have within **Māori** culture and society?

Chapter two begins by exploring the importance and role that food has within **Māori** culture and society. It looks at how mythology and cosmology has shaped and influenced **Māori kai** culture through **whakapapa** and seasonal routine. It also considers the social and cultural structures of **manaakitanga** and **tapu** and how they are influenced by food.

Chapter three reviews the literature on **hāngī**, its history and evolution, and attempts to explore some of the **tikanga** that surrounds it. It looks, too, at the role **hāngī** plays within **Māori** society, both, in the past and today.

Chapter four, the design of the study, sets out the research questions and methods utilised within this research project. It explains the researcher's motivations for undertaking the research into this topic, and provides an explanation of the framework within which this research worked. Chapter four introduces the participants of this study and outlines how and why they were selected.

Chapter five analyses and discusses the four key themes that emerged out of the interviews. It is in this chapter that we hear the participants explain their personal understanding of **hāngī**, discuss its role within their own lives, and explore its impact on **Māori** culture through the view point of their own experiences.

In chapter six the researcher provides a conclusion to the study and discusses its findings. The researcher explores the key themes that have emerged and looks at the possible implications that those themes may herald for, both, the **hāngī** technique itself, and for its future role within **Māori** culture and society.

2.0 The importance of kai within Māori culture and society

Food plays a fundamental role in the holistic world view of **Māori** society – its cultivation, gathering and preparation dictated the rhythm of daily **Māori** life in pre-European times.

Māori social interaction with one another was, and still is, influenced by the sharing and gifting of food items, while the relationship between food and the gods continues to influence **Māori** spirituality and beliefs.

2.1 Māori Mythology

Rangi-nui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku – the Creation Story

*In the beginning, there was only **Te Kore**, the great void and emptiness of space. It was within **Te Kore** that the self-generation of **Rangi-nui** and **Papa-tū-ā-nuku** took place. **Te Po**, the dark, came next, created by the loving embrace of **Rangi-nui** and **Papa-tū-ā-nuku** which let in no light. It was into this world, **Te Po**, that the sons of **Rangi-nui** and **Papa-tū-ā-nuku** were born. The sons – **Tāne-mahuta**, **Tangaroa**, **Tāwhiri-mātea**, **Tūmatauenga**, **Haumia-tiketike**, and **Rongo-mā-Tāne** – living in a world of darkness, plotted against their parents in the hope of letting light into the world. They concluded that their plight of living in a world of darkness and ignorance could be alleviated only by separating their parents. In doing so, **Rangi-nui** would become the sky father above them and **Papa-tū-ā-nuku** would remain with them as their earth mother.*

*The task of separating earth and sky was accomplished by **Tāne-mahuta**, who prised them apart with his shoulders on the ground and his legs thrusting upwards. Thereafter one of his names became **Tāne-te-toko-o-te-rangi**, **Tāne** the prop of the heavens. The separation of earth and sky brought into being **Te Ao Mārama**, the world of light. Yet, **Tāwhiri-mātea** alone had opposed the separation of their parents, and witnessing their sorrow he grew angry and set out to wage war on his brothers. First, he devastated the forests of **Tāne** with winds of hurricane force. Having vanquished **Tāne**, he lashed up mountainous seas over the domain of **Tangaroa**, driving his children and grandchildren to seek shelter from his wrath. In doing so he caused their separation with **Ika-tere** fleeing to the depths of the ocean to become the progenitor of fishes, and **Tū-te-wehiwehi** going inland to establish the reptilian family.*

*Fearing the anger of **Tawhiri-mātea**, **Haumia-tiketike** and **Rongo-mā-Tāne** fled into the safety of their earth mother, **Papa-tū-ā-nuku**. There, **Haumia-tiketike** became the **atua** of the edible fern root and other wild and uncultivated plants. **Rongo-mā-Tāne** became the custodian of the **kūmara** and **atua** of cultivation. Unable to get at **Haumia-tiketike** and **Rongo-mā-Tāne**, **Tāwhiri-mātea** turned his wrath on **Tūmatauenga**. But so evenly matched were they that at last **Tāwhiri-mātea** withdrew up into the sky with his father **Rangi-nui**, from where he continues to send down his storms to annoy his brothers. **Tūmatauenga**, angry that he alone had stood up to **Tawhiri-mātea**, sought **utu** from his brothers. To assert his **mana**, first he attacked the children of **Tāne**. From trees and vines, he fashioned spears and snares to trap and kill **Tāne's** birds. He then*

*made nets and canoes to catch the children of **Tangaroa**. He ate the fernroot of **Haumia-tiketike**, and dug up the **kūmara** of **Rongo-mā-Tāne**. By his actions in using the children of his brothers as food and common objects, **Tūmatauenga** negated their **tapu** thereby making them **noa**. In doing so **Tūmatauenga** became the **atua** of war, and of hunting, fishing and cooking. It is through his actions that humans can harness the resources of the natural world.*

Adapted from the work of Ranginui Walker (1990)⁴

Māori mythology is based upon the personification of natural phenomena. In this way of understanding, food has a relationship with or can **whakapapa** back to an **atua**. These beliefs mean that the acts of cultivating, harvesting and serving food are highly spiritualised. Rituals seeking permission, giving thanks, or making offerings to the gods are common in both traditional and contemporary **Māori** culture (Barber, 2004; Walker, 1990).

2.2 Manaakitanga

The concept, or **tikanga**, of **manaakitanga** forms the cornerstone of **Māori** social interaction. **Manaakitanga** can be described simply as the practice of reciprocal hospitality. Within **Māori** society a host is honour bound to ensure both the physical and spiritual wellbeing of their **manuhiri** (Mead, 2003). A positive interaction would result in a rise in **mana**⁵ for both parties, while guest discomfort or dissatisfaction would lead to embarrassment, shame and loss of **mana** for the host. In traditional tribal form, the process of **manaakitanga** would begin before the **manuhiri** were due to arrive. Local food specialities would have been put aside specifically for guests – both to ensure that there would be enough, and that the food was of sufficient prestige (Leach, 2003; Salmond, 1975; Walker, 1990). A tribe such as **Tūhoe**, with its forested lands, would preserve **kereru** in its own fat (**huahua**), while **Ngāti Kahungunu** would serve **paua** from its coastline (Best, 1942/1977; Mitchell, 1944/2014). These foods would have been presented to the **manuhiri** during the **hākari** that completed the **pōwhiri** ritual. In the past, the hosts would present the food and then withdraw to allow the guests to imbibe the food and nourish themselves (Taylor, 1855/2010). Today, both parties are expected to eat together and

⁴ The creation story of **Rangi-nui** and **Papatūānuku** differs slightly in its telling by each tribe, yet the core understanding remains more or less the same.

⁵ **Mana** is the fundamental principal around which **Māori** society is built. Almost every activity has a link with the maintenance and enhancement of **mana**. The more prestigious the event, person or object, the more it is surrounded by **tapu** and **mana**. **Mana** is the enduring, indestructible power of the **atua**. Since authority is a spiritual gift delegated by the **atua**, man remains the agent, never the source of **mana**. **Mana** gives a person the authority to lead, organise and regulate communal expeditions and activities, to make decisions regarding social and political matters. A person or tribe's **mana** can increase from successful ventures or decrease through the lack of success.

the interaction in general is a little more relaxed, but the principals of honouring guests and ensuring their wellbeing remain the same.

2.3 Food, tapu and noa

Food plays a role in creating balance between **tapu** and **noa**. **Tapu** is an all-pervasive belief in **Māori** culture and traces back to The Creation Story, but it has many facets. In one sense, it could relate to the sanctity of an individual – a person's head is **tapu**, or sacred, and it is offensive to touch someone there or to step over someone's head. By connection, objects that touch a head are also seen as sacred. Another facet could relate to a location being **tapu**. This could be for many reasons – health and hygiene, protection of tribal resources, or spiritual reasons. Some situations were seen as having high levels of **tapu** – interacting with **rangatira** or **tohunga**, illness, or ceremonies such as **tangihanga** or the **pōwhiri** for example. The **mauri** of a person, both in life and death, were also **tapu** (Best, 1924/1952; Taylor, 1855/2010).

Noa is often wrongly seen as being the opposite of **tapu**, but is really about restoring balance (Mead, 2003; Walker, 1990). The state of **noa** means that balance has been achieved or restored. This could be done in many ways – recovery from an illness, physical removal of a person or item from a situation, or the washing of hands when leaving a cemetery for example. This process of achieving balance is called **whakanoa** (Mead, 2003). Food, having had the **tapu** on it removed by the actions of **Tūmatauenga**, plays a role in helping to achieve this balance. The sharing of food is the final act in many **Māori** social and cultural rituals. The **pōwhiri** is very **tapu**, during it the atmosphere can be very tense and formal, but as the ceremony progresses it moves toward a state of balance in which the relationship of those involved is normalised – the **tapu** placed on the **manuhiri** has been lowered and people can begin to interact informally (Mead, 2003). The **pōwhiri** can thus be seen as a series of steps, each one lowering the level of **tapu**. The last step, the sharing of food, is the one that finally achieves balance, or the state of **noa**. Without it the ceremony is incomplete (Mead, 2003). Due to its ability to lower **tapu**, there were certain situations in which food was carefully managed. Food can never be eaten or brought onto the **marae ātea** or into the **whare nui** itself – both areas are very **tapu** and food would lower that. The same would apply in the past with **tohunga** or **rangatira** – so **tapu** were they that they would not touch food for fear of lowering their own **tapu**. Instead, their food would be cooked separately and they would be hand fed by others (Best, 1924/1952, 1924/2005; Taylor, 1855/2010).

2.4 Cosmology

Hauhake tū, ka tō Matariki.

Lifting of the crops begins when Pleiades sets.

Ka rere a Matariki, ka wera te hinu.

When the Pleiades rise, the fat is heated.

The New Zealand landscape does not naturally abound with easily digestible foods (Belich, 2007). The natural food resources available took time and effort to gather and prepare, and so food cultivation and harvesting dominated pre-European **Māori** life (Burton, 2009; Fitzpatrick, 2007; Leach, 2010). In this, **Māori** traditionally relied on celestial indications. Certain moons would indicate when it was time to hunt, fish, lay down seed, or lift crops. For example, **Whiro**, the first day of the lunar month⁶, was believed to be a poor day to plant or fish, but a good night to catch eel. **Māwharu**, the twelfth day, was a very good day for planting, fishing and catching crayfish. **Rākaunui**, the sixteenth day and the full moon, was another good day for planting and fishing, but not eeling. **Mutuwhenua**, the last day of the lunar calendar and the day of the new moon, was seen as no good for anything (Moon, 2005; The Māori Language Commission, 2010).

The appearance of certain stars was another way for **Māori** to judge the timing of certain seasonal horticultural and food gathering tasks. The most well-known of these is **Matariki** or Pleiades. When the **Matariki** constellation disappeared from the sky around April, this was seen as a sign that the growing season would soon end, and so crops such as **kūmara** were lifted and stored. It was also a sign that the **kererū** and **kiore** would be well fed and fat from the summer berries, and that now was the time to catch and preserve them. When **Matariki** reappeared in the sky around the beginning of June it was time to celebrate and to **hākari** - all the major food related tasks had been completed and the food stores would be full.⁷ It was also a sign to begin preparations for next seasons harvest – if **Matariki** shone brightly it was a sign that the next harvest would be a good one, a dull **Matariki** forecast the coming of a poor crop (Collier, 2009; The Māori Language Commission, 2010). Other stars brought different

⁶ **Maramataka** is the **Māori** lunar calendar. Traditionally **Māori** relied on the phases of the moon to judge time and season. Most tribes had twelve periods, though some used thirteen to adjust for the solar year. The calendar started in the period of **Pipiri** which straddled May and June (Best, 1925/2005; Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d.).

⁷ This period of relaxation and feasting was referred to as **Ruhanui** (East coast dialect – particularly **Ngāti Porou**) (Best, 1925/2005; Moorfield, n.d.). This period was also when tribes would send out **tauā**, as the men were free from the tasks of cultivating and gathering food. This changed dramatically following the introduction of the potato. Because of the potatoes ease in cultivating and harvesting, in comparison to the heavy work of the **kūmara**, woman could tend the gardens and this freed the men up to spend more time away from home waging war (Belich, 2007; Fitzpatrick, 2004).

news. The arrival in the sky of **Puanga** (Rigel) and the flowering of the **kōwhai** heralded the warming up of the earth, that it was time to ready the garden beds, and that the shellfish were good. **Tautoru** (Orion's Belt) and **Whakuahu** (Castor) signalled that it was time to plant the **kūmara**, and in later times potatoes and corn. **Autahi** (Canopus) would indicate that the time was right to head to the distant off-shore fishing grounds. For the east coast tribes, **Whānui** (Vega) would appear in January and signal that it was time to dig up the first crop of potatoes and **kūmara**. Its various locations in the skies over the following few months would signal the start of other different food cultivation activities (Best, 1910, 1925/2005; Collier, 2009). Today, the celebration of **Matariki** is being revived through the efforts of both local and central governments and **Iwi** (Hardy, 2011, 2012).

3.0 Literature review

3.1 Earth ovens

As discussed in chapter two, it is well known that food itself plays a prominent role in **Māori** culture through its spiritual, cosmological and ancestral connections. Yet there has been little research done on the cultural significance of traditional **Māori** foods techniques – many of which have gradually disappeared in terms of use. Many of these traditional techniques evolved from techniques practice by the pre-**Māori** Polynesians who migrated from the eastern Polynesian Islands to **Aotearoa** some 1000 or so years ago.⁸ Earth ovens were common in many cultures; the **hāngī** itself is an adaption of the Polynesian **umu**.^{9 10} The earliest evidence of earth oven use in New Zealand has been found on the **Wairau** Bar on the Marlborough coastline. This site is acknowledged as one of the earliest sites of Polynesian settlement, and the earth ovens excavated here are similar in style to the **umu** of Polynesia; shallow oven scoops in the ground, where the food is covered with hot stones and possibly leaves or matting, but not soil (Prof. R. Walter, personal communication, May 8, 2017). Larger, deeper ovens have also been found on the site. These are similar in size and depth to modern **hāngī** used for large events, and were used to cook large quantities of food during the food gathering season– in particular, the **moa** and the fur seal – allowing it to be quickly prepared and preserved for the winter (Leach, 2010; Oskam et al., 2011). The use of large scale **umu** would have been familiar to these early settlers. Polynesians had long practiced the **umu tī**.¹¹ These huge earth ovens were used to cook the roots of the **tī** plant – a variety of cabbage tree that when cooked would provide a starchy sweet food product (Carson, 2002)

⁸ The exact date is unknown, and never likely to be. Currently there is acceptance that the first Polynesians arrived in **Aotearoa** anywhere between AD 250 and AD 1300 (Belich, 2007; King, 2003).

⁹ While a common form of cooking within Polynesia, the earth oven was also used in the Americas (Carson, 2002; Huebert, Allen, & Wallace, 2010; Kirch & McCoy, 2007; Salazar, Zizumbo-Villarreal, Brush, & Colunga-GarcíaMarín, 2012). Aboriginal Australians used a similar technique to the **umu/hāngī**, but in some cases substituted clay balls for the stones (Gott, 1999; Taylor, 1855/2010, p. 390).

¹⁰ Interestingly, H.D. Skinner refers to **hāngī** pits he saw in the South Island as **umu** in his report from 1912: “On an open flat, below a patch of bracken, there are several **umu’s** (or Native oven)”. Unfortunately he does not give detail as to the size and shape of the **umu’s** so we cannot tell whether he refers to the above ground **umu** or in-ground **hāngī** (Roberts & Skinner, 1912). Leach (2010) uses the term **umu** for a soil covered earth oven. Best (1924/2005, 1925/2005) seems to alternate between **hāngī** and **umu** in his books.

¹¹ These huge ovens were designed to cook food, in some cases, for up to 48 hours. They could reach temperatures of 700-800 C when burning, and cooking temperatures of 400-500 C. Levelling out the tremendously hot rocks around the huge pit took skill and bravery (Carson, 2002).

One of the earliest written descriptions of an **umu** or **hāngī** in New Zealand comes from Tobias Furneaux. Furneaux, who accompanied Cook on his second voyage to New Zealand in 1772-74,¹² recorded this description of a **Māori** earth oven in his journal:

The manner they dress their food is, they first dig a hole in the ground in which they make a fire and heat a number of stones, which then done are taken out together with the fire that the pit or oven is quite clear, on which they lay their fish or any other food wrapped up in green leaves, and put on the hot stones, and then they rake the coals over them and make more fire if necessary; this method does them quite clean and very good; they never take the guts out, as they prefer them to the Fish, they likewise spit them and place them round the Fire to roast, but this is done only when they are in a hurry (Orchiston, 1975).

This description sounds closer to an **umu** with its coals raked back across the surface, and the lack of a soil covering. Richard Taylor (1855/2010), a CMS¹³ missionary who was present at the signing of the Treaty of **Waitangi**,¹⁴ describes the **hāngī** as “a hole two foot in diameter and from six to twelve inches deep”:

*A fire is made in this hole, the wood being piled up nearly a foot above its level, and upon it is laid a layer of stones as large or larger than a man’s fist. When the fire has completely heated the stones, the cook, generally a female, (sometimes two or more) quickly and dexterously removes the hot stones, either with the fingers or two short sticks, and clears out all the embers. Then returning some of the stones to the oven, she covers them up with a layer of green leaves (**wata wata**) and sprinkles some water over them. Having thus lined the oven, the **kūmara** and potatoes which have been well scraped and washed, are then put into it and piled up. If meat is to be cooked, it is generally bound round with green leaves, to keep in the gravy: this is always done with large eels, when they are intended for any guests of distinction.¹⁵ To these a few leaves of wild cabbage, and a bundle of sow-thistle are added as a relish. The whole being likewise covered with green leaves, as well as the sides of the oven, water plentifully sprinkled over, and upon them is placed a layer of flax mats, **tāpora**, or old **kete**, (baskets) which have been previously soaked, and are carefully tucked in at the sides. The cook next, with her fingers or a stick, covers the whole with earth, so closely that the steam thus generated cannot escape. An hour or less is sufficient to cook a very large quantity of food (Taylor, 1855/2010, pp. 389 - 390).*

Elsdon Best (1924/1952, 1924/2005) also describes a **hāngī** as being covered with earth. We can hazard a guess that sometime within the fifty years between Furneaux’s visit and Best’s publication, the Polynesian style of earth oven – sans soil covering – began to disappear and the **hāngī** as we know it now – with soil covering – became the standard technique. Taylors’

¹² Furneaux was captain of *HMS Adventure*, the second of Cook’s two boats that he brought on that expedition. Cook captained the *HMS Resolution*.

¹³ The Church Missionary Society (CMS) were one of the earliest missionary groups in New Zealand, establishing its first mission in 1814 in the Bay of Islands.

¹⁴ It was Taylor, who on the evening of the 5th of February 1840, copied the original rough draft of the Treaty onto fresh parchment for the signings. Taylor admitted keeping the “original draft” for his pains. This “original draft”, the holy grail of Treaty memorabilia, has never been found (Orange, 1987).

¹⁵ Taylor states that the fattiest eels were the most prized, and that deaths from over indulging on it were not unknown (Taylor, 1855/2010, p. 383).

suggestion of an hour or less cooking time is rather short, but his mention that it was woman who generally put down and cooked the **hāngī** is interesting. Today, putting down the **hāngī** is viewed as a job for the men folk, though there is no record of when that switch in roles took place (Salmond, 1975).

Dame Ann Salmond in her seminal book on **Māori** ceremonial gathering, *Hui* (1975), describes the process of putting down a **hāngī** similar to Taylor, though the pit that is dug to house the **hāngī** is now deeper. One adaption that Salmond mentions and that has become permanent, is the use of wire cooking baskets for holding the food. Initially formed with wire netting, today purpose built square or rectangle steel baskets are used in many **hāngī** for convenience. Her description also makes mention of the propensity of **hāngī** stones to explode and, in light of that, railway iron, chain harrows or fire bricks are sometimes used. David Fullers book, **Māori** food and cookery (1978), describes the **hāngī** technique briefly but with little variation. He does specify using corn cob leaves as the protective layer between the stones and the food, but they play the same role as the green leaves in the other versions. He too suggests that short lengths of railway iron can be used in place of the stones.¹⁶ Stan Tawa, a culinary lecturer at **ARA** Institute in Christchurch, describes his version of an “authentic” **hāngī** technique in his 2013 conference paper:

*Traditional **hāngī** kai (food) is prepared in readiness for cooking in an earth pit oven in three sections: (1) meats (pork, beef, and lamb); (2) the **kūmara**, potato, vegetables; and, (3) puddings. **Mānuka** (a native wood) is the preferred wood of choice as it is a hard wood that burns hot and very clean, meaning that as the wood burns down there is only a fine ash left which adds to the unique smoky, earthy flavor and makes it easier to clean out the hole quickly and efficiently. Stones are heated to the white-hot stage because of the heat emitted from the burning **mānuka**. The setting up of the layers of wood is also paramount for the required heat. The first two layers are dry **mānuka**, the next layer wet or green, to slow the burning process, followed by two layers of a mix of green and dry **mānuka** to keep a consistent heat. The building of layers also dictates how evenly the stones are heated and how they fall into the hole. The fire is normally burned for two to 2 – 2.5 hours to ensure maximum heat retention is afforded to the stones. Any **mānuka** still burning is removed; the stones are shifted to the side of the **hāngī** stones, excess ash removed and then the stones are placed in the centre and across the face of the pit, distributed so that the heat is even throughout the pit. The stones are then splashed with water to remove any residue ash and to create steam. Meat is placed in first, the vegetables are placed on the top of the meat and the food is then covered with flax matting or leaves (or both), then buried under dirt. The food is left to cook for a period of 3.5 - 4 hours' dependent upon the heat retention of the soil. The food is then uncovered, removed from the pit and served (Tawa, 2013).*

¹⁶ The New Zealand Food Safety Authority published a guide in 2004 on food safety practices regarding the **hāngī**. Their description of the modern **hāngī** technique also recognises the use of iron bars in place of the stones. They recommend the use of tinfoil in covering the food, and cloth sheets and tarpaulin to cover the food tray and prevent contact with the soil (New Zealand Food Safety Authority, 2004).

In exploring the evolution of the earth oven in **Aotearoa** – from Polynesian **umu** to the **Māori hāngī** – we see the technique being adapted to suit the needs of its users. While the early settlers on the **Wairau** Bar still used the shallow **umu** for their daily cookery, they also built bigger and deeper ovens to create and retain the higher heat required to cook the large protein items available in their new environment – an environment that was colder than their homeland. Familiar with the **hāngī tī** of their Polynesian homelands, they would have known of the insulating and heat retaining properties of the earth (Leach, 1981, 2010). These ovens were the forbearers of today's **hāngī**. Once the **moa** were gone, these ovens would have been used in preparing the starchy food products that made up the daily diet of the pre – European **Māori** (Belich, 2007; Leach, 2010). The **umu** style of above ground, non-earth covered technique continued to play a role in the cooking of food, but seems to have disappeared after the arrival of Europeans (Leach, 2010). At this point we are left to hazard a guess as to why. Perhaps the reintroduction of the larger protein items brought here by the Europeans and quickly adopted by **Māori** required the longer cooking time provided by the in ground, earth covered **hāngī**. Whichever way it came about, **hāngī** is now seen as a **Māori** cookery technique and the **umu** as Polynesian.

3.2 Cultural significance

Looking closer at the cultural significance of the use of the **hāngī** technique, there seems to be little written. Most authors mention very little (or nothing) on the **hāngī** as **tikanga**; the focus is on the role of the food in the concept of **manaakitanga**, and/or the quality and quantity of the food. There is no mention of the impact in substituting cookery techniques on **manaakitanga**, reciprocity, or on the **mana** of host and guest. There is some aspect of cultural impact surrounding the fear of an undercooked **hāngī**. Fuller (1978, p. 16) states that:

An undercooked hāngī was considered a disgrace and a sure sign of impending disaster

But he gives no other detail.

Ngāti Haka of **Tūhoe**, who use the terms **hāngī** and **hapī** for their earth ovens, tell the tale or **pūrākau** of a woman called **Tauheke** who one day put down a **hāngī** for a group of expected guests. But when she unravelled the **hāngī** she discovered that her food was still raw. Such was her shame that she threw herself off the side of the mountain and committed **whakamomori** (R. Pouwhare, personal communication, October 7, 2017). This tale shows the sensitivity and importance held by the people of **Tūhoe** regarding the principals of **manaakitanga**, and of

being able to provide for your guests. For **Tūhoe**, tribal **mana** was intertwined closely with their ability to please guests, something conveyed in this old **Tūhoe whakataukī**:

Tūhoe mōumou kai

Tūhoe mōumou taonga

Tūhoe mōumou tangata ki te Pō

Tūhoe the wasters of food

Tūhoe wasters of treasures

Tūhoe wasters of the lives of men.

What this meant was that **Tūhoe** were generous. They would put on a lavish display of food for guests, bring out all their delicacies, and were known for their hospitality. They would be generous with tribal treasures, known for giving them away to **manuhiri**. And finally, that **Tūhoe** were fearless in battle and would not hesitate to send men into the fray (R. Pouwhare, personal communication, October 7, 2017). For **Tūhoe**, a successful **hāngī** ensured the upheld **mana** of the tribe:

*“Every time they would pull up the **hāngī**, the old people, particularly an Auntie of mine called **Takurangi**, she would look very closely and study the **hāngī**, and look and see if it was cooked properly. Because sometimes the **hāngī** at **Waiōhau** would not cook properly because it rains, it rains heavily, and in the winter it’s hard to light fires in the frost and the snow. So, it was difficult at the best of times” (R. Pouwhare, personal communication, October 7, 2017).*

Again, we see in the literature and in **pūrākau** little hints regarding further **tikanga** associated with the **hāngī**. Serving undercooked food to your guests in any culture is cause for embarrassment, but this risk is heightened with use of the **hāngī** technique. The **hāngī**, covered as it is in layers of leaves, sheets or hessian, and then topped with soil, does not allow the cook to check on the cooking progress, and so an educated guess must be made regarding when to remove the food. This places greater emphasis on experience on a part of the cook, and implies enhanced **mana** because of it.

Best (1924/2005) also describes the putting down of several **hāngī** at a time to prepare food for the differing peoples during ritual feasts. The **umu whāngai** was for the **ariki**, or principal chief. This oven would have been small and just large enough to cook the food needed for that person. It was believed that people of very high rank were **tapu**, and because of this could not

touch food – food being **noa** (Taylor, 1855/2010; Walker, 1990). There was also concern over the possibility that the high-ranking person's food could be cursed, so their food was cooked separate and any food left over would be destroyed so that there was no chance of others touching it (Taylor, 1855/2010). Another ritual oven was the **umu pōtaka**, which was used to feed the warriors prior to battle. The **umu ruahine** was used to feed the elderly woman of high rank or importance. According to Best, there were also **hāngī** or **umu** put down as part of a magical rite, probably by a **Tohunga mākutu**.¹⁷ **Umu tāmoē** would be used as part of a rite in order to deprive enemies of power and to avenge a defeat. **Umu hiki** would be used to try and force a whanau or tribe to vacate their land – it was said to make them nervous, apprehensive, and lack self-confidence and courage. Best calls it semi-ceremonial food but does not explain in what way, if any, the **hāngī** used in these rites differed from a standard food preparation **hāngī**. Best also makes mention of the spiritual importance of the wood used:

*Certain observances pertained to this semi-ceremonial cooking. One restriction mentioned by Mr. White is to the effect that wood of the honeysuckle (**rewarewa**) tree might not be used in heating the oven. This wood, when decayed, is phosphorescent; it gives a light like unto that of the glow-worm, which is the offspring of **Tangaroa-piri-whare**, the mischief maker, a malignant being. Hence, if the wood were used, the next crop of **tī** would assuredly fail (Best, 1931, p. 15).*

Today, **mānuka** is the usual choice of wood for the **hāngī** as it burns hot and long. While interesting, traditions such as that mentioned by Best possibly applied to one specific group of people in a specific time period. There is no mention of any **tikanga** regarding the wood used for **hāngī** in any other literature.¹⁸ It is more likely that wood used in early **hāngī** was sourced from whatever was locally available (Jacomb, 2005)(Prof. R. Walter, personal communication, May 8, 2017).

Tawa (2013) touches on the topic of **tikanga** and authenticity in his paper, but the paper is a brief one and he does not go into any great depth of analysis. He does however raise the topic of authenticity and puts forward his personal take on it:

*In speaking with whānau (family) and friends, they identified the following components as central to **hāngī**: coming together for a special occasion; **whanaungatanga** (family gatherings); preparing **kai** together; learning from your elders; the gathering of the right resources to make the **hāngī** successful; and, knowledge of the area and the **whenua** (land) itself. Each **hāngī** and **hākari** (celebration) becomes to a degree a representation of the people who created the **hāngī** through the use of local food*

¹⁷ **Tohunga mākutu** were greatly feared as it was believed they had the power to perform a type of black magic that could make people sick or kill them. Despite fear of them, they were seen as necessary to controlling human behaviour (Mead, 2003; Walker, 1990).

¹⁸ The Mr White that he mentions was another early New Zealand ethnographer, John White (1826-1891) who's encounters with **Māori** were based in the middle to upper North Island.

product within the boundaries of certain Iwi (tribal affiliation) Foods such as tītī (mutton bird), kina (sea urchin), koura (crayfish), tī kouka (cabbage tree), kunekune (native-pig), kāngakōpiro (fermented corn), and kanakana (lamprey) are food produce associated with specific Iwi and areas (Tawa, 2013).

Within this statement we begin to see aspects of potential **tikanga**. In describing the social context needed to create what he views as an authentic **hāngī**, he is also reflecting the importance of the **hāngī** technique to that same social context or gathering – the use of the **hāngī** in helping to create that specialness of occasion; its role in social interaction (the communal preparation of **kai**); and its role as an educational tool or site. He also touches upon the need for the correct resources in its use – something we see in the previous quote from Elsdon Best. While we lack the literature to make a solid statement, we can already begin to see that the importance of the **hāngī**, or the status of a **hāngī** that has been put down, is a reflection on how it was put down, by whom and with what resources. All these are factors that I would argue as **tikanga** – **tikanga** being inherited cultural knowledge put into practice. Tawa's paper on authenticity brings into focus the principals of **tika** and **pono**. **Tika** means 'right' or 'correct', while the concept of **pono** represents something 'true' or 'genuine' (Mead, 2003). Tawa questions whether a **hāngī** that has been adapted – either by the use of artificial **hāngī** cooking appliances, or the removal of some traditional food items of acquired taste – can be called a **hāngī**. What Tawa does not ask is whether a **hāngī** that has not followed **tikanga**, and is thus not **pono**, has any bearing on the social status of the event at which it has been used – something this research project seeks to find out.

Foods themselves played important roles in **tikanga**, or were surrounded in **tikanga** for their planting, harvesting or gathering (Stevens, 2006). Valuable or rare food items were reserved for important **manuhiri** – items such as **kina**, **huahua**, lamprey or fermented items, took time to prepare and were thus seen as prestigious (Leach, 2003). Tawa also argues that an authentic **hāngī** is one that reflects the local food specialities of the region. This is interesting as it raises the suggestion that the importance of a **hāngī** is raised or lowered by what is cooked in it, and by extension, who it is for. A **hāngī** for a special guest would include large quantities of valuable food resources or delicacies, as better to honour their **mana**. In doing so, it also increases the hosting tribe's respective **mana** (Walker, 1990). But do those traditional food specialities hold their cultural or social value if they are cooked in a commercial oven? Again, the literature here is non-existent.

Exploring the sociality of the **hāngī**, Salmond describes the commensal nature of **marae** cooking and eating vividly, and conveys well the importance placed within **Māori** culture in providing good food for its **manuhiri**:

*When guests leave the **marae** and return home, one of the first questions they will be asked is “how was the food?”, and according to their answer the prestige of the **marae** rises and falls. Some **marae** acquire a wide reputation for the food provided at their **hui**, and any gathering staged there attracts large crowds, further increasing the local **mana**...The men stay around the cook shed until the early hours of the morning, joking, tending the fires, reading Best Bets and swapping yarns, while children play nearby, attracted by the warmth of the fires...Although the atmosphere is busy, the women are constantly singing, chatting and laughing as they bustle about...the hosts are most happy when a guest leans back, lets out his belt a notch and says “**Ko te taua tā te kai**” (“the battle has gone to the food”) (Salmond, 1975, pp. 105-107).*

Al Brown, a well-known restaurateur and celebrity chef, also describes well the social nature of **hāngī** cookery in his book, *Stoked* (2011):

*The woman stuck to the nearby kitchen. As they peeled, chopped and diced, there was constant chatter going on, punctuated by bouts of hilarity. The food was prepared for the **hāngī** in a happy kitchen with no shortage of love and laughter...The wait is exactly what I love about this sort of cooking. It’s slow and deliberate, which adds so much to the occasion. It’s time for friends and whanau to catch up, converse, tell stories and laugh out loud. With at least three hours to come of standing around a pile of dirt, the crates of chilled bottles are passed around, quenching dried throats as the anticipation slowly begins to build (Brown, 2011, pp. 225-226).*

Those who are part of the host tribe will be allocated roles defined through gender and age. It is the role of the men to “put down” and observe the **hāngī**, while the women folk will attend to the duties in the kitchens.^{19 20} The elders take the roles of overseers, while the young tend to the menial tasks and bide their time till they can move up the hierarchical ladder. On some **marae**, jobs are handed down through generations of individual families. Elders of high rank and the tribe’s orators are traditionally not involved in the cooking (Salmond, 1975). This allocation of roles helps to define an individual’s place in the family and tribal structure. Through observation and participation children grow up learning their place in tribal society, and gain an understanding of tribal protocol. As future bearers of tribal traditions and knowledge they undergo a cultural apprenticeship in how to grow up **Māori**.

¹⁹ To “put down” a **hāngī** is a colloquial New Zealand term for the preparation and cooking of an earth oven.

²⁰ In most cases it will be the woman of the **marae** who will prepare the meat and vegetables ready for the **hāngī**. Whilst the men folk are then digging, lighting, and laying the **hāngī**, the woman will continue with the preparation of food accompaniments; salads, **rewena** bread, **ika mata** or raw fish dishes, and dessert.

The **hāngī** also plays a part in defining family and tribal identity. The roles of host and guest are clearly defined in **Māori** hospitality culture, as are the roles that each are expected to play in the preparation and eating of the meal (Salmond, 1975). It is within and around this relationship that the **Māori** custom of **manaakitanga** is drawn upon. **Manaakitanga** invokes the spirit of inclusiveness and support, of sharing with one another and seeking common ground. It implies a responsibility of the host to provide for guests in a willing and positive way (Blundell, Gibbons, & Lillis, 2010; Mead, 2003; Moon, 2005; Neill, 2016). For this to happen there is a need to clearly define who is host and who is guest. In **Māori** society this is usually done along family or tribal lines and serves as a reaffirmation of cultural ties (Salmond, 1975). Through it the participants are reminded of who they are and where they came from – both powerful concepts, especially in **Māori** society (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010).

Through a review of the available literature we can see that the **hāngī** functions not only as a technique of food cookery, but also an act of social and cultural connection and reaffirmation. Yet this does not seem to be reliant on the actual technique. The **hāngī**, situated as it is firmly within **Māori** food culture, is a hub around which a lot of cultural and social activity is wrapped. In of itself though, we struggle to find any sign that the technique is key to how the food or the event itself is perceived. Rather, status seems to be implied by the type of food that is being prepared, or who it is cooked for, and possibly the occasion. The literature implies that there is **tikanga** associated with the **hāngī** technique, and that there are situations when the **hāngī** may be seen as **pono** or not. But that relies on an assumption on the part of the researcher and is not explicitly laid out within the literature. We know that within **Māori** culture the exchange of food between the host and the guest is extremely important on many levels (Walker, 1990). What the literature fails to tell us is whether the esteem in which the exchange is held, and by extension the level of **mana** that that exchange represents, is raised or lowered whether a **hāngī** is involved or not.

For the researcher, two observations have arisen from this review of the literature. The first surrounds the shared commonality, or social interaction, that is seemingly inherent in the use of the **hāngī** as a cooking method. **Hāngī** take time and collective effort, both in the gathering of the necessary resources, and in the actual cooking process. We see in the literature that a sense of community develops around the **hāngī**, with everybody pitching in to help, and of people spending time together and communicating. In modern times, food for the **hāngī** is traditionally sourced from tribal members or affiliates (Mead, 2003). Fish and seafood will be

caught and collected, vegetables and meat donated, all in the knowledge that the gesture will be reciprocated at the appropriate time (Salmond, 1975) As such it is the epitome of food sharing – all who are in a position to contribute do so knowing that it will be shared equally amongst the group. Yet, an individual who is able to help with the sourcing or provisioning of food for the **hāngī** stands to gain **mana** within the tribe – an exchange seen as part of the **mana**-economy operating within the **Māori** society. It all creates an opportunity for cultural reaffirmation of the tribe and of kinship (Feinman, 1979; Van Den Berghe, 1984) and, as Salmond (1975, p. 99) mentions, it is a show of **aroha**. It is arguable whether that same sense of occasion and community can be generated in a commercial kitchen environment. Commercial kitchens by their very nature are spartan in their design – they are built to do a job as quickly and efficiently as possible with an aesthetic that is industrial. They are a functional space rather than a social one.

The second involves the **hāngī** as a natural and direct conduit to the whenua. As explored further in chapter two, the **Māori** worldview (**Te Ao Māori**) is grounded in the spiritual belief that they are **tangata whenua**, people of the land, and that they **whakapapa** back to **Papa-tū-ā-nuku**. It seems only natural that the **hāngī**, as a source of food from within the earth or land itself, would play a role in strengthening that connection with the land. It is in a sense, the land that not only provides the **kai** itself, but helps to process it and make it edible. Again, this is an observation of the researcher and is not directly addressed in any of the literature. But it does raise the suggestion that the traditional earth oven **hāngī** has a larger role within **Te Ao Māori** than may at first be recognised.

4.0 Design of the study

This research project was approached through a critical theory worldview. A hermeneutic phenomenological methodology, utilising key informant interviews, provides the structure within which this research was conducted and analysed. The entire research project was built around a **Kaupapa Māori** framework. This provided culturally specific guidance to ensure that the research achieved its aims of beneficial practice and outcomes within **Te Ao Māori**. These are discussed in turn, below.

4.1 Critical Research Theory

Critical theory in its concept formation and in all phases of its development very consciously makes its own that concern for the rational organization of human activity which its task is to illuminate and legitimate. For this theory is not concerned only with goals already imposed by existing ways of life, but with men and all their potentialities.

Max Horkheimer (Bronner, 2011, p. 29)

Critical, or radical, theory was the underlying research paradigm through which this project was viewed. Critical theory, in the form that it is known today, evolved out of the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research and the writings of Max Horkheimer (Felluga, 2015).²¹ A researcher using a critical theory lens approaches the research with a stated set of views and beliefs regarding the inherent imbalance of power within both society and the current political and social context. They seek ways to redress the underlying hegemony through empowerment of the minority, the marginalised, or repressed (Grant & Giddings, 2002). Critical theory seeks to understand how things have come to be, and how they might be in the future (How, 2003). Proponents of Critical Theory argue that it is through the lens of a Critical Theory based paradigm that the measure of the imbalance of power in a relationship is taken, and thus can be addressed. This world view shapes both the focus of the research, how it is undertaken and influences whom should benefit from it (Foucault, 1982). Critical theory attempts to create a balance between theory and practice resulting in work that is not definitive or finite, but open ended and evolving as those relationships change. As the researcher, I acknowledge that New Zealand society is an unequal one. I also acknowledge that as a **Pākehā** my world view is tainted by my membership of the dominant culture. Yet I strongly believe that we are a

²¹ Founded in 1923 and known simply as the Frankfurt School, it was the major Marxist orientated research institute in Germany. Critical Theory as a paradigm was fundamentally shaped by the experiences of the institutes thinkers prior to, during, and post WW2 Nazi Germany (Bronner, 2011).

healthier society when we recognise **Māori** as **tangata whenua**, and enable rights to self-determination (**rangatiratanga**) and control of their **taonga**.

Māori food culture falls within the category of **taonga**. It is a unique food culture imbued with a long history of tradition, ceremony and spirituality (Belich, 2007; Best, 1925/2005; Fuller, 1978; Leach, 2010; Moon, 2005; Taylor, 1855/2010). Yet it remains in the shadows, uncelebrated, its **whakapapa** unrecognised outside of its last bastion; the **marae**. The gradual adaption of **Pākehā** or European food culture by **Māori** was fostered by the introduction of new food sources, loss of land and traditional food sources, and the implementation of repressive legislation (Belich, 2007; Consedine & Consedine, 2012; Dow, 2001; Fitzpatrick, 2007; Moon, 2003; Walker, 1990). This has led to the disappearance of many traditional **Māori** foods and food preparation techniques (Fuller, 1978). The **Hāngī** remains, arguably, the most well known and most frequently used preparation technique of those that remain practiced. Yet currently its practice in the more traditional form is dwindling, its use reserved for a steadily shrinking number of important events. With the growing infrequency of its use comes the risk that as a traditional technique it will gradually fade away as those familiar with its practice reduce in number. This research attempts to assess the level of cultural value that **Māori** place on the **hāngī** as a cooking technique. My motivation for undertaking this research was to gain an understanding of the cultural significance of the **hāngī** and to highlight its growing scarcity of use. In doing so, I hope that discussion can begin over its role in **Māori** culture, and ways can be found in which the potential loss of the cultural value of this **taonga** can be averted.

4.2 Kaupapa Māori theory

The second paradigm within which this research project works was that of **Kaupapa Māori** research theory. **Kaupapa Māori** theory evolved out of the 1960's and 1970's **Māori** cultural renaissance (Pihama, 2001). This rise in **Māori** self-direction and cultural representation (King, 2003; Moon, 2009; Walker, 1990) brought about recognition of the need for a research paradigm that would fit within, and recognise, the unique **Māori** world view – **Te Ao Māori** (Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999). While not explicitly outlined, research within a **Kaupapa Māori** framework implies an acknowledgement of the complexities of the **Māori** world view. Key beliefs include an acknowledgement that knowledge arises from and represents **whakapapa**; that knowledge is not owned but only held in trust, and that

knowledge should be used to the benefit of **Māori** and **Māori** aims – not to its negative. The general, but not exclusive, view is that **Kaupapa Māori** research can only be undertaken by **Māori**, that it is “by **Māori**, for **Māori**”, and that an outsider researcher not naturally immersed in **Te Ao Māori** would be unable to fully implement a true **Kaupapa Māori** analysis of the research (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999). With this I agree, but I argue that as a framework, **Kaupapa Māori** can be used by non-**Māori** to help guide the outsider researcher by providing a greater understanding of **Māori** concepts, views and values, and, perhaps more importantly, pointing out the potential limitations of the research (Mane, 2009). To this end, **Māori** engagement has been sought at all stages of this research – from initial development of the research structure to the stage of final analysis.

Linda Smith (1999) identified a list of key cultural values researchers need to factor in to their research processes when working with indigenous communities. Fiona Cram (2001) builds on this work by defining the researchers own code of conduct:

“Community-Up” approach to defining research conduct

Aroha ki te tangata - A respect for people; allow people to define their own space and meet on their own terms.

He kanohi kitea - It is important to meet people face to face and to also be a face that is known to and seen within a community.

Titiro, whakarongo... kōrero - Looking and listening (and then maybe speaking); develop understanding in order to find a place from which to speak.

Manaaki ki te tangata - Sharing, hosting, being generous.

Kia tūpato - Be cautious; be politically astute, culturally safe, and reflective about insider/outsider status.

Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata - Do not trample on the “mana” or dignity of a person.

Kia māhaki - Be humble; do not flaunt your knowledge; find ways of sharing it.

Table taken from Cram et al.(2006, p. 48)

Yet as Smith (2006) later points out, to be aware of showing respect is one thing, knowing what respect actually is, is another. This is where the need for supervision by **Kaumātua** or **Kuia** plays an integral role in **Kaupapa Māori** theory. As a **Pākehā** attempting to research within **Te Ao Māori** I am an “outsider”. But being **Māori** itself does not necessarily convey “insider” status. Variations in tribal **tikanga** and **whakapapa** mean that a **Māori** researcher attempting to research within another tribe’s worldview, or even within their own tribe but

outside of their own **hapū**, can face the same “outsider” issues. Yet, right across **Māori-dom mana** is held in the utmost respect. While not fool proof, supervision from a well-known and respected **Kaumātua** can help to bridge the cultural divide between researcher and participant, and smooth issues of access and knowledge ownership on behalf of the researcher (Chilisa, 2012; Smith, 1999). It can also help ensure that aspects of **tikanga** are recognised and respected (Mead, 2003). With this in mind, Robert Pouwhare (**Tūhoe**), a senior lecturer within **Te Ara Potama** – Auckland University of Technology’s (AUT) Faculty of **Māori** and Indigenous Development – was asked, and agreed, to provide supervision and guidance to the researcher in areas of **Te Ao Māori** for this study.

4.3 Mātauranga Māori

An important aspect of researching within a **Kaupapa Māori** structure surrounds knowledge ownership. It is well known that in the past researchers having had knowledge passed on to them from marginalised, minority, or vulnerable groups, have then claimed “ownership” of that knowledge as if it were something newly discovered (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999). The actual reality is quite different. It is not discovered by the researcher nor given light by a computer program, the wisdom and knowledge was always there embodied in a person’s **pā whakawairua**. Ownership of knowledge gifted through conversation, discussion and storytelling – methods used in this research – remain with those who choose to freely offer it. Yet the term “ownership” itself is also incorrect, for those persons who hold said knowledge themselves do not own it, but hold it in trust as **kaitiaki** for the benefit of their **whānau, hapū** and **iwi** – all past, present, and future (Moon, 2003, 2005). This understanding is of key importance, for within the **Māori** world view it is accepted that knowledge itself has **whakapapa**, that it is not a single entity and that it does not stand still (Mead, 2003; Moon, 2003; Walker, 1990). Within this research, participants are openly acknowledged, and in doing so, we **whakaute** to their **mana** and that of their **whānau**. This naming of participants is also key to upholding the belief that knowledge has **whakapapa**. It is important within **Māori** culture that the source of knowledge can be traced; who passed it on to whom validates and gives **mana** to that knowledge, and, by extension, an individual’s views and understanding of it. This helps to ensure that it is seen as **pono**, or genuine (Mead, 2003). In receiving the knowledge contained within this research study I also acknowledge that I do not take ownership of it, but am being placed in the privileged position of bearer of it, to respect not only who it came from, but where it came from, and to where and to whom it can go.

4.4 Methodology – Hermeneutic phenomenology

The methodology utilised for the research is a hermeneutic phenomenological approach. Hermeneutic phenomenology is an interpretive strand of phenomenology and differs from standard phenomenology in several ways, but two key differences have encouraged me to utilise it. Firstly, Clark Moustakas (1994, p. 104) states:

In phenomenological research, the question grows out of an intense interest in a particular problem or topic. The researcher's excitement and curiosity inspire the search. Personal history brings the core of the problem into focus

A standard phenomenology will then ask the researcher to “bracket” out their own experiences in an attempt to remove themselves from the study. A hermeneutic phenomenological approach recognises that that approach is unrealistic, maybe even impossible. A hermeneutic phenomenological approach accepts that all researchers have views and biases regarding the event or phenomenon being investigated, and that they, as the researcher, are an inherent component of the research. It allows for the researchers world views to be clearly stated and factored into the research (Lavery, 2003; LeVasseur, 2003).

Second, a phenomenological approach is descriptive and chooses to focus on a person's lived experience of an event; the researcher attempts to interpret the relationship between the person and the event (Sloan & Bowe, 2014). Hermeneutic phenomenology on the other hand removes the distinction between the individual and the event, seeing them as co-constituting with each other (Lavery, 2003). Simply put, an event is not an event unless a person recognises it as one, and that recognition evolves out of a person's holistic understanding – their world view, their culture and history, and their explicit and tacit knowledges. A hermeneutic phenomenological approach recognises that language plays an integral part in defining that holistic understanding. It is through language that our world is disclosed to us:

The world is not impersonal; it is something that exists between individuals. The world and our existence in the world is what creates a shared understanding between individuals, and the medium that makes this understanding of the world possible is language. Language is where the world resides, and hermeneutic experience, as we understand it, occurs in and through language; it is language that discloses the world in which we live (McManus Holroyd, 2007, p. 5)

This is a view shared in **Māori** culture. As has been stated, **Māori** culture is, traditionally, a culture of orally transferred knowledge. While **whakairo**²² played a role in the preservation of knowledge, knowledge itself was passed on from person to person verbally in the form of

²² Figures depicted through **whakairo** (**whare whakairo** or **rākau whakapapa** for example) could represent genealogy, **whakapapa** or significant events experienced by the peoples who commissioned the works. In this way they become a visual reminder of tribal knowledge (Haami, 2004; Skinner, 2016).

stories, proverbs or direct teachings (Haami, 2004). Key to this transfer was, and still is, relationships – a relationship had to be formed between those sharing and those seeking knowledge before that transfer could take place. An obvious example is the complex series of rituals and protocols practiced before a visitor is fully welcomed onto the **marae**.

A hermeneutic phenomenological approach works in harmony with critical theory and **Kaupapa Māori** paradigms. It recognises that the researchers' worldviews cannot be ignored when undertaking the study or evaluating the resulting data. This is crucially important. The research in this paper is undertaken because of a perceived need by the researcher. It sets out to gain an understanding of the role of the **hāngī** in **Māori** culture with the view that as a piece of culinary **taonga** it needs recognising and protecting. To ignore this aim is to remove the need for the study in the first place. This places the aim at the centre of the research, both in how it is interpreted, but perhaps more importantly, how it is presented to the participants. To exclude the aim or to "bracket" it out, as you would a standard phenomenological based study, would be disingenuous.

Secondly, in its ability to factor into the research a more holistic view of the event it allows acknowledgment not only the complex world view naturally incorporated in **Te Ao Māori**, but also the current social and political climate that surrounds **Māori** and **Māori** food culture. There is a growing movement within the New Zealand culinary world, led in particular by the group ConversatioNZ (now Eat New Zealand), that seeks to better understand itself – what is New Zealand food, where does it come from, where will it go. This study feeds into that ongoing sense of national culinary self-reflection and must acknowledge that. To do so, the research needs to provide context for the **hāngī** within the current **Māori** food culture, and by extension the bigger picture of a national food culture. Utilising a hermeneutic phenomenological approach allows these 'peripheral' issues to be considered and factored within the final analysis of the data.

4.5 Methods – key informant interviews

Data gathering was achieved using a series of semi-structured key informant interviews with seven participants. Participant selection was done using purposive sampling based on the selected participants first-hand knowledge of **hāngī** preparation and/or **hui** organisation where

hāngī have been used as the primary **kai** cooking technique. Of equal importance, the participants needed to have a strong connection to, or identify as **Māori**. This was to ensure that the participants experience around **hāngī** impacted on, or were centered within a **Māori** cultural environment. Consideration was also given to the location of the participant's tribal affiliations in an attempt to avoid a regional bias. Initial selection of participants was done through the personal connections of staff members at **Te Ara Poutama**, AUT's Faculty of **Māori** and Indigenous Development, and through direct contact with well-known **hāngī** experts or **Kaumātua**. From there, participants were approached based on word of mouth recommendations of existing participants (snowball sampling).

Interviews were held with seven participants over a two-month period during 2017. These took place on a face to face basis and at a time and place of the participants' choosing. This was to ensure that a full and complete explanation of the study could be given, and most importantly, that a personal connection and relationship was formed between the researcher and participant. Participants were made aware that they would be identified by name and role within the final analysis. This is culturally important in terms of status, **mana**, and acknowledgement of **mātauranga Māori**. Ethics guidance and approval was sought and received from AUT's Ethics Committee (AUTEC).²³ The seven participants who agreed to be interviewed for this research were:

Riki Bennett, Te Arawa, Ngāti Porou

Riki has facilitated workshops on traditional native plant uses, making **mōkihi** (reed boats) and traditional rat traps, and has presented at environmental conferences both in New Zealand and Australia. He has represented NZ at the Pacific Arts Festival in Palau Micronesia speaking on traditional NZ native plant use. Riki has put down numerous **hāngī**, both for personal use and at many fundraising and corporate events such as the Taste of Auckland Festival. He is also a recognised expert in the making and use of **taonga puoro** (traditional **Māori** musical instruments).

Stan Tawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Awa, Te Arawa

Stan is a professionally trained chef and is currently a culinary arts lecturer at **Ara** Institute of Canterbury.²⁴ In this role, he was instrumental in the founding of the **Ngā Kete e Toru** – a program which provided young chefs with an understanding of **Māori** culture surrounding food and **tikanga**. He was also catering coordinator for **Te Matatini** 2015 – an event that catered for

²³ Application number – 17/185, 3 feet under: Is the traditional **hāngī** in danger of a cultural disappearance? Approved June 9, 2017.

²⁴ **ARA** is the **Māori** word for path or journey.

approximately 7000 **manuhiri**. In this role, he worked closely with various **Ngāi Tahu hapū**. Stan presented on the authenticity of the **hāngī** at the 2013 Council for Australasian Tourism and Hospitality Education (CAUTHE) conference.

Monique Fiso, Ngā Rauru

Monique is a professional chef of **Māori** and Samoan descent. Having started her career in Wellington, she spent almost a decade in New York working inside the Michelin starred kitchens of some of the city's finest chefs. Returning home in late 2015, she has begun work developing and refining traditional **Māori** cookery methods and promoting them into cutting edge cuisine under her business name **Hiakai**.

Brett McGregor, Te Āti Haunui-a-Pāpārangī, Ngāti Kahungunu

Brett is known as the **hāngī** guy -the guy to call when you need a catered **hāngī** for an event. Self-taught, Brett has been putting down **hāngī** on a regular basis since the early 1990's and has provided catered **hāngī** events for nearly all of the **marae** of **Tāmaki-makau-rau**.

Jason King, Waikato, Ngāti Mahuta ki te hauāuru

Jason is a Senior Lecturer at AUT's Faculty of **Māori** and Indigenous Development - **Te Ara Poutama**, where his teaching areas focus on **Māori** language, leadership, **marae** customs and protocols. Jason also leads a team of volunteers that run the popular AUT International Student **Noho Marae** or '**Noho**' for short, which has been operating every semester for the last 17 years. AUT International Students are introduced very quickly to **Māori** culture, customs, protocol and an indigenous perspective to studying at AUT through participation in **waiata**, **haka** and **tikanga Māori** or **Māori** lore. Just recently, Australian film-makers Matthew Salleh and Rose Tucker filmed Jason and his **whānau** as they demonstrated a **hāngī** being put down on their **marae** - **Te Koraha**, for inclusion in their documentary *Barbecue* which is now available to be viewed on Netflix.

Paul Retimanu

Paul, who is of Samoan descent, is a successful hospitality operator currently running the café and catering operations in the **wharewaka** on Wellingtons waterfront. Alongside his wife, Keri (**Ngāpuhi**), Paul has been promoting modern **Māori Kaupapa** and cuisine throughout his venues. Recently he has begun a series of public **hāngī** utilising a **hāngī** pit dug in front of the café.

Joe McLeod, Ngāi Tūhoe

Joe is a professionally trained chef and is a promoter, researcher and practitioner of traditional **Māori kai**. He has featured on **Māori** television and at many public and private food events. Embracing digital technology, he is

currently recording a series of instructional videos in tradition **Māori kai** techniques.

Whilst these interviews were conversational in tone, two core questions were initially asked to provide a level of repeatable structure to all seven interviews. These questions were based on two core phenomenological research questions as argued by Creswell (2012) – what is the participants experience with the phenomenon, and the situation in which they experienced it? The two questions were:

*What are your experiences of the **hāngī**?*

*In what situations or in what contexts were your experiences of the **hāngī** based?*

Four key questions were then put forward to the participant as prompts over the course of the interview. They were:

*In your experience has the frequency of **hāngī** use changed?*

*Has the reason for the use of the **hāngī** changed?*

Was or is there any cultural significance beyond its use as a food preparation technique?

*Has the meaning behind the use of the **hāngī** changed?*

Here it must be remembered that phenomenology based studies are centred on exploring a participants' explanation of, and reflection on, the experience or phenomenon – speculation or assumption plays no part in a phenomenological study (Sloan & Bowe, 2014). Because of this, care was taken to ensure that the line of questioning in the interviews focused on extracting the essence of that experience as seen through the participants' eyes. Interviews were recorded and then transcribed and these transcriptions then examined for phenomenological themes, patterns, or similarities of response between the participants. It was these emergent themes, patterns, and similarities that formed the basis of the discussion section (chapter five). As per a hermeneutic phenomenological approach, the researcher interpreted the data using an inductive approach to the thematic analysis while, both, reflecting on his own experiences and observations during the interviews, and placing the core experience and resulting data within the greater social context.

The initial findings along with the transcribed interview were presented back to the participants for them to comment on or add to if they so chose to. This opportunity for the participants to have further input was important from both cultural and research validity contexts. A key plank in utilising a **Kaupapa Māori** framework is an acknowledgement that the knowledge that has been given to the researcher remains the property of the participants, their **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi**. Offering the opportunity for participants to review the findings and reflect on them in their own time acknowledges their **mana** as bearers and gate keepers of that knowledge. From a researcher point of view the opportunity for participants to reflect on the findings offered the chance to ensure authenticity of the data, and to add depth and richness to the subsequent analysis. It is common for interview subjects to remember details, both significant and not, on reflection post interview. The seven participants in this study responded differently to the opportunity. Four responded that they were happy with the interviews and the subsequent analysis and had nothing further to add. One participant chose to elaborate on several areas discussed in the interview as they felt the need to clarify concepts or understandings of **tikanga**. This, though, did not alter the findings. Two participants did not respond.

4.6 Delimitations and limitations of the study

This study explores the participants own personal experience of the **hāngī** to gain a better understanding of the cultural importance that **Māori** attach to the traditional **hāngī** cooking technique. It is both natural and expected that the participants within this study will, through the process of reflection, seek to locate their own experiences within their understanding and knowledge of **mātauranga Māori**, history, and **tikanga**. Yet the aim of the study is not to build a complete and definitive answer to the research question, nor to answer all the questions that the data raises – the size of the study, a 60 point dissertation, prohibits that. What this study aimed to do was to shed some light on a subject that has had very little exposure at an academic level. It is hoped that this paper can encourage further research into an area of cultural importance within New Zealand culinary culture.

It must also be remembered that a hermeneutic phenomenological approach seeks to explore the phenomenon or event through interpretation of text. Yet, within this type of study the text is formulated through interviews led by the researcher. In doing so the researcher is to a certain extent a co-creator of the text he is then interpreting. Unlike published literary texts,

which are generally polished, highly articulated and reasonably concise, the transcribed interviews being interpreted are context bound and can contain repetitions, digressions and ambiguity requiring a certain level of condensing to achieve perceived meaning. As such, the researcher himself is an active participant within the study, both in how the data is gathered and how it is interpreted and reported, and this must be kept in mind when evaluating the data analysis and conclusions presented in the following chapters.

This also raises the issue of potential limitations to the research caused by the researcher's status as an 'outsider'. As mentioned in section 4.2 **Kaupapa Māori** theory (page 20), being a non-Māori researcher (in this case **Pākehā**) researching within **Te Ao Māori** has the potential to lead to a sense of unease in the interviewees. For some, the idea of sharing cultural knowledge outside of the **iwi**, **hapū** or **whānau** may be difficult, and as such, they may be reluctant to pass on or divulge the full extent of their knowledge, experiences, or understanding. While every effort has been undertaken by the researcher to ensure the emotional, spiritual and physical comfort of the interviewees during this research project, the possibility for this situation to have arisen and influenced this research project exists and therefore need be made mention of.

5.0 Results and Discussion

It's not just a hāngī, it's not just cooking this food in the ground (Stan Tawa)

When initially contacted about being interviewed for this study, all participants expressed a level of surprise and mild hesitancy. None wanted to be viewed, or project the image, that they were somehow an “expert” on the hāngī. Reassured that the focus was aimed at exploring the role hāngī plays or had played within their lives they became much more relaxed. Over the course of the seven key informant interviews, four key themes emerged as the participants reflected on and explored their connection to the hāngī – connections, that for some, they had not really given much thought to. The first, and strongest, theme to emerge was the important role that the hāngī plays as a cultural learning space within Māori culture – a role different from other learning space within Te Ao Māori, and unique because of the social space that it fills. It was this role that the hāngī plays as a social space that was the second key theme to emerge. The two spaces go hand in hand – either without the other holds less value. Together they fulfil a unique and hugely valuable role within Māori culture, and, in the view of the researcher, an irreplaceable one. The third key theme to emerge out of the interviews was the changing face of the hāngī. The hāngī has always evolved to suit its user’s needs, but today we are beginning to see a shift in the cultural location of the hāngī. Today we are seeing it being utilised more frequently for financial gain, the focus more on the technique itself than for that social space it traditionally occupied. This raises many questions on which the participants were somewhat divided over the answers. The fourth key theme to emerge was how the participants viewed the growing variety and use of artificial hāngī cookers. Here there was both acceptance and reluctance in the views of the participants. It was here too, that we perhaps get the clearest idea of the level of cultural value that is placed, both knowingly and unknowingly, on the hāngī.

5.1 The hāngī as a cultural learning space

Māori culture is traditionally built upon a complex layering of social, cultural and semi religious rules and guidelines. These tikanga weave in and out of a person’s life and provide them with guidance around a wide range of issues – kaupapa, whakapapa, wairuatanga, and tapu for example – and have evolved out of the kete o te wānanga or baskets of knowledge obtained by Tāne:

*Tēnei au te hōkai nei o taku tapuwae
Ko te hōkai nuku ko te hōkai rangi
Ko te hōkai a tō tupuna a Tānenui-a-rangi
Ka pikitia ai ki te rangi tūhāhā ki te Tihi-o-Manono
Ka rokohina atu rā ko Te Matua-kore anake
Ka tīkina mai ngā kete o te wānanga
Ko te kete-tuauri
Ko te kete-tuatea
Ko te kete-aronui
Ka tiritiria ka poupoua
Ka puta mai iho ko te ira tangata
Ki te wheiao ki te ao mārama
Tihei-mauri ora!*

*This is the journey of sacred footsteps
Journeyed about the earth journeyed about the heavens
The journey of the ancestral god Tānenuiarangi
Who ascended into the heavens to Te Tihi-o-Manono
Where he found the parentless source
From there he retrieved the baskets of knowledge
Te kete-tuauri
Te kete-tuatea
Te kete-aronui
These were distributed and implanted about the earth
From which came human life
Growing from dim light to full light
There was life.*

Rāwiri Taonui (2006)

Like any cultural knowledge and understanding, **mātauranga Māori** is passed on and learned in many formal and informal, active and passive ways. The **pōwhiri**, for example, is a formal learning environment – strict rules of **tapu** are observed, and personal and tribal **mana** is at stake. In some tribe's, children are excluded from the intricate details or processes of the **pōwhiri** until it is deemed that they are old enough or knowledgeable enough to participate (Salmond, 1975).

Riki, Stan, Jason and Joe were all raised in rural **Māori** communities within **whanau** strongly connected with their **marae**:

Our Marae is on the west coast of the North Island, just South of Kāwhia, about an hour away from Waitomo caves – right on the coast. So, we were really secluded (Jason King).

*I was brought up in a place called **Okere, Ngāti Pikiao, whakapapa to Ngāti Pikiao and Ngāti Porou**, which is on the East coast. My Grandmother, who was **Āpirana Ngata's** daughter, she lived in **Rotorua**, I think they moved down in the 1930's from the east coast as part of the farming programs they used to have back in the day (Riki Bennett).*

For them, the **hāngī** was part and parcel of the **Māori** world in which they were brought up:

*Well as a child, as a kid, **hāngī** was very much a part of our upbringing (Riki Bennett).*

***Hāngī** was a staple diet – **hāngī** and boil up, those two (Jason King).*

Well, I suppose, as everything, it was a part of my life through cultural osmosis, I'd call it. Because you do what you do because that's how your brought up (Stan Tawa).

It was while immersed within this rich **Māori** environment that all four were exposed to the various aspects of **tikanga** that surrounded the **hāngī**:

*We were taught it all – **reo, whakairo, waiata, maara Kai**. It was a concentration of knowledge – all the **mātauranga, tikanga**. It was immersion, total immersion...You learned it because you were in it (Joe McLeod).*

For those interviewees brought up within a **whānau** of strong **Māori** cultural connections, the **hāngī** provided a platform around which issues and examples of **tikanga** were learnt in a more informal environment. For example, before beginning the process of organising and cooking a **hāngī** thanks would be given and protection asked of the **atua**. In doing so, the participants as children observing this began to understand the concepts of **whakapapa**, of **wairuatanga**, and of **Te Ao Mārama**. Through observing the selection and gathering of resources they gained an understanding of the importance of sustainability, of **rāhui**, and the role of **Papa-tū-ā-nuku** as the motherly provider:

*You only got enough for the **hāngī** that day, even though the fish are biting and you could catch heaps, you need to understand the **tikanga**, that we only get enough for the **hāngī** and that's it – otherwise you get booted up the arse or a telling off! (Jason King).*

*And when I say a **karakia** they'll say what does that mean? And it's really about what we are using. It's about **Papa-tū-ā-nuku, Rangi**, and also about the wellbeing of the people that are part of the **hāngī** process – ensuring that they are kept safe – and ensuring that we are doing things right (Stan Tawa).*

Whilst not seen in the academic literature (chapter 3), all participants acknowledged the connection between the **hāngī** and **whenua**. The **kai**, the wood, the earth, all the resources come back to the **whenua** and, thus, **whakapapa** back to **Papa-tū-ā-nuku**, the earth mother. It gives them a strong physical and spiritual connection to the land, the land of their ancestors. The **hāngī** was not the only way in which this connection was sustained, but through its role in the production of food and sustenance it did so (and still does connect) in a very direct way.

The importance of **manaakitanga**, too, would be conveyed by the occasion, and the importance regarding the roles of host and guest stressed. Understanding the concept of **manaakitanga** would be important in the future when they would play a part in the formalities of the **pōwhiri** or **tangihanga**:

*I think about one of my aunties passed away, before she passed away she gave me a call and said can you take care of the **kai** for us... I said It was a sad call to get, but I'll do that, Auntie... So, it's significant, and that's about the **manaakitanga** and those who are coming to support my family – and the **hāngī** was a very important aspect of that (Stan Tawa).*

All this knowledge was inherent within the process of preparing, cooking and serving a **hāngī**. This knowledge learnt in their youth remains with them all and they continue to live by those learnings:

*Before a rod is thrown a small **karakia** is said, then whoosh out it goes. We still do it, do it now when we go out on our fishing tours on the Coromandel. The brothers will usually turn to me and ask me to say a few words before we go out, and a bit of a **karakia**, and remember those who have passed on because it's all about remembering – we are legacies of them (Jason King).*

Yet, within this environment the learning was not structured or defined, but was both active and passive. Children picked up knowledge through doing – helping to gather the resources, dig the hole and put down the **hāngī**, and then to serve and eat it. They also learned through observation – watching **whānau** prepare and cook a **hāngī**, observing what was being done and how differing people reacted and responded:

*As a young person, I'd watch my father and my uncles put down **hāngī**, and my grandfather as well put down **hāngī**. And you'd just ask questions about that, and my mother as well, just ask them because they all had different ways to do the **hāngī** (Stan Tawa).*

The **hāngī** itself as a technique is not particularly difficult and has relatively few steps, yet a successful **hāngī** relies upon knowledge learnt through experience – how deep to dig the hole relative to the amount of food and the soil type, knowing when the rocks are hot enough, and understanding the balance between the number and temperature of the rocks and the amount of food being cooked when judging the length of cooking time. What we see in the interviews is that the **hāngī** – as a central pillar of **Māori kai** – provides an environment rich in cultural learning:

*So, the cultural significance would be in what I would call **tikanga**, that folded in at certain stages of the **hāngī** (Jason King).*

Through observation and participation Riki, Stan, Jason and Joe grew up understanding their place within the **whānau** and within tribal society. It was a form of cultural apprenticeship that

allowed them to grow up with an understanding of their own world and culture – **Te Ao Māori**. Simply put, the **hāngī** provided a space in which they learnt to be **Māori**.

For Monique, Brett and Paul, the **hāngī** has provided a gateway into **Māori** culture. In utilising the **hāngī** as a cookery technique as a part of her professional career, Monique, who grew up within a predominantly Samoan cultural environment, has begun to explore the cultural knowledge that surrounds the **hāngī**:

Now that I know what I know, and the more I read, whether it's either like food or even just something totally random like birthing practices or things like that, I'm like this is a really fascinating culture and it's a shame we didn't get taught any of that (Monique Fiso).

The **hāngī** has provided her with an introduction and a space from which she can explore **Te Ao Māori** in an informal way. Encouraged, she has begun a process of reconnection with **Te Ao Māori** – something unthinkable to Monique only a few years back:

***Pātea** has not had the easiest time economically, so it's kind of weird. Some iwi have really flourished and some haven't, so it was just a bad vibe growing up. When we would go to **Pātea** it was like a quick visit then let's leave. It was kind of odd, so I would just tell people I was Samoan, I would never tell them I was **Māori** (Monique Fiso).*

*We were not connected with it what so ever (**Māori** culture). I think a lot of people my age – 20's early 30's – are looking back now and are like "why didn't you tell us about any of this stuff" (Monique Fiso).*

In doing so, she has gained a fuller understanding of her own **Māori** background and culture and there is now pride rather than shame. Her exploration of **hāngī** has also led to a growing accumulation of knowledge. With that has come a desire to help preserve areas of **mātauranga Māori** – in particularly **kai** culture – that have begun to be forgotten or are now consigned to the history books:

*I know way more than I ever did in my entire life. What's been quite interesting is that I had no idea that there was all these different rules and protocols for cooking things, and now that I do I approach things so differently. I follow that **Māori** lunar calendar for picking things and if it's raining like today I am definitely not going to go out and get **harakeke** – even though no one is watching. Now that I know it's like I've got show some respect. There is this knowledge there now, you know, like if I harvest a piece of **harakeke** and a bird flies out I'm like "oh no!". It weird, it's like who am I – this is so far from the New York kid! (Monique Fiso).*

Brett's introduction to the **hāngī** also came late in life:

*It would have been in my late teens, early twenties that I started to have anything to do with them. I'd had a few early on - at primary school up the Coromandel, but that was only a once-er. But it was really only in my late 20's early 30's that I started doing **hāngī**'s (Brett McGregor).*

For **Pākehā**, the **Māori** world can be an intimidating one to first enter. In Brett's case, while he does have **whakapapa** connections, he does not live within **Te Ao Māori** nor does he look particularly Maori – in fact, he is known by some customers as the ZZ Top guy due to his resemblance to members from that band! The informal nature of the cultural space that surrounds the **hāngī** has, for business purposes, allowed him to straddle both **Pākehā** and **Māori** cultures:

*Funnily enough, because I'm so pale when I turn up to a do that's predominantly **Māori** there'll be two looks on their faces. One is why are these white guys turning up and I hope they know what they are doing. The other is the first question they ask – "Is this one of those steamers bro?". But each and every one of those guys have come back and said "oh, that's choice" (Brett McGregor).*

For Paul, who grew up in Invercargill to recently immigrated Samoan parents, the connection growing up was not to the **hāngī**, but to the **umu**:

*Look, I come from Invercargill, Southland, so for us **umu**, it was, it was... My parents came over in the late 50's – they migrated to NZ. They landed in Auckland and flew down to Bluff because of the freezing works. **Umu** was used as a... it was a real prestigious thing to do. So, it was around Christmas, it was around white Sunday – white Sunday was a big day for kids. So, it was used mostly as a form of recognition that this was something of significance, so we need to give it significance by bringing the old cultural systems back (Paul Retimanu).*

He sees connections between the **umu** and its place within Samoan culture and role of the **hāngī** within **Māori** culture, and this understanding allows him to feel comfortable around the **hāngī** and the cultural space it occupies:

*And to be fair, I think **hāngī** is very similar as well. It's very much seen as... you do a **hāngī** if there is something to celebrate (Paul Retimanu).*

Paul's growing connection with **Māori kai** culture has evolved through his business association with local Wellington **iwi**. It was through this connection that Paul was offered the opportunity to run the hospitality business within the **wharewaka** on Wellington's waterfront. The business's location within this contemporary **Māori** building has naturally driven his business focus into the realm of **Māori kai**. This growing **Māori** focus within their professional lives has led Paul's wife, Keri, to strengthen her own personal connection with **Te Ao Māori**. For Paul, who already had a reasonable level of familiarity with **Māori** protocols and **tikanga** through both his wife and his business association with **Māori**, the **hāngī** as a central pillar of **Māori kai**

culture has provided Paul with a space in which he can continue to grow his understanding of **Te Ao Maori**. But, arguably more importantly for Paul, the **hāngī** has provided a cultural learning space not for himself, but for his customers:

*However, what your finding now is that the culture is a high part of the tourism side of New Zealand. A lot of the settlement processes have gone through and they've realised that tourism is a big part of that and what does that mean? People don't just want the grass skirts and the **pōwhiri** now, they want to see the whole thing going through and the visual part is the **hāngī**. So, somehow, you've got to tap into that (Paul Retimanu).*

The **hāngī** provides a single, simple tool through which he can introduce people to a vast expanse of **Māori tikanga**, culture and knowledge. Food can be a great leveller – we all eat, we all cook, and so we can all relate in some way to the **hāngī**. The basic concepts, of course, are not alien – prepare the food, cook the food, eat the food together – and every culture has something similar in their culinary repertoire. Unlike the **pōwhiri** which has more formal connotations and involves issues of mana and of cultural appropriateness, the **hāngī** can be as relaxed as a family barbeque – even allowing for issues of **tikanga**. In the **hāngī**, Paul has an informal, non-confrontational space in which his business can interact culturally with both **Māori** and non-**Māori** customers:

I think people coming to NZ, because I mean 60-70% of people on the boats are Australian, and Australians weren't seen or deemed as getting into New Zealand cuisine a lot, or the cultural side. I think that you've started to see a change in that – they are wanting to understand. Talking to a lot of Australians now, it's funny, when they come through now they want to know about the indigenous people and what they've gone through. Obviously with the Australians and the Aborigines, if there is any race that has been persecuted they'd be right up there (Paul Retimanu).

The cultural space that the **hāngī** provides differs on a person's needs. For Riki, Stan, Jason and Joe, growing up with **hāngī** exposed to them the many aspects of **mātauranga Māori** that surround it and are folded through it. In doing so, it provided them a space in which to explore and understand **Te Ao Māori**, and a **punga** stone with which to anchor themselves to their culture, to the **whenua**, and to their **whanau**. In Monique's case, the **hāngī** has provided a comfortable space in which she has been able to tentatively reengage in **Māori** culture. Backed by a confidence in her own high level culinary skill set, in **hāngī** and **Māori kai** she has found an environment in which she can feel safe and increasingly comfortable exploring a culture that is both familiar and alien to her – her own. For Brett and Paul, whilst the **hāngī** provides a financial opportunity which taps into **Māori** culture, both are effectively “outsiders”. In their cases, the **hāngī** provides the two of them a culturally safe space within which to enter and engage **Te Ao Māori**.

5.2 The hāngī as a social space

Early memories of the **hāngī** for Riki, Stan, Jason and Joe all revolved around the frequent social gatherings held at the **marae**. It stemmed from the commensality that the **hāngī** invoked, the working together of many people, of it being an event. This feeling was shared by Paul as he reflected on his Samoan **umu** background. For them all, it was the sense of community that they remembered fondly; that coming together of people, of **whānau**, the youthful excitement of the event and sense of adventure, the sharing of resources and of all pitching in together to make the event a success:

It's not really the eating that people miss, it's the build-up – the preparation (Jason King).

*For me, a connection between the **hāngī**... it's more about the memories it evokes. So, when I think about **hāngī** I think about what we've done, and the circumstances that have brought the **hāngī** about. I remember and I think about the celebrations, but I also think about the sadness (Stan Tawa).*

All four commented that the **hāngī** required resources that were not always readily or easily available, and they had strong memories that in their youth it was a communal task to gather them. Tribal or **whānau** members would be allocated tasks, others would offer resources – food or wood or manpower. Thus, a sense of community was formed, one of reciprocity for the greater good, and in contributing to something bigger than yourself – **whānau**. For them, these were fun times remembered fondly and missed. Today their experiences of **hāngī** are different. The events are infrequent and by natural extension so are the number of **hāngī**. Events on the **marae** are today smaller and tend also to be shorter – **tangi** for instance, are now usually held on one day not the traditional three. In some cases, **whānau** and friends no longer have the same access to resources owing to the changing structure and makeup of the rural communities. In all cases the tribal base has got either smaller or more scattered. In a lot of cases, it is simply that there are no longer enough people available to put down the traditional earth **hāngī**:

*You used to get 30-40 people go down and grab all of it, and come back with 30 **kete** full of **pipis** then pour it on. We don't have those numbers nowadays...unless they organise a specific event to do that, but that's not commonly seen now (Jason King).*

Stan and Jason noted that as their own immediate families have got bigger – they both have children, and in Stan's case grandchildren – their extended families no longer gather together as often as they remember it doing so as children. In their view, families are increasingly living in silos:

*It's just that now that everyone has spread out, you know, your own **whanau** become a little **hapū** in itself. Whereas when we were all young as cousins and all that and we were all together, those cousins now have grown up and have children – I've got two sons but I've got grand children now too. So, you become your own little thing (Stan tawa)*

The coming together is no longer celebrated in the same way. Whereas once upon a time life slowed down when you arrived on the **marae**, nowadays it is a case of rushing through it because you will soon need to leave. In some ways, it now feels like a chore, as if forced begrudgingly to visit an irritating relative. Today we are all so connected, so easily contactable anytime anywhere, that the **marae** no longer plays the same necessary role of social hub that it once did. Yet its role as custodian of **Māori** culture remains, perhaps an anachronism of a passing age, but essential none the less – at least for the moment. In the view of Stan and Jason, a certain feeling has been lost, the gloss taken off events held on the **marae** today. This may perhaps just be a trick of the memory – the type of excitement felt as a child attending these events is naturally different to the feelings one may feel as an adult in the same situation. It is common to look back at times past and think of them as better days – every generation has its biases. But it would be an interesting exercise to ask Stan and Jason's children their point of view, to compare their feelings and levels of excitement regarding **marae** gatherings to that of their fathers.

What all participants agreed on, though, was that the social environment surrounding the **marae** has changed. The result of these social changes is that for each participant associated with a **marae**, the cooking on their **marae** is now done using modern catering equipment and/or artificial **hāngī** cookers:

*What's happened and what's evolved is their **whare kai** burnt down. So, they got a brand new **whare kai**, but they've got a brand new **whare kai** with combi therms, bratt pans, you know. So, all that stuff with the **hāngī** unfortunately...they still have a **hāngī** pit there but it's just not utilised (Paul Retimanu).*

This modern equipment speeds up the process of catering to the **whanau** and **manuhiri**, making it more time efficient for the volunteers:

*It's about making it easier for your **ringawera** as they are doing the work (Stan Tawa).*

This is an important consideration at a time when it is hard to get volunteers.

Today the social space that the **hāngī** occupies has changed. When any of the interviewees do put down a **hāngī** it is more likely as a fundraiser for others, or as a financial opportunity, than

as an event for themselves and **whānau**. In this way, we see a change in focus from the **hāngī** being a part of the event, to the **hāngī** being the event itself. Where once the **hāngī** provided a technique in which large amounts of food could be produced for a **tangi**, wedding, or birthday, today it is more likely that the event has been organised with the sole intention of celebrating or highlight the **hāngī** technique. It has become a situation where by it is the **hāngī** itself that people are there for:

It's amazing the amount of people who haven't seen the process (Paul Retimanu).

There are exceptions. Brett continues to provide **hāngī** to those requiring catering for a large number of people at an event, and for whom the **hāngī** provides a required cultural link. He continues to provide **hāngī** for many of the **marae** of **Tāmaki Makaurau**:

*I've been around to **Te Unga** three times. One time I went out there, these young fellas, these young bucks, are hanging around and I said to the lady "You've got a **hāngī** pit out the back there, why don't you get those young fellas to do it?" She said getting them to do work is near impossible. I said that I bet they come out of the wood work when the **kai** is on the table (Brett McGregor).*

Brett is unsure if any of Auckland's **marae** put down a traditional **hāngī** themselves anymore. This, of course, has created a niche for him to fill, but may also possibly reflect the lack of resources available to urban **marae**. While rare, in Riki, Stan, Jason and Joes experiences, rural **marae** do still put down traditional earth **hāngī**, if only once a year or so. Even this though they acknowledge is a significant undertaking. Gone are the days when a **hāngī** could be organised with a phone call, the old networks and systems all quickly swinging into action. It takes a lot more organising now. Many of Auckland's **marae** do have purpose built **hāngī** pits on site, so why don't they use it?

If they had an easy set up like mine, they probably would. A lot of them are reverting to those bloody steamers (Brett McGregor).

As Brett acknowledges, it is much easier for a **marae** committee to give him a call and have a hot **hāngī** delivered the next day. In fact, Brett once received a call mid-morning that a local **marae** needed a **hāngī** for several hundred-people cooked for six pm that evening. Members of the **marae** in question had attempted to organise their own **hāngī**, but come the day had failed to organise all the necessary resources needed. Brett managed to arrive on site with ten minutes to spare. That **marae** is now a regular customer of his.

Of the others, Joe and Riki continue to provide regular **hāngī** as fundraisers for events, or as an educational experience:

*Yeah different reasons. Like the one last weekend that we did was for Sacred Heart Collage fundraising for the students **kapa haka** group to go overseas...A couple of years ago we did the **hāngī**'s for the Taste festival and we are doing it again this year. We did 14 of them, 14 **hāngī**'s over three days (Riki Bennett).*

Already well involved in promoting other aspects of **Māori** culture through their professional lives, for Riki and Joe, their continuing involvement with **hāngī** is just simply a part of who they are. Jason and Stan only occasionally put down **hāngī** now. In both cases too, education is a common reason for doing so. Stan's most recent have been at **ARA** Institute of Canterbury for students and faculty members, or as the focus of an event itself. Jason's most recent **hāngī** were for a documentary, and for AUT as part of their overseas cultural program. While the **hāngī** may not be the regular occurrence it once was, both Stan and Jason make an effort to remain actively involved in **marae** activities. They both believe it is vitally important that their **tamariki** and **mokopuna** understand and feel connected to their **whakapapa**, and that that won't happen if they as parents do not facilitate it.

Both Monique and Paul regularly put down **hāngī**, but theirs are for financial and professional benefit, and the focus of their events are on the **hāngī** itself – generally as a celebration or promotion of **Māori kai**. In all cases, **hāngī** put down specifically for family and friends are the exception rather than the rule:

*I haven't done one for a while or so. The last one would have been in **Kaikoura** with one of my friends. So, people always still do them, and I've still got all the resources. I probably could do them as often as I wanted, but I don't want too (Stan Tawa).*

It seems that without the incentive of financial gain, putting down a **hāngī** today is seen as too much like hard work - if you want to get the family together, it is much easier to simply fire up the barbie.

5.3 The changing face of the **hāngī**

From its origins in the Pacific, the **hāngī** as a technique has constantly evolved or been adapted to suit its user's needs. As the **hāngī** adapted to **Aotearoa**, deeper larger holes were dug to retain the heat needed to cook the larger cuts of protein found here, while native plants and berries were identified and added for flavour. More recently has been the introduction of wire baskets in place of **rourou**, and iron incorporated in place of stones. There are now many artificial **hāngī** cookers available, all of which attempt to varying degrees of success to imitate

the earthy, smoke flavour of the traditional earth **hāngī**. This, though, raises the question of what is truly a “traditional **hangī**” or even if there is such a thing:

*I don't know if the **hāngī** I put down is authentic in any way shape or form because of the fact that things change, things evolve – well even in regard to how the food is wrapped now compared to when my mother was a child. They used to put them in **rourou** which are the **harakeke** baskets, wrap them and cover them with the different leaves and then have the soil and that on the top. Whereas now, when we grew up you had a wire netting basket and that was about ease – easier to lift out, easier to manage, and using irons rather than stones as a repository of the heat (Stan Tawa).*

Today when discussion turns to the **hāngī** (of any kind) and the food that is prepared in it, the expectation is of meat and three vege – usually pork, potatoes, **kūmara** and pumpkin – and little more. Yet, the growing movement toward a “New Zealand” cuisine is prompting a rethink of traditional **Māori kai** and culinary techniques. For Monique, the **hāngī** offers an opportunity for culinary experimentation. In her experience, there is growing interest from young chefs in the **hāngī** and other traditional **Māori** culinary techniques:

All these techniques are really fascinating – why aren't we using them? Why are we embracing these other styles of cuisine? Maybe it's because no one has bothered to test them out in like a fine dining setting...It was one of those light bulb moments (Monique Fiso).

Monique has begun a series of successful pop up food events under her brand **Hiakai**. This has taken her all over New Zealand and to locations such as the US and Australia utilising the **hāngī** as a vehicle to cook her modern Avant Garde New Zealand inspired food. If our young chefs have become increasingly inspired by the **hāngī** it poses the question of how they learn it and who is entitled to teach it:

*It will always survive and there will still always be those people who are “this is what **hāngī** is”. But we just need more people passing their knowledge along - something that **Māori**, particularly of an older generation are not good at. It's a case of “this is ours, it's our culture, we are not going to share it with you or the Chinese guy that just got here” (Monique Fiso).*

In Monique's view, that does not necessarily mean that it must stay entirely within **Māori** ownership:

*No, I don't think so at all, I don't think it has to be somebody **Māori** who teaches it at all. It could be someone who has the knowledge and respect for the culture, and as long as they know the background of **Māori** culture and follow protocols then it's fine as far as I am concerned. If we are just going to continue this whole “you have to be **Māori** to do it” then it's going to die along with a whole lot of other things that have died and a lot of knowledge that has already been lost (Monique Fiso).*

In her professional eyes, the **hāngī** is at once both simple and complex. The technique itself is straight forward, but if thoughtfully used can result in food of textural and flavour complexity.

This leaves it well suited for use within a fine dining or haute cuisine setting. It is this transition – elevating **hāngī** from a simple home cooked style of meal to a dish that the worlds diners would seek out, and just as importantly, pay well for – that excites her.

With his business operations strongly influenced by tourism, Paul sees a similar future for the **hāngī**. For him that future is all about broadening its appeal while still maintaining its cultural links. Why, he asks, is our indigenous food seen as something cheap? His belief is that as long as the **hāngī** is viewed as something that comes in tin foil for \$10, a business like his will never be able to utilise it as a cookery technique. That as long as the potential customers perceptions of it remain like that it won't be financially viable. For it to work in a café restaurant operation like his, Paul's belief is that the **hāngī** needs to be seen as a value-added product, that the six-hour cooking process and the food cooked in it are worth paying for:

*People have an expectation that when you go to an events day that its **hāngī** for ten bucks. Whereas I need to say, well shit its thirty bucks (Paul Retimanu).*

This is a belief shared by both Riki and Monique:

They turn up somewhere and get the food and they walk away. They get it plated up for them. They don't actually see the work that's gone into it beforehand. Because there is a lot of work that goes into it (Riki Bennett).

*I was like why have we just stopped and gone well this is **hāngī**, its comes in a tray and is \$10 a pop (Monique Fiso).*

Paul's belief is that this attitude can be shifted by using higher quality produce and moving away from the traditional fatty pork, potatoes and **kūmara** recipe. As he points out, New Zealand is well known as a producer of high quality food products – people overseas are willing to spend top dollar on the New Zealand food brand:

That's why I want to move into more contemporary things that we can do with it, so we can do the higher price point because people believe that we are adding value to it. That's our challenge going forward (Paul Retimanu).

In his view, the **hāngī** itself is already a draw card due to its rarity, and fits in well with current trends of cooking over fire:

You notice it down here. As soon as we light the fire people gravitate towards it. It's a big thing – particularly blokes and barbeques. Fire, we love fire. Kids love fire. Everybody loves fire (Paul Retimanu).

His belief is if you can combine the two – New Zealand's high-quality produce and the very on-trend use of fire for cooking – then New Zealand food is on to a winner.

Riki, along with his friend and business partner, is also exploring the commercial side of the **hāngī**. Already providing **hāngī** commercially for fundraisers and events on an intermittent basis, they are looking at setting up a permanent location in central Auckland out of which to sell the more “classic” style of **hāngī** – meat, potatoes, **kūmara**, pumpkin. But, just as with Paul, they aim to use higher quality products to better show off just what they believe a **hāngī** can truly be. It is their belief that offered in the right way **hāngī** can be a healthy everyday option – something to replace the kiwi roast dinner. For Riki and his business partner, it is all about making good **hāngī** everyday accessible.

For Stan, Joe and Jason, their belief is that the future of the **hāngī** remains on the **marae**, though, all three are concerned over who will pass the knowledge on. In their own experiences, the number of **Māori** remaining connected to the **marae** is dwindling, and **marae** themselves are naturally moving toward quicker food preparation techniques and equipment. All of this impacts on the number of times a **hāngī** is used. As a result, the number of **Māori** with knowledge of preparing a **hāngī** is declining, and there are differing views on how to prevent this. Both Stan and Jason believe that the knowledge will remain alive if people remain connected to the **marae**, but both acknowledge the difficulty people face in doing so:

*I would just encourage – our philosophy is always to make sure the boys are connected to their land, to their **marae** all the time. And it’s a lot of effort from the parents. Now if the parents aren’t connected then bye bye, bye bye to that generation, that whole generation, that legacy (Jason King).*

*It depends on what is your priority – what’s my priority. It will stay alive if it’s my priority, the **reo** will stay alive if it’s my priority. What is it that I’m willing to invest in, what am I willing to give up for this thing that I count as number one (Stan Tawa).*

For Stan, as a culinary arts lecturer, the issue of knowledge transfer is a familiar one:

*You can teach someone, but it doesn’t mean they want to learn! You have got to have a love for it, you’ve got to show a passion. It’s a valid question, how do we keep it alive. Who are the **kaitiaki**? Who are the ones who become a guardian for it, and is there a need for that? Perhaps there is. Maybe that’s a question we need to ask (Stan Tawa).*

*I think that the educational institutes have a responsibility, I think they do, but we as **Māori** have a responsibility too – because it’s ours – and so we should protect that. Or we should grow it to ensure that it thrives and the skill is not lost (Stan Tawa).*

Neither Riki, Stan nor Jason had ever really given thought to the future of the **hāngī**, and the possibility that it could slowly disappear, prior to being asked by the researcher:

I hadn’t really thought about it, but I suppose, yeah, yeah you would think... because sometimes you just take things for granted (Stan Tawa).

While all three were well aware that the **hāngī** was no longer being used as often as it had been in the past, all three were quick to grasp the connection between what the gradual disappearance of the **hāngī** meant regarding its associated knowledge and social value. It was this loss of **mātauranga Māori** that concerned them the most – they did not believe that the loss of the technique would be in any way an issue.

Joe, on the other hand, is quite clear about where knowledge of the **hāngī** will reside in the future. For him the future of the **hāngī** is digital. To that end, Joe is currently recording a series of instructional video's sharing his knowledge and skills. It is his hope that by placing them into the digital world the knowledge and skill will be recorded for posterity and easily accessible to those who seek it. Joe's view is that this type of change is a sign of the times – people are busier, kids live in a digital age – and if you want to keep people connected with **Māori** culture it should be easily accessible. Unfortunately for many **Māori**, and even more so for **Pākehā**, this type of knowledge isn't accessible whilst it remains solely on the **marae** – a point Paul also touched on:

*Because, you know, rural NZ, people don't really go there and if you look at the **Marae** they are not in the centre of the town either – they are in the centre of the **Māori** district but not in the centre of the rural CDB district (Paul Retimanu).*

Whilst Joe is supportive of the younger generation like Monique adapting and modernising the **hāngī** – he tends to be one of the first people that young chefs new to **hāngī** turn to in search of knowledge and understanding – he is a traditionalist. He, too, believes the home of the **hāngī** will always be on the **marae**, but, placing his knowledge of the **hāngī** into the digital world is Joe's response to what he sees as the changing place of the **hāngī** within **Māori** culture. It's an acknowledgement that while he believes its home will forever be on the **marae**, there is no guarantee that the associated knowledge will be safe there. With that in mind, placing his knowledge within the digital world is Joe's personal response to that concern. It's something that he himself can do, and in a way, it is an act of defiance; It shows that he is not willing to let this knowledge, knowledge that he has spent his life sharing, quietly disappear. Joe also believes it is important that the **hāngī** remain visible. To that end, Joe continues to make himself and his knowledge available by offering **maraakai** workshops to those who are interested at **Ngā Hau e Whā o Paparāangi** in Newlands, Wellington.

5.4 Hāngī substitutes

None of the interviewees were particularly concerned about the rise of **hāngī** substitutes, or its eclipse by modern catering equipment. Most saw it as a natural progression, or as a reflection of the times. The greater concern regarded that loss of associated knowledge surrounding the **hāngī**. Asked whether a **hāngī** cooker was a true **hāngī**, all paused. For the participants in this study, in terms of an events status, no one felt that an event at which a **hāngī** was put down held more significance than one that didn't. Stan and Jason both hesitantly agreed that the rarity of the earth oven **hāngī** did imbibe an event with a greater feel of occasion, but not to the same extent that they remembered from their youth. The importance all agreed, was on upholding **manaaki** through the offering of food regardless of how it was cooked:

*No, not at all. The key culturally, it's about feeding your **manuhiri** – you have to feed your visitors, and that's where your **mana** is...the key is that you'll feed the people that come, and how you feed them is up to you (Stan Tawa).*

Still, not one of the participants would say unequivocally that a **hāngī** cooker of any type was a true **hāngī**. Jason commented on a recently watched cooking program where a **hāngī** cooker had been used:

*As I was watching that, a few things came into my head, and the first one was where is the community? There was only one guy making a **hāngī**, and if you come back to the ethos of the **hāngī** it's about bringing people and communities together. When one guy does it, the **hāngī** cooker or **multikai** that can be operated by one person, that there is where I fear the ethos of the **hāngī** will disappear because its "quick, we need it quickly" (Jason King).*

Joe and Paul had no issue regarding use of the steamer types and acknowledged the practical nature of them, particularly in the commercial setting of a café or restaurant. But both believed you had to be upfront about the food cooked in it not coming from a true earth oven – to mislead a customer about just how the **hāngī** was truly cooked was in their view dishonest, though both thought that anybody with experience with food from a true earth oven **hāngī** would spot the difference between that and an artificial cooker straight away. A key area of hesitancy in calling the artificial **hāngī** cookers a **hāngī** was simply the fact that the food was not cooked in the ground. Asked whether the **hāngī** was a technique or whether it was a coming together of people, Monique's response focused on the technique. She believed the lack of technique required by the artificial **hāngī** cookers meant, in her eyes, that they were not **hāngī**. For her that lack of technique translated into a lack of knowledge, and without that cultural knowledge, that **mātauranga Māori**, in using an artificial **hāngī** cooker you were simply cooking food nothing more.

Regardless, none of the participants were particularly complementary regarding the food produced from the various artificial **hāngī** substitutes now available. Most complaints related to the overtly steamed nature of the food rather than the more roasted flavour and texture of the traditional in-ground **hāngī**. All too, tended to prefer their own style of **hāngī** and techniques, and several admitted to hesitancy in eating and enjoying the **hāngī** of someone else:

*Even these **hāngī** guys on the side of the road, like when you travel up north you see the **hāngī**. I drive past them. I am a little bit sceptical on calling in and trying that. Because when I have a **hāngī** I make sure that I put it down myself – unless I am absolutely desperate (Jason King).*

***Hāngī** should be in the ground, yeah yeah, as the way it's always been. Yeah, I can remember back as a kid my grandfather tried to imitate the **hāngī** the way it's done today (Riki Bennett).*

*So now because people just put it into a box, in tinfoil, I'm always a bit sceptical. I've always put my **hāngī** down in the ground, always (Stan Tawa).*

*Steamers, pre-packed, you go to **hāngī** and they have food pre-packed in those little trays – they're rubbish. Like one of my brothers said, "I want **hāngī**, I don't want a stew". Those little trays they fill up with juice (Brett McGregor).*

Most Interesting was the fact that except for Brett none expressed huge enthusiasm for **hāngī** food in general:

*For me, it's a technique and I just enjoy eating **hāngī**. Anything you enjoy eating you want to make as good as possible (Brett McGregor).*

Monique and Paul both expressed desires to modernise the food cooked within the **hāngī**. Both saw merit in the technique itself, but thought that the standard offering of pork, potatoes and **kūmara** as uninspiring. The others would eat **hāngī** and enjoy it, but could take it or leave it and were in no particular hurry to have it again. As already mentioned, for them it was the event and the people that brought the most enjoyment – the food was a secondary consideration.

This acceptance, yet reluctance, behind the views of all participants regarding the use of artificial **hāngī** perhaps gives us the clearest idea of the cultural value that they all place on the traditional **hāngī**. They are at pains to point out that food from an artificial **hāngī** is not as good as the earth bound **hāngī**, that it is not what they expect from "**hāngī**", that it is not what they grew up with. This is important. The first time that you participate in the cooking of a true earth oven **hāngī**, that experience becomes your benchmark, your expectation, and it is what

you will hold all others that follow up against. Included in that experience will be a feeling of community, the feeling of working together, the conversations, the banter and laughter. These are not feelings that you associate with artificial **hāngī** cookers. Artificial **hāngī** cookers are time savers, they are convenient. There is nothing convenient about an earth oven **hāngī**, in fact as it was pointed out by several of the participants, they can be very difficult to organise. Yet it is that time consuming act of organising and coming together that those participants who grew up with **hāngī** miss, and why those who came to **hāngī** later in life are attracted to it. A true “**hāngī**” involves people, it involves culture. Food cooked in an artificial **hāngī** can actually be very good, but when the participants express hesitancy in accepting the food of an artificial cooker, what they are arguably expressing is their reluctance to its lack of community and culture.

For all seven participants, the **hāngī** has played, or continues to play, a fundamental role within their lives. For some, that role was within their childhood, shaping their cultural development and influencing their own personal views on that culture. Today it continues to provide a cultural reference point that strongly influences how they themselves now pass on that culture to their children. For others, they have been drawn to the financial opportunities that the **hāngī** provides. Yet, in doing so these participants have also gained entry, to varying degrees, into **Te Ao Māori**. For the **hāngī** is not simply a cookery technique. The **hāngī** is knowledge, it is **whakapapa**, it is culture – in New Zealand the **hāngī** is unmistakably **Māori**. When you enter the world of the **hāngī** you enter **Te Ao Māori**.

6.0 Conclusion

It is only natural that as one explores **Māori** food one begins to explore **Māori** culture, and the **hāngī** provides a somewhat culturally safe, non-confrontational space through which to explore it. The **hāngī**, at its heart, is a social gathering space. It is a space where **Māori** come together to celebrate and enjoy being **Māori**. The food itself, the type and variety of which is cooked and eaten, is not a central factor in its cultural importance – indeed, what is usually cooked in it today has no cultural or historical connections. What is important is its role in gathering people together and uniting them, and providing a time and place in which they can spend time with each other. It is around the **hāngī** that people congregate, talk, share stories and resources, learn **tikanga** and skills. Of course, finally, it is about sharing a meal, one that all have a connection to – whether it be by participating in its preparation, through a family connection, a cultural connection, or as invited **manuhiri** and the protocols of **manaakitanga**. The **hāngī** provides an anchoring point around which this process of cultural reaffirmation can take place. It is a reminder to the participants of who they are and where they came from – both powerful concepts, especially in **Māori** society

Yet, there has been a gradual shift in where the **hāngī** is socially and culturally located. We see in the interviews a difference in perspective between those who grew up with **hāngī** as a part of their childhood, and those who did not. For the four interviewees who grew up with it, it is not the **hāngī** itself that they miss, but the times when the events were bigger and more regular. It is these nostalgic recollections around which their affinity with the **hāngī** is based. All four who grew up with it remember the **hāngī** as fun times of adventure, excitement and learning. Yet, today all are wary of the **hāngī** – in particular, the effort and time it requires of themselves as knowledge holders. Whilst in general, **Māori** tribal affiliation is on the rise (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b), today **marae**, like most volunteer organisations, struggle for people power and there are fewer and fewer people either willing or able to be involved. In this situation, it is only natural that those volunteers that are available make use of modern commercial kitchen equipment, thus making it far easier to cater for both small and large events relatively easily and quickly. The **maraes** are being forced to adapt to contemporary society, but at what cost?

This gradual disappearance of the **hāngī** raises an area of cultural concern – the disappearance of a traditional **Māori** cultural learning area. The **hāngī** is more than just a simple cookery technique. Folded through it are a host of social and cultural norms, expectations, and protocols – much of which helps weave the rich tapestry of **Te Ao Māori**. But does the dwindling number of **hāngī** remove from today’s children the same depth of cultural learning opportunity that their parents experienced? Do children get to experience those adventures, that excitement of **whānau** coming together, and of **tikanga**? Take **hāngī** out of the equation and replace it with a combi-therm oven and then ask whether by doing so do today’s children get the same depth of cultural experience? It raises the question of where young **Māori** learn about their culture in the year 2017? For while **Māori** are well aware of a growing disconnect between individuals and the **marae**, it seems that in the case of the interviewees in this study, they may not yet be so well aware of the loss of cultural learning space that the reduction in use of the **hāngī** is bringing about. As **Marae** choose not to use the **hāngī**, they may be unaware that they are choosing to lose an area of **mātauranga Māori**.

For the three interviewees who did not grow up with the **hāngī**, but interacted with it later in life, the **hāngī** has not only provided a window into **Māori** culture, but provides both a professional and financial opportunity. Today many exponents of **hāngī** utilise the technique for its own sake – as a point of difference, for its rarity, and as something uniquely “kiwi”. In doing so, we are beginning to see the **hāngī** move outside of its traditional domain on the **marae** and centred within **Māori** culture, and into a position like that of a novelty type of cookery – brought out for special events where it itself is the focus, valued higher by those not familiar with it than by those who are. This change in purpose changes not only the reason for the **hāngī**, but the connected sociality of the event in which it is placed – feeding strangers not guests, feeding for financial gain. Thus, expectations change and the sociality or commensality of the event is no longer its primary goal. Here the focus is on the end result, the food, and not the process – almost a reversal of how the **marae/whānau** based **hāngī** is seen.

If the situation remains the same the future of the **hāngī** it seems is no longer on the **marae**, contrary to the belief of some. On the **marae**, it will remain stationary, brought out for fewer and fewer events, and supplanted by modern catering equipment. A gradual loss of knowledge will result as those who are familiar with putting down a **hāngī** grow old and pass away, leaving behind those whose only memories of earth **hāngī** are the handful of times they saw one in their childhood, and who are more familiar with the artificial style steamers and smokers. The

future of the **hāngī** it seems is in its commercial application. It will be through its use in fundraising events, or around specific events promoting **Māori** culture or **Māori kai** culture, that the **hāngī** will be adapted, modernised and continued. For whilst the **hāngī** itself will not disappear – the technique is too well recorded unlike most other traditional **Māori** culinary techniques – its arguably more important role as a cultural learning space gradually will.

This growing financial or commercial focus, though, leads one to question just when is a **hāngī** no longer a **hāngī**? Or, perhaps more pertinent, just what is a **hāngī**? This research project set out to locate the position of the traditional earth oven **hāngī** technique within today's **Māori** society – its importance, its cultural value. Yet it seems that perhaps the discussion should first focus on just what people believe a **hāngī** to be, because as we see in the interviews, a **hāngī** is really a term for gathering of people, not necessarily of **Māori** descent, but people gathering together within a **Māori** world view, and who throughout the process practice or recognise **Māori** culture and **tikanga**, and most importantly, acknowledge **whakapapa**, **whānau**, the **whenua**, the **manuhiri** and the spirit of **manaakitanga**. The earth oven technique itself seems not to be important and the success or **mana** of the event does not rest solely upon it – a multikai cooker could still, arguably, be a **hāngī** if it was situated within a gathering of people who were themselves situated at that moment within a recognisably **Māori** cultural environment. But take away that environment and it may be seen as simply food cooked in a multikai. In removing that gathering together of people, and most importantly, that cultural connection, the food is simply a commodity – one to be bought, sold or offered in a way no different to that of a sausage sizzle. It is its embrace within **Māori** culture that makes a **hāngī** a **hāngī** – remove that culture and the earth oven is then simply a cookery technique.

This, though, raises the question of how important do **Māori** value the **hāngī** and its associated cultural knowledge. A vast tranche of **mātauranga Māori** has already been lost – particularly in areas of traditional **Māori** culinary techniques. What knowledge that does remain of the traditional **Māori** culinary techniques are but small snippets of incomplete information recorded in historical text, but with few if any persons remaining with practical knowledge of them. The **hāngī** technique does not face that same problem, but it is the loss of associated knowledge or **tikanga** that is of concern. In a commercial environment, this type of knowledge will slowly be neglected – it is debateable whether many of the **hāngī** offered for sale today at fairs and markets have followed or practiced any type of **tikanga**. So, who should be its **kaitiaki**, its guardian, and who will ensure that a **hāngī** is truly a **hāngī**? And just what is it that

we should be protecting and teaching? As has been mentioned, the earth oven technique itself is relatively simple and can be utilised solely as a food preparation technique without any cultural knowledge or practices; a situation we see with Brett who prepares food in an earth oven for commercial benefit. It could be argued that the food Brett prepares only becomes a “hāngī” when it is then served within a **Māori** cultural setting of, say, a **marae**. For other events, such as sporting club fundraisers, one could ask whether it is a **hāngī** or simply a large amount of food that has been cooked in an earth oven, mainly for convenience and as part of a financial transaction.

Within the interviews there were differing views on how the knowledge surrounding the **hāngī** should be retained and for what purpose. If the survival of this knowledge is to remain with **Māori** and within the **marae**, then it will require a concerted effort on their part to keep it alive. Simply put, the **hāngī** must continue to be used, not all the time, but regularly so that the skills and knowledge are retained and passed on in a robust process and not piecemeal. This, though, imposes a sense of responsibility on those who run the **marae** – another burden on already heavy shoulders. If its survival is to hinge on its commercial application then, perhaps, it is to the tertiary institutes that we should turn, to ensure that this type of knowledge and skill is exposed to a younger generation of **Māori** or culinary professional. Yet, as has already been mentioned, in a commercial environment the inevitable financial considerations tend to claim priority. **ARA** Institute of Canterbury ran **Ngā Kete e Toru**, a program providing young chefs with an understanding of **Māori** culture surrounding food and **tikanga**, for several years before its funding was withdrawn just as the program had found its feet. Or, as Joe believes, will the digital world be the saviour of the **hāngī**? **Māori** culture is already increasingly going digital, but will going digital with the **hāngī** actually preserve the true essence of the event? It is possible. But surrounding the **hāngī** is a vast amount of intangible knowledge that floats around its periphery – cultural knowledge that may be hard to convey through the digital medium.

The **hāngī** has reached a tipping point and there are many questions to be asked. What is it within the **hāngī** that we value, how much do we value it, and who values it the most? Does it continue as a **Māori** culinary practice surrounded in knowledge, **tikanga**, and cultural significance? Or does it move down a path that focuses squarely on the technique itself; its cultural significance more a selling point than actually practiced. With the discussion growing around a New Zealand cuisine, there will be an increasing awareness of **Māori kai** by

professional chefs and in commercial hospitality operations, both for its cookery application and for its financial value – novelty sells. Areas of **Māori** culinary culture, such as the **hāngī**, will be increasingly seen in cafes and restaurants. With this comes the risk of misinterpretation, dilution and/or severing of the very cultural connections which makes **Māori** culture so rich and, from a commercial point of view, alluring. We have seen this type of issue arise around use of the term **manaakitanga** within the tourism sector – the tourism sector, of course, being financially orientated whilst the true spirit of **manaakitanga** is anything but (Barnett, 2001; Martin, 2010; Williamson & Neill, 2014). Will the same thing happen to the **hāngī**, and can we prevent it before it does? But more importantly, does it matter if the **hāngī** grows ever more commercial, for what is in it that we actually value?

As with the concept of **manaakitanga**, the **hāngī** has both a tangible and intangible understanding. We can physically put down and eat a **hāngī**, but, arguably, the more important aspect of it is as a cultural anchor point – a fulcrum around which a lot of **Māori** social culture is built. It is this aspect of the **hāngī** – the social and cultural educational opportunities that it provides – that I would argue continue to be its most valuable today, and is the aspect that **Māori** are most likely to lose if the **hāngī** continues to shift to a more commercial practice. The question of how we protect the **hāngī** whilst continuing to allow its evolution is one this study does not answer, nor did it set out to. Its aim was to take a snap shot in time of the **hāngī** as it is seen and valued today. In doing so, the author of this study hopes to raise awareness of the **hāngī's** social and cultural value to contemporary **Māori** society, and prompt further discussion around its place now and in the future.

7.0 References

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8.0 Glossary

Word definitions have been sourced from the online *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index* by Professor John C Moorfield.

Aotearoa - North Island. Now used as the Māori name for New Zealand.

aroha - affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy.

atua - ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being - although often translated as 'god'.

haka - to dance, perform the haka, perform. Vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words. A general term for several types of such dances. *Kapa haka* refers to a Māori haka performing group.

hākari - sumptuous meal, feast, banquet, celebration, entertainment. To have a feast.

hāngī - hāngī, earth oven - earth oven to cook food with steam and heat from heated stones. Also refers to the food cooked within the earth oven. Also as *hāngī*.

hapī - cooking pit, earth oven (in which food is cooked by steam and heat from heated stones), hāngī. In some tribes, the term refers to above ground earth ovens similar to umu.

hapū - kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe - section of a large kinship group and the primary political unit in traditional Māori society. It consisted of a number of whānau sharing descent from a common ancestor, usually being named after the ancestor, but sometimes from an important event in the group's history. A number of related hapū usually shared adjacent territories forming a looser tribal federation (iwi).

harakeke - New Zealand flax, *Phormium tenax* - an important native plant with long, stiff, upright leaves and dull red flowers.

Haumia-tiketike - atua of fernroot and uncultivated food - one of the offspring of Rangi and Papa. Also known as Haumia, Haumia-tikitiki and Haumia-roa.

hiakai - be hungry, hunger.

huahua - birds preserved in their own fat, game.

hui - gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference.

Ika mata - raw fish or seafood.

Ika-tere - son of Punga and grandchild of the atua, Tangaroa. He fled to the sea with his children, the fish, to escape the wrath of Tāwhiri-mātea.

Iwi - extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory.

kai - food, meal.

Kāi Tahu - tribal group of much of the South Island, also called Ngāi Tahu.

kaitiaki - trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, caregiver, keeper, steward.

kaumātua - adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man - a person of status within the whānau.

Kaupapa Māori - Māori approach, Māori topic, Māori customary practice, Māori institution, Māori agenda, Māori principles, Māori ideology - a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society.

kererū - New Zealand pigeon, kererū, *Hemiphaga novaeseelandiae* - a large green, copper and white native bush pigeon which was eaten by Māori.

kete - basket, kit.

kete tuauri - kit of sacred knowledge - one of the baskets of knowledge. This basket relates to the creation of the natural world and the patterns of energy that operate behind the world of sense perception and the realm of the Tohunga. It includes the knowledge of karakia.

kiore – Polynesian rat, *Rattus exulans* - also used for the larger brown Norway rat or pouhawaiki (*Rattus norvegicus*), the black ship rat (*Rattus rattus*) and the house mouse (*Mus musculus*).

kōwhai - kōwhai of various species including *Sophora microphylla*, *Sophora tetraptera* and prostrate kōwhai, *Sophora prostrata* - small-leaved native trees common along riverbanks and forest margins and noted for their hanging clusters of large yellow flowers in early spring. Also refers to the colour Yellow

kuia - elderly woman, grandmother, female elder.

kūmara - sweet potato, kūmara, *Ipomoea batatas*.

mana - prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - mana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. Mana goes hand in hand with tapu, one affecting the other. The more prestigious the event, person or object, the more it is surrounded by tapu and mana. Mana gives a person the authority to lead, organise and regulate communal expeditions and activities, to make decisions regarding social and political matters. A person or tribe's mana can increase from successful ventures or decrease through the lack of success.

manaaki/manaakitanga - hospitality, kindness, generosity, support - the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others.

manuhiri - visitor, guest.

mānuka - mānuka, tea-tree, *Leptospermum scoparium* - a common native scrub bush with aromatic, prickly leaves and many small, white, pink or red flowers.

Māori - Māori, indigenous New Zealander, indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand - a new use of the word resulting from Pākehā contact in order to distinguish between people of Māori descent and the colonisers.

marae - courtyard - the open area in front of the whareniui, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae.

marae ātea - courtyard, public forum - open area in front of the whareniui where formal welcomes to visitors takes place and issues are debated. The marae ātea is the domain of Tūmataunga, the atua of war and people, and is thus the appropriate place to raise contentious issue.

mātauranga Māori - Māori knowledge. The body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives, Māori creativity and cultural practices.

mauri - life principle, life force, vital essence, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions - the essential quality and vitality of a being or entity. Also used for a physical object, individual, ecosystem or social group in which this essence is located.

mokopuna - grandchild - child or grandchild of a son, daughter, nephew, niece, etc.

Ngāi Tahu - tribal group of much of the South Island, sometimes called Kāi Tahu by the southern tribes.

noa - to be free from the extensions of tapu, ordinary, unrestricted, void.

noho - living, occupying. AUT's noho is a weekend retreat where the participants are immersed in Māori culture and can stay and sleep on the marae.

pā whakawairua – an expression for the mauri of a person or place.

Pākehā - New Zealander of European descent - probably originally applied to English-speaking Europeans living in Aotearoa/New Zealand. According to Mohi Tūrei, an acknowledged expert in Ngāti Porou tribal lore, the term is a shortened form of pakepakehā, which was a Māori rendition of a word or words remembered from a chant used in a very early visit by foreign sailors for raising their anchor (TP 1/1911:5). Others claim that pakepakehā was another name for tūrehu or patupairehe. Despite the claims of some non-Māori speakers, the term does not normally have negative connotations.

Papa-tū-ā-nuku - Earth, Earth mother and wife of Rangī-nui - all living things originate from them.

Pātea - a small coastal township in South Taranaki.

pono - truth, non-fiction, validity, authentic.

pōwhiri - invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae, welcome.

punga – anchor.

pūrākau - myth, ancient legend, story.

rāhui - to put in place a temporary ritual prohibition, closed season, ban, reserve - traditionally a rāhui was placed on an area, resource or stretch of water as a conservation measure or as a means of social and political control for a variety of reasons which can be grouped into three main categories: pollution by tapu, conservation and politics. Death pollutes land, water and people through tapu. A rāhui is a device for separating people from land, water and the products from these. After an agreed lapse of time, the rāhui is lifted. A rāhui is marked by a visible sign, such as the erection of a pou rāhui, a post. It is initiated by someone of rank and placed and lifted with appropriate karakia by a Tohunga.

rākau whakapapa – small carved stick used as a memory tool to help with the recall of whakapapa.

rangatira - chief (male or female), chieftain, chieftainess, master, mistress, boss, supervisor, employer, landlord, owner, proprietor - qualities of a leader is a concern for the integrity and prosperity of the people, the land, the language and other cultural treasures (e.g. oratory and song poetry), and an aggressive and sustained response to outside forces that may threaten these.

rangatiratanga - chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, chiefly authority, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the Rangatira, noble birth, attributes of a chief. Also, kingdom, realm, sovereignty, principality, self-determination, self-management - connotations extending the original meaning of the word resulting from Bible and Treaty of Waitangi translations.

Rangi-nui - atua of the sky and husband of Papa-tū-ā-nuku, from which union originate all living things.

Reo - language, dialect, tongue, speech.

Rewarewa - rewarewa, New Zealand honeysuckle, Knightia excelsa - a tall tree with long, stiff leaves having widely spaced teeth, the undersides, midvein and new growth being velvety brown.

rewena - bread made with potato yeast, yeast, leaven - substance added to dough to make it ferment and rise.

ringawera - kitchen worker, kitchen hand.

Rongo-mā-Tāne - atua of the kūmara and cultivated food and one of the offspring of Rangi-nui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku, he is also known as Rongo-hīrea and Rongo-marae-roa-a-Rangi.

Tāmaki Makaurau - Auckland region, or "Tāmaki of a thousand lovers".

tamariki - children.

Tāne-mahuta - atua of the forests and birds and one of the children of Rangi-nui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku. Also known as Tāne-te-toko-o-te-rangi.

Tangaroa - atua of the sea and fish, he was one of the offspring of Rangi-nui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku and fled to the sea when his parents were separated. Sometimes known as Tangaroa-whaiariki.

tangata whenua - local people, hosts, indigenous people - people born of the whenua, i.e. of the placenta and of the land where the people's ancestors have lived and where their placenta are buried.

tangihanga - weeping, crying, funeral, rites for the dead, obsequies - one of the most important institutions in Māori society, with strong cultural imperatives and protocols. Most tangihanga are held on **marae**.

taonga - property, goods, possessions, effects, treasure, anything prized - applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques.

tāpora - basket for cooking fish.

tapu - be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under atua protection.

tauā - war party, army - taua in some dialects. Also, to mourn, wear mourning clothes.

Tāwhiri-mātea - atua of the winds, clouds, rain, hail, snow and storms, he was also known as Tāwhiri-rangi and Tāwhiri-mate-a-Rangi and was one of the offspring of Rangi-nui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku who did not want his parents separated.

Te - (determiner) the (singular) - used when referring to a particular individual or thing.

Te Ao Māori - literally means "the Māori world". It is both the physical and non-physical. This includes Te Reo, tikanga, Marae, Waahi Tapu, spirituality, Mātauranga Māori, whakapapa and whānau, Hapū and iwi.

Te Ao Mārama - world of life and light, Earth, physical world. Dwelling place of humans.

Te Kore - energy, potential, nothingness. Realm of potential being. The Void.

Te Pō - form, the dark, the night.

tī - cabbage trees of various species - palm-like trees with strong leaves; the young inner leaves are eaten both raw and cooked.

tohunga - skilled person, chosen expert, priest, healer - a person chosen by the agent of an atua and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation. Those who functioned as priests were known as Tohunga ahurewa. They mediated between the atua and the tribe, gave advice about economic activities, were experts in propitiating the atua with karakia and were experts in sacred lore, spiritual beliefs, traditions and genealogies of the tribe

Tūhoe - tribal group of the Bay of Plenty, including the Kutarere-Ruātoki-Waimana-Waikaremoana area.

Tūmatauenga - the atua of war, hunting, food cultivation, fishing and cooking

Tū-te-wehiwehi - atua of reptiles.

utu - revenge, cost, price, wage, fee, payment, salary, reciprocity - an important concept concerned with the maintenance of balance and harmony in relationships between individuals and groups and order within Māori society, whether through gift exchange or as a result of hostilities between groups. It is closely linked to mana and includes reciprocation of kind deeds as well as revenge.

waahi tapu - a place sacred to Maori in the traditional, spiritual, religious, ritual, or mythological sense.

wata wata – green leaves.

whakairo - to carve, ornament with a pattern, sculpt. Carving.

whakamomori - to commit suicide.

whakanoa - to remove tapu - to free things that have the extensions of tapu, but it does not affect intrinsic tapu.

whakapapa - genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent. It is central to all Māori institutions.

whakaute - to respect, show respect, tend, care for, prepare.

whānau - extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people - the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society. In the modern context, the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members.

whanaungatanga - relationship, kinship, sense of family connection - a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging. It develops as a result of kinship rights and obligations, which also serve to strengthen each member of the kin group. It also extends to others to whom one develops a close familial, friendship or reciprocal relationship.

whare whakairo - carved house, meeting house.

wharenui - meeting house, large house - main building of a marae where guests are accommodated.

wharewaka - hanger. Storage house of waka.

