

Māori Spaces in Foreign Places

Hinemihi o Te Ao Tawhito

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List of Abbreviations

AUT	Auckland University of Technology
AUTEC	Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
IRI	International Research Institutes for Māori and Indigenous Education (IRI)
MLC	Māori Land Court
NT	the National Trust
NZMACI	New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute
PAR	participative action research
UCL	University College of London

Attestation of Authorship

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

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Abstract

The *whare tūpuna*, Hinemihi o Te Ao Tawhito, an ancestral meeting house, built in 1881 in Te Wairoa, Aotearoa is now located in Surrey, England. Despite radical changes in cultural, social, economic and geographic landscapes over the past 128 years, the whare continues to epitomise a distinct Māori cultural identity. How Hinemihi has managed to sustain this cultural identity despite its geographic dislocation from her homeland is the focus of this thesis.

A theoretical engagement with history and the utilisation of kaupapa Māori as an analytic framework reveals that Māori cultural identity can be nurtured and sustained outside of traditional Māori contexts. The historical material is provided in *whakapapa kōrero*, or tribal narrative, at *hui*, *wānanga* being forums of higher learning and in tribal reports, publicly available archival documents, historical literature, contemporary accounts, multimedia documentaries, government records and newspapers. The result is a focused kaupapa Māori study which provides an original and interpretative social history of Hinemihi as well as advancing Māori scholarship in the field of history, Māori identity and cultural landscapes.

In this particular case, the social history exhibits the dichotomous nature of Hinemihi in that distinctions can be made between two discrete *whānau* groupings associated with the whare. First there is the *whakapapa whānau* or Ngāti Hinemihi/Tūhourangi who are the tribal peoples descended from the original owners of the whare and who trace their identity to *Hinemihi*, the ancestress from whom the whare is named. And second there is the *kaupapa whānau* which consists of many people or communities who have been brought together through various non-kin relationships they have with the whare. Paradoxically, the whare promotes unity where people come together to be part of the wider whānau of Hinemihi, as well as highlighting dialectic tensions between the communities associated with the whare. Through the juxtaposition of cultures, different historical visions, systems of knowledge and representations of meaning, the research concludes that Māori cultural identity is as much about displacement and tension as it is about established tribally determined criterion of identity, primarily related to whakapapa association and connection to place.

The research further argues that the history, location and hybrid nature of this whare and her communities reflect broader social contexts, particularly with respect to changes in Māori society from localised tribal communities to a global Māori diaspora. While some contemporary social contexts challenge Māori tribal discourses of identity and relationships, change is not new, and the thesis provides an example of the symbolic and metaphoric character of *mātauranga Māori*, contextualised here as systems of Māori knowledge. As the social and locational contexts of Māori change so too do Māori cultural landscapes and identity.

Preface

Clarifying Hinemihi naming and other Māori terms

For the purposes of clarity, the names of the different Hinemihi are articulated throughout the thesis thus:

- the three whare named Hinemihi will be named:
 - Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito as Hinemihi
 - Hinemihi located at Whakarewarewa as Hinemihi ki Whakarewarewa
 - Hinemihi located at Ngapuna as Hinemihi ki Ngapuna
- and the ancestress *Hinemihi* will be italicised.

Māori words and phrases will be introduced in italics and defined as bracketed translations or in-text prose, but thereafter will not be highlighted. However, all italicised terms and their definitions will also appear in a Glossary of Māori terms, found just before the references list, for the reader to easily refer to. Primarily translations were sourced from the *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index* (Moorfield, 2015).

Researcher motivations, intent – my journey

Hei aha noa ake I mate ai au ka tipu aku pākārito.

Mō tātou, ā, mō ngā uri ā muri ake nei

It does not matter if I die I am survived by my descendants.

For us and our children after us

This is a Ngāti Whakaue *whakataukī*, a tribal proverb that refers to the obligation of tribal descendants to sustain and transmit the cultural capital embedded in *whakapapa* that embraces both ancestral knowledge systems and genealogical history. Whakapapa knowledge is predominant in much of Māori narrative and is therefore considered an important factor in Māori identity and cultural knowledge transmission.

Hinemihi, a Ngāti Hinemihi *whare tūpuna* from Rotorua, Aotearoa is now located in England. This whare tūpuna provides an illustration of our tribal cultural identity. Tribal associations are maintained through whakapapa and enactment of tribal *tikanga* or customs, along with the continued association of descendants of the person after whom the whare was named. In addition to whakapapa knowledge, an investigation of the social history

that also considered the many non-kin associations to the whare showed the vitality and capacity of Māori cultural knowledge systems in maintaining cultural identity regardless of where these cultural knowledge systems are found. Both whakapapa and kaupapa overlap as the history of Hinemihi unfolds. This meeting house is significant to my *whānau*, or extended family, as Hinemihi was home and shelter for Tūhourangi (part of the confederation of tribes of the principle tribal grouping of Te Arawa) at Te Wairoa. Sheltering survivors of the Tarawera volcanic eruption of 1886, Hinemihi enabled continuation of our family lines and, because of this, became integral to our identity, tribal history, stories, *waiata* (songs) and *taonga* (ancestral treasures). Many owe their lives to the whare in Te Wairoa that withstood the eruption (Guide Sophia's whare and Hinemihi) including me as I descend from the survivors who were sheltered in those whare. This connection alone motivated my interest and commitment to this study.

I have British and Māori ancestry. My father, Kenneth Williams, was from Llanfihangel in central North Wales, although he grew up mainly in south-west coastal England and south London. He immigrated to New Zealand in 1955 and returned only once to his homeland. He did not feel a connection to Wales or England, and felt very strongly that New Zealand was 'home'. He did, however, relate his time on the English coast with his love for the beauty of New Zealand's coastline and abundant diving and fishing opportunities. He rarely spoke Welsh and didn't share stories of his connections to Wales. There was no importance placed on knowing relatives and, as a result, we, his children, have no connection to his kin. He was content with creating a new identity here in New Zealand and had no desire to interact or participate in any British membership – although he never relinquished his British citizenship and when any Welsh sporting teams visited New Zealand, his patriotic colours came out. My father was a 'travelling Welshman'. He married a Māori woman, Ripeka, in Gisborne and had five children. He then married my mother, Piatarahi, in Auckland and had two more children.

My mother was born and raised in the heart of her tribal nation, Rotorua in the central North Island of New Zealand. While she travelled the world, doing her nursing training in the United Kingdom and spending many years in Europe both working and travelling, she maintained her links to her whānau and wider tribe. Her vocation led her to many places throughout New Zealand and she finally settled in Auckland.

I am the eldest of two girls to my parents. We were both born and raised in Auckland but due to our mother's tribal bonds, we also consider Rotorua 'home'. With this association comes

relationships with 20,000-plus tribal members, ownership and spiritual connection to ancestral land and lakes, access to cultural intellectual property, and membership to endless whānau associations; for example, the Te Arawa hunting club, kapa haka groups, tribal tourism enterprises and thirty-six *marae* (a complex of buildings around a *wharenuī* or meeting house). This last association is significant because *marae* were defined by Emery (2008) as “the quintessential citadel of the Māori ethos” (p. 75).

The significance of my whakapapa and associated stories was accentuated on the passing of my mother in 1995. Not only was she the link between our generation and those before us, but her death consolidated our membership in the *hapū*, or our kinship group, in a number of ways. The Māori traditions surrounding death embrace many aspects of grieving, culture, genealogy, whānau and oratory, amongst other things. We took Mum home to Rotorua from our home in Auckland, to farewell her in our tribal way. Three days of being with the tribe, listening to *whaikōrero* (narratives), whakapapa, *pakiwaitara* (stories) and waiata, and being cared for by the extended family, helped us to get through that difficult time. The *tangihanga* or *tangi* remains a prominent cultural practice at times of death and grief for many Māori, and as Te Awekotuku stated, the practice of *tangihanga* “continue to determine who, and what is Māori, since they retain the recitation of the genealogical chart that is the true source of Māori community” (Te Awekotuku, 1996, pp. 29–30).

It wasn’t until after the *tangi* that we felt a desire to pay back the immense support extended to our immediate family. This is the traditional concept of reciprocity or *koha/utu* in practice. Since that time, tribal obligation has further consolidated our membership and sense of belonging. For the generations that follow, it is now up to us to make sure that they have the opportunities to be part of a dynamic culture that shapes their identity as Māori and thus this thesis endeavours to unpack those concepts that make us Māori.

In contrast to my mother’s final farewell, my father had a *Pākehā* or non-Maori funeral when he died in 2005. This entailed a thirty-minute short service at a funeral parlour, private interment, and then a small afternoon tea. This was foreign to us, his family, but we followed his wishes. A year after his passing we decided to retrace his life in the United Kingdom and spent three weeks travelling through Wales and England. It wasn’t until the last day of our trip that we felt connected to our father’s homeland, when we went to visit Hinemihi o Te Ao Tawhito, the Māori meeting house at Clandon Park, a quintessential English estate owned and maintained by the National Trust.

Upon arrival we felt like our ancestors were inviting us home. So here we were, three sisters, alone at Hinemihi – Māori travellers, of British descent, greeted by a Māori whare in an English stately garden. The whare herself a product of a Māori world, created in Aotearoa to greet English travellers. It was a very spiritual experience and unexpected, that our mother's culture in Aotearoa would allow us to feel accepted and part of our father's heritage in the United Kingdom.

It was on that day, with my sisters alone on the estate, that this doctoral research topic was conceived.

Figure 1: Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito, 2006



Source: Patricia Williams.

Figure 1 is a picture of Hinemihi at Clandon Park, taken on 25 June 2006. On the left is myself, Keri Wikitera, and on the right is my sister Nari Faiers. While there was no one there to call us onto the marae, a 'reconstructed' form of *pōwhiri* or traditional ritual of welcome was experienced whereby Hinemihi extended her *wairua*, her spirit, to us. Hinemihi became our cultural reference, linking us to both our British and Māori

cultural identities.

Traveller meets traveller... Whānau meets whānau

Tihei mauriora!

Rationale and significance of the study

In pre-modern societies, such as traditional Māori societies, the unity of space and place were considered inseparable as social life was dominated by the presence of people in particular places. In the post-modern context, however, societies are also shaped by distant global forces (Giddens, 1990). D. Massey (1994) asserted that this Western dualistic view of space and place must be considered as a:

... configuration of social relations within which the specifically spatial may be conceived of as an inherently dynamic simultaneity. Moreover, since social relations are inevitably and everywhere imbued with power, meaning and symbolism this view of the spatial is an ever-shifting social geometry of power and signification. (p. 3)

Juxtaposing theoretical notions of space and place into Māori societal contexts and utilising Māori concepts as frames of reference, this research reveals how Māori have transformed within changing environments or landscapes. Utilising the same ancestral references, symbolism and signification that sustain the unique cultural identity of Māori, it is argued here that these new forms of cultural landscapes are independent of geographical location and are a function of Māori views of space, place and, importantly, the relationships between people.

While D. Massey (1994) asserted that this dualistic view of space and place are positioned within a Western ontology, many Māori and cultural practices also consider space and place to be interdependent. The identification of Māori as *tangata whenua*, in itself literally meaning ‘people of the land’, is a key element in Māori cultural identity and the ability to connect to one’s *tūrangawaewae*, a place where one has rights to stand and engage through whakapapa or kinship ties, is recognised as a principal factor in social and political environments such as tribal land claims (Durie, 1998; Maxwell, 1991; Meredith, 2000; Walker, 1989). This study examines this view of interdependence, exploring the notion that Māori cultural identity is not purely confined to connections to geographical place alone. Socially created spaces, dependent on a complex network of relationships of people with each other and to iconic cultural references represented both physically and metaphysically, are also important. This then makes Māori cultural identity significant in terms of cultural and social capital for the nation. Hence the value of Māori cultural identity in social and economic terms does not exist just for individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi, but should also be considered in terms of the spatial views of social geometry, from local through to global spheres.

At a national level, research shows that many urban Māori do not affiliate with their tribal connections and there are direct links between this lack of identity and current negative socio-economic statistics (Milroy, 2008; Rikihana, 1988; Tahana Ltd, 2006; Turia, 2000). Some attribute this to colonisation and its processes of urbanisation and deculturation (Houkamau, 2006). There is, therefore, an assumption that identifying as Māori requires strong association to one's tribal connections, and hence, in the absence of these connections, Māori identity is deemed as defective (Houkamau, 2006). This is a view that is clearly not true for many 'deculturated' Māori (Borrell, 2005).

Within this thesis I unpack the complexities of Māori cultural identities utilising Hinemihi as an example of a Māori traveller. I examine the history of Hinemihi, as a Māori cultural conduit, through the many narratives of people connected to her. The research, therefore, examines interpretations of meanings that form her social history, from both the kin-based relationships of her whakapapa whānau and from her wider communities of interest, her kaupapa whānau (Durie, 2008).

The research examines key aspects of her historical account which included changes to her geographic location, ownership and tribal connection. Regardless of these apparent changes, there are also significant constants that feature consistently since her construction in 1881. For example, the original purpose of Hinemihi as being a cultural centre, utilised in tribal gatherings and traditions at Te Wairoa, still exists today as she brings together Māori and others in England. Furthermore, both her locations – historical and current – reflect the contexts of mobility and travel. Consequently the research adopted a holistic approach that embraced the physical, social, cultural and spiritual being of Hinemihi.

The framework to enable an interpretive history of Hinemihi was established through a literature review, archival research, narrative analysis found in oral histories, stories of the *whakairo* (carvings), in waiata, participation in *iwi wānanga* or tribal gatherings, attendance and observation at three Hinemihi events, and discussions with many people who are connected to her in different capacities.

The cultural identity of Hinemihi while located at Te Wairoa was represented in the relationships of her owners, the hapū of Ngāti Hinemihi, and the social context that existed in the village. While the whare was sold after the volcanic eruption of Mt Tarawera in 1886, Ngāti Hinemihi continue to be considered the *hunga tiaki* as the spiritual guardians of her and work in association with the National Trust.

The hapū of Tūhourangi, who held *mana whenua* or authority and principle owners over the Tarawera region, including Te Wairoa and its surrounds, were closely associated with Ngāti Hinemihi and the whare. Tūhourangi considered Hinemihi as their home and shelter from the devastation of the eruption (A. Wihapi, personal communication, December 20, 2007). The association and importance placed on Hinemihi by these two hapū are reflected in the many stories that continue to be recited in tribal narratives. Thus the identity of Hinemihi was formed through both kin connection (*whakapapa*) and tribal land boundaries (*kaupapa*).

While Hinemihi is an iconic cultural reference for Māori, very little has been written on her history from a Māori socio-historical viewpoint. Initial discussions with the Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi whānau revealed the significance of her history, which is rooted in cultural aspects of her life and care and the ongoing relationships that she has with people such as Ngāti Rānana, the Māori community who reside in England, primarily in London. Māori cultural identity has a multiplicity of interpretations dependent on contexts; individual, whānau, hapū, iwi, community values; and, importantly, the influences of who is doing the interpreting. By using Hinemihi as an example of Māori cultural identity, the research examines the linkages of Māori to one's iwi boundaries, and so challenges claims by many that linkages to place, i.e. *whenua* (land) and *papakāinga* (home village), is a necessary element of being Māori (Meredith, 2009).

Articulating the history of Hinemihi from multi-vocal perspectives broadly allows for a conceptual examination of Māori identity throughout a century of dramatic change. Hinemihi has sustained her physical presence as a whare tūpuna and, importantly, has maintained her original purpose, that of an iconic cultural reference for travellers.

Chapter One: Introduction

When I first began this research journey I was keen to confirm my whakapapa relationship to Ngāti Hinemihi, the original tribal owners of the ancestral meeting house Hinemihi. I had thought that a whakapapa relationship would support and endorse the kaupapa Māori stance of my research and position me into the ‘space’ of Hinemihi. As my research progressed, I was to find out that this space was not just about a name on the family tree; it also reinforced my ontological position and enhanced the relationships and opportunities I had to meet the people of Hinemihi.

Before I started this study, I asked my Uncle Anthony Wihapi how Hinemihi linked to me and his response changed my perspective of whakapapa connections. Rather than linking Hinemihi to me, through a trace of my whakapapa, Uncle Anthony suggested I consider the whakapapa of Hinemihi and see where I link to her. While this seems to be a simple change in perspective, it was profound in that the tikanga of our whānau was to listen, to reflect upon and make linkages rather than pick out pieces of history to utilise for my own motivations. It also meant that whakapapa was respected and not ‘created’ for the sake of the research.

Pepeha – Ko wai au?

Tarawera te maunga	Tarawera my sacred mountain
Tarawera te moana	Tarawera my sacred lake
Te Arawa te iwi	Te Arawa my tribe
Ngatoroirangi te tohunga	Ngatoroirangi the high priest
Tūhourangi te hapū	Tūhourangi my subtribe
Te Pakira te marae	Te Pakira my marae
Wahiao te whare	Wahiao my house
Ko Keri ahau	I am Keri
Kei Glendowie taku kainga tupu...	Glendowie is my home where I grew up.

This *pepeha* (tribal proverb, formulaic expression) binds me to my tribal connections and provides a deep and meaningful framework to my identity as a Māori. This relatively structured dialogue is a common form of introduction for Māori and is frequently recounted as a way of linking people together at hui or places of importance, primarily through genealogical relationships or whakapapa. These are symbols of our identity that are recognised by our tribal affiliations. Often these symbols are related to actual landscapes or

names or things such as *tūpuna whare* (ancestral meeting houses), again linking, symbolically, to one's whakapapa, place or space (Carter, 2013).

Usually one's name is not of significance compared with the history and heritage embedded in the rest of the dialogue. It is the process of linking oneself as an individual with others in multiple political, cultural and economic contexts. *Kaumātua*, a respected tribal elder, Anaru Rangiheua stated: "For us there is one constant, Tarawera: the lake, the mountain and the relationship of Tūhourangi to that place" (personal communication, January 13, 2012).

This simple discourse provides information on genealogical ties as well as entrenching oneself in tribal value systems and codes of behaviour. Values are the basis of how one rationalises the world, and thus my world view and research perspective derive from the encoded value systems of Tūhourangi, a hapū of Te Arawa. These value systems form the basis of both cultural and physical landscapes and are transmitted via a complex schema of traditional knowledge systems.

Entrenched in this short formulaic expression is my identity as a Tūhourangi Māori. These types of identity markers are part of a process of articulating one's self-image within the context of society as well as framing oneself against 'the Other', those believed to be, either in the subconscious or outwardly, as having more power to influence. It is argued that without this type of genealogical cultural information and shared experiences, a person cannot call themselves Māori (Meredith, 2009; Royal, 1998). If this is truly the case, what of the many Māori who are 4th-, 5th- and 6th-generation urban dwellers or those born and raised overseas? Those who have been disenfranchised or have a total disconnect from their tribal homelands and don't have access to the requisite genealogical information or knowledge systems?

Many have created what Durie (2008) termed 'kaupapa whānau' or communities of interest. These whānau groupings may or may not be based on kin connections but are, nevertheless, conceptualised as whānau, determined by participants based upon shared history, experiences, context or other associations (Edwards, McManus, & McCreanor, 2005, p. 94). These communities present themselves in many forms and are commonly found in expatriate Māori communities in Australia, England and/or in urban settings of Māori residing outside of their respective tribal boundaries.

Examples of kaupapa whānau include the Māori cultural group in London, Ngāti Rānana, Māori sports clubs in urban cities, street gangs and other urban groupings now termed ‘urban Māoris’. (Meredith, 1998). These types of groupings or whānau often don’t meet the same identity criterion as kin groups; i.e. the norms of whakapapa systems which are considered by many to be a requisite of being Māori (Royal, 1998). Consequently, these non-traditional or non-whakapapa contexts are not recognised by many active tribal members or in Māori cultural identity markers that measure Māori identity from a cultural or enculturated view (Houkamau, 2006).

While I consider myself an urban Māori, the term often has negative connotations, most commonly misinterpreted as someone who must not know their ancestry, tribal connections and cultural identity, or who may have renounced them. This is problematic for many reasons, which is discussed throughout this thesis. The political, social and cultural landscape for Māori has changed dramatically over the past 133 years (the time span of this research) and traditional Māori frameworks have continuously been threatened by periods of colonisation, neo-liberalism, globalisation and capitalist ideologies (Edwards, 2009). It is maintained, however, that these traditional Māori cultural frameworks continue to promote Māori well-being and the sustainability of the Māori cultural capital embedded in the nation’s social, economic and cultural potential (Durie, 2006; McIntosh, 2007).

Throughout this thesis I speak from the perspective of a Tūhourangi, Te Arawa woman who grew up outside her tribal boundaries but who still connects to Te Arawa through knowledge of whakapapa, tribal traditions and opportunities to maintain relationships with *ahi kaa*, those who keep the home fires burning. The research therefore presents not only an historical account within a kaupapa Māori framework but also an alternative perspective to iwi historical accounts. This alternative perspective enables the researcher to articulate elements of Māori identity construction to show how Māori who do not live within their tribal regions continue to identify with Māori culture.

Through both ancestral and current relationships of people to this whare, the social history of Hinemihi embodies kin-based engagement with new forms of social relationships. This impacts on historical interpretation as meanings are drawn from a specific cultural ontology. Arrowsmith (2009) defined ontology as “a branch of philosophy focusing upon the origins, essence and meaning of being” and as such my ontological positioning became important in

not only influencing the aims of the research but also the subsequent interpretation and outcomes of the research. Pihama (2001) asserted that:

To position ourselves clearly as Kaupapa Māori theorists is to identify ourselves, to place before others where we are coming from so that there is no guise of neutrality or assumed objectivity. (p. 87)

This aligns with Tosh's (2006) post-modern approach to presenting history whereby a multiplicity of perspectives is required to deconstruct contexts where one must take "seriously not just the resources of the language but the identity and background of the author" (p. 203). Clearly articulating my position in both the written project as well as the research design was a key part of this research and supports the aim of kaupapa Māori theory whereby declaring the researcher's interest, critiquing established realities, and building the bridge to transformational change is requisite in researching *Te Ao Māori* (the Māori world) (Kirkpatrick, Katsiaficas, & Emery, 1978; Pihama, 2001; Whyte, 1989).

This study sets out to re-examine the history of Hinemihi from a new perspective. The analysis will apply Māori knowledge, utilising, building upon and thus validating kaupapa Māori as a research approach.

My aim is to show how an epistemological study influences cultural meanings and interpretations, and hence can influence cultural 'realities'. This thesis presents a social historical perspective that differs from conventional historical accounts in that its intention is to add value to, promote and support other Māori in affirming their life journeys and their place in the world no matter where they are located. Through time, the relocation of this whare reflects the social history of the people she has been and is currently connected with, and offers future possibilities in maintaining Māori cultural identity for future generations of 'travelling Māori'.

Spanning the history of Hinemihi from the time of her construction in 1881 to the present, the study presents the complexities embedded in the social connections that she has had and continues to facilitate, be they in Aotearoa or England. The history demonstrates a schema of the cultural identity of Hinemihi that has shaped not only personal identities in the form of kinship connections but also, it will be argued, reflects a model of protection, of sustainability of taonga, and of a dynamic culture encapsulating the essence of being Māori within multiple contexts or spaces. Hinemihi is an example of how cultural capital builds and benefits communities in a number of positive ways, and by bringing together Māori cultural knowledge systems and social activities, an example of Māori identity emerges. This analysis

extends upon those presented by other Māori cultural identity theorists and encapsulates contemporary sociocultural indices for Māori, focusing on Hinemihi.

The thesis is not about replicating hegemonic discourse that relegates the researched to a passive voice by articulating abstract concepts to build truths. Rather, it is about examining key elements of importance in the history of Hinemihi in the hope of seeking emancipatory outcomes for Māori living outside of their traditional tribal boundaries. Norris (2007) asserted that “social actors construct, attribute and accept or deny a social identity through every action that is performed” (p. 653). Therefore the study demanded a multifaceted approach that, through the application of multiple methodologies, examines a broad range of elements related to the whare, from different historical interpretations to current relationships of people, groupings and communities connected to her.

Whare tūpuna are considered symbolic embodiments of being Māori. They represent ancestral connections in their actual physical form and embrace spiritual dimensions drawn upon in Māori cultural practice, traditions and protocols (Hakiwai, 2007; Hooper-Greenhill, 1998). Many descendants of the great Māori leaders who have been memorialised as tūpuna whare continue to have strong links to multigenerational social networks; these are often referred to as iwi, hapū and whānau. It is when these linkages are weakened, through societal changes such as migration, colonisation, urbanisation or simply the death of those that hold the *kete*, or baskets, of knowledge that we start to articulate new ways of re-establishing and strengthening our identities as Māori.

Knowledge of who you are not only supports an individual’s knowledge base but also their whole community’s wellbeing, be that *ā-tinana* (physical), *ā-wairua* (spiritual) or *ā-hinengaro* (intellectual) (Cram & Kennedy, 2010). This is evidenced in the success of *kōhanga reo*, *kura kaupapa Māori*, and *whare wānanga* which are total immersion Māori education providers from preschool through to tertiary level, where the burgeoning academic and cultural capital found in graduates of those institutions is now encouraging economic development of large tribal corporations, creating the intellectual capacity to drive business initiatives. Furthermore, these Māori graduates are enabling a cultural renaissance, which has provided examples for other indigenous peoples’ development.

Hinemihi is now a significant cultural reference for Māori in England, for her people at home in Aotearoa, and for those visiting her at the Clandon Park estate. She has linked people

through whakapapa and now more contemporary notions of Māori identity (Durie, 2008; Houkamau, 2006). That she affords us a special space is supported by accounts from both Māori and non-Māori, who speak of her wairua and ability to connect people to home and to their cultural identity. Hinemihi is an example of how iconic cultural references can maintain one's Māori identity regardless of where you are. It is contended that this whare provides an opportunity to highlight sociocultural issues facing many Māori who, like Hinemihi, no longer reside in or connect to their tūrangawaewae.

Embedded in the history of Hinemihi are significant periods of change for Māori. The research considers her relationships with the hapū of Tūhourangi and Ngāti Hinemihi in her early years, through to her current relationship with Ngāti Rānana, the Māori community of London, and other people/communities/organisations connected to her. Links with people both through whakapapa and kaupapa whānau (Durie, 2008) are examined to highlight the significance of the physical and metaphysical nature of the whare as a model to better understand the linkages between people, place, spaces and time and how cultural identity can stimulate cultural capacities and capital. The concept that Māori spaces can be created in foreign places is drawn from perspectives of people who, through Hinemihi, connect to England and/or Aotearoa.

To some, Hinemihi is just a building or object; to others, she is an icon, a beacon of identity, a representation of globalising Māori; and to those connected to Hinemihi through whakapapa, she embodies their history and future. Hinemihi continues to be a place for gatherings, enactment of Māori tikanga, *kawa* (formal marae protocols) and *ritenga* (customs, practices or rituals), albeit modified to her postmodern environment. The whare is what Clifford (1997) calls a 'contact zone', where "cultural action, the making and remaking of identities, takes place ... stasis and purity are asserted – creatively and violently – *against* historical forces of movement and contamination" (p. 7).

Research questions

Authors, including Durie (2008), Houkamau (2006) and Rikihana (1988) have asserted that Māori identity is an essential element in positive social (including health), economic and cultural outcomes. If this is the case, and given our global society and the position and realities of Māori today, how are the complexities involved in the concept of Māori identity sustained? Indeed, how have Māori identities been sustained whilst undergoing major changing cultural, physical and spiritual landscapes?

This research draws upon the work of a number of Māori scholars in the field of Māori concepts of identity and connection; for example, Durie's (1985) Te Whare Tapa Wha model, Ka'ai and Higgins' (2003) conceptual model of Māoritanga, and considerations of cultural identity by Hohepa (2010). Although Durie's model was derived within a health context, it provided useful elements that align closely to Hinemihi as his model also uses the analogy of a house in the analysis. These models were the foundation for the initial research design and thematic strands running through the thesis. These Māori conceptual models, however, were examined in the context of larger theoretical debates of history, identity and interpretation responding to the past and current context of Hinemihi. The history of Hinemihi is presented with particular regard to characteristics of cultural identity of the travelling Māori diaspora.

By bringing together elements of kaupapa Māori and the understandings and meaningful engagement of Hinemihi with multiple stakeholders, a critical reflection of cultural identity and history emerge. The core values and traditions of ancestral connections have endured within these contemporary expressions of Māori identity and culture, although culture is not static and therefore identities are positioned within respective and changing contexts. Connection to ancestral land is one of many elements that continue to be a significant element in Māori identity criteria – but in the case of Hinemihi, connection to geographical place is not significant in her identity as a Māori cultural icon. An objective of the research is, therefore, to examine identity for Māori to present or support future growth in terms of cultural identity for Māori outside of tribal norms.

The aim here is to investigate how and why the cultural identity of the whare has survived despite such radical changes in her history and how these findings apply to a growing diasporic Māori community. Thus, the overall research questions focused on:

- What are the significant interventions in the history of Hinemihi that contribute to the cultural landscape and identity of the whare?
- How are Māori notions of cultural identity presented at Hinemihi?
 - How are Māori notions of cultural identity of Hinemihi interpreted and/or defined by her whakapapa whānau?
 - How are Māori notions of cultural identity of Hinemihi interpreted and/or defined by her kaupapa whānau?

Thesis structure

The thesis is organised into three parts: the first four chapters introduce the historical context, the theoretical positioning and methodological approach of the thesis; the next three chapters present a critical reflection of the whānau views, perspectives, interpretations and relationships with Hinemihi; and the final chapter provides the conclusions.

Chapter Two provides the context of this study and is divided into two sections: the first sets a context of Hinemihi at Te Wairoa, and the second presents the context of the whare following her sale and relocation to England, as well as her context today. The historical context presented in this chapter positions *Hinemihi* into the research, beginning with the ancestress's life in and around the Tarawera region. The background to the construction of the whare is also presented, as well as a brief on the wider context of Te Wairoa and societal changes with regard to tourism development and village settlements around the 1880s. The sale of Hinemihi in 1891 and subsequent move of the whare to England is also recounted, alongside other points of relevance with regard to relationships Hinemihi has had with a range of people whose stories also align to Hinemihi as a travelling Māori.

Chapter Three is a review of literature pertaining to Māori scholarship and Māori history which shapes and endorses the key concepts adopted in the research, requisite for the historical and interpretative account of Hinemihi. The literature builds upon and validates kaupapa Māori as a legitimate research approach and incorporates aspects of historical interpretations through both academic and iwi perspectives.

Hinemihi is positioned as central to a configuration of social relationships in a global community, a traveller as well as a traditional Māori whare tūpuna. Regardless of Māori rhetoric that demands association with tribal place, Hinemihi has maintained her Māori

cultural identity throughout significant cataclysms in her social, physical and spiritual landscapes. The kaupapa Māori research approach was developed from the perspective that cultural values and historical points of reference that once framed local and national identities are now still applicable to communities that are increasingly shaped by global factors (Wright, 2012).

Chapter Four provides the methodological approach to the study, building upon the theoretical priorities of representation and interpretation within a kaupapa Māori schema. In addition, this chapter considers ethical implications that underpin the research and examines the dialectic between academic and cultural ethics. This approach outlines the methods utilised to enable a kaupapa Māori reading of the physical and metaphysical history of Hinemihi. This includes consideration of narrative analysis, qualitative approaches, community participation, and examination of archival material in the historical interpretative account.

Chapter Five considers the cultural meanings of the whare tūpuna, Hinemihi, as determined by her whakapapa whānau. Tribal knowledge is communicated through whakapapa kōrero, or genealogical histories, found principally within the narratives regarding taonga, tikanga and ritenga of Ngāti Hinemihi. Key themes emerged from the *kōrero* (narratives) particularly with regard to the importance of their *tūpuna*, *Hinemihi*, the many relationships that sustain her *mauri*, her essence or life principle, and the communication systems, through whakapapa kōrero, that inform the history for her descendents.

The chapter also explores the facets of taonga Māori and how taonga are reflections of complex structures of tribal relationships and offer a rich tapestry of historical information. Utilising the physical construct of Hinemihi – namely, the whakairo or carvings – this chapter investigates how narratives referring to these taonga are presented and how these narratives offer cultural dimensions of identity to the history of the whare.

In addition, the stories of other travelling Māori are reflected upon here, including two women who had a relationship with Hinemihi and who are central figures in tribal narratives; these two women and their lives reflect the story of Hinemihi in several ways.

Chapter Six explores the relationships, perspectives and engagement of the kaupapa whānau of Hinemihi. There are many stakeholders who have a relationship with the whare, both as individuals as well as larger social groupings. The interrelationships with Hinemihi are vast,

and this chapter outlines the interconnections between this whānau with the whare and the wider network of relationships developed over time. This chapter also reviews the events, projects and planned developments for the future of the whare.

Chapter Seven discusses key themes that emerged from the narratives of both the whakapapa and kaupapa whānau against the structures of meaning that are outlined in the literature review. These structures of communication, of interpretation and meanings are brought together by the narratives of the whānau, and the different perspectives are presented with particular focus on the tensions that emerged with regard to the future of the whare. Other whare located away from their tribal regions, ‘travelling whare’, are also presented in this chapter as comparisons can be drawn between them and Hinemihi. The analysis highlights the importance of social association to identity and historical landscapes, and how identity is dependent on those relationships.

Chapter Eight is the concluding chapter: it presents an overview of the thesis, the overall intent of the thesis, and returns to the original research questions. The changes that have occurred from the original intent of the thesis are highlighted. A summary of the central aspects of the study are offered as well as how the findings from the thesis research contribute to Māori scholarship.

Chapter Two: Tāhuhu Kōrero – *Hinemihi*

This chapter sets the context of the whare tūpuna Hinemihi, both at Te Wairoa and later in England. Hinemihi was opened in March 1881 by Chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha, of Ngāti Hinemihi. However, the historical account of the whare begins with the ancestress *Hinemihi*, after whom the whare was named.

The many accounts of the whare are recounted in narratives sourced from whakapapa kōrero as well as contemporary literature. The stories reflect the significance and meanings of events and relationships of those connected to the whare. They also provide a context of the life of *Hinemihi* and how ancestral narratives are continuously related to, interpreted and their history rewritten depending on the context. Hinemihi and the multifaceted contexts and relationships presented in her history continue to provide the space for social relationships from the past, to the present and into the future.

Hinemihi of Tangaroamihi

Understood to be a great female chieftainess who lived in the Rotorua region, *Hinemihi* lived circa the 16th century. *Hinemihi* grew up in the Bay of Plenty, in and around the Okareka-Tikitapu area (Tarakawa, 1909). Her tribal identification comes from Te Arawa, which links her to this tribal region.

The tribe of Te Arawa is a confederation of Māori tribes located in the Bay of Plenty region of Aotearoa. This cluster of subtribes descends from the crew of the *Arawa* canoe that landed at Maketu many hundreds of years ago; the sailors had voyaged from Hawaiiki, the homeland of Māori in Eastern Polynesia. From Maketu, the voyagers and their succeeding generations moved inland, occupying the central part of the North Island. The tribal saying “Mai Maketu Ki Tongariro, Ko Te Arawa Te Waka” maps the region from Maketu in the Bay of Plenty on the sea coast to Mt Tongariro near Lake Taupō in the hinterland, and represents the tribal boundaries of Te Arawa. Te Arawa comprises the tribes descended from the ancestor Tūwharetoa who lived near Lake Taupō, and the tribes claiming descent from Tamatekapua still live on the shores of the Rotorua lakes and surrounding districts (Waitangi Tribunal, 1989). Therefore, a simple narrative of nine words, “Mai Maketu ki Tongariro, Ko Te Arawa Te Waka”, encompasses the whole of the central volcanic plateau of 905,000 square hectares as well as the social capital of 35,000-plus people (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The metaphorical nature of *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) narrative provides for multiple

meanings, contextualising and connecting in this example a vast network of people with each other as well as tribal resources of land, taonga and histories. Thus a simple saying can form the basis of Te Arawa tribal identity.

The hapū of *Hinemihi*, named Tangaroamihi, predominantly were located around Okataina, between Rotorua and Tarawera (Stafford, 1967). Lake Okataina was named after *Hinemihi*'s father, Te Rangitakaroro, and his exploits on the lake; indeed, the full name of the lake is Te Moana-i-Kataina-e-Te Rangitakaroro, or The Sea where Te Rangitakaroro Laughed (Cowan, 1910). *Hinemihi* grew up around Lake Okataina and was the granddaughter of the chief Tarawhai, whose descendants now form the tribe Ngāti Tarawhai. Her mother was Maikuku, the second wife of Te Rangitakaroro (whakapapa not specified).

Ngāti Tarawhai people are renowned for their carving expertise, and were the carvers involved in all three of the *Hinemihi* whare and many other carved houses in tribal marae throughout the country and overseas. The descendents of *Hinemihi*, through the descent lines of her grandfather Tarawhai, are linked with the whakapapa and histories of *Hinemihi*, including even the actual production of the whakairo in the whare.

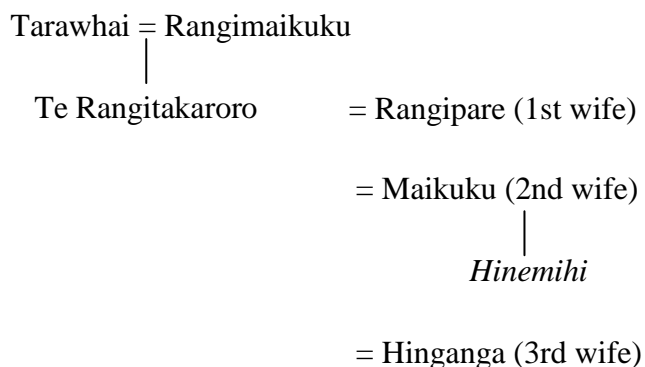
Ngāti Tarawhai continue to maintain the *mana* (prestige, status, spiritual power) of the Lake Okataina area (see Neich, 2001). “They occupied the region in and around Lake Okataina with Ngāti Rongomai but during the life time of Tarawhai there was conflict and Ngāti Rongomai were pushed out” (J. Schuster, personal communication, May 17, 2009). The homeland of *Hinemihi* was repeatedly contested and her descendants moved around the region to take advantage of fertile land and trade. *Hinemihi*, like the whare, was not unaccustomed to travel and relocation. Her descendents, like most Māori communities, were not bound by land connection alone but were travellers who were dependent on the social relationships of the hapū collective for survival.

Figure 2: The hapū of *Hinemihi* predominantly were located around the lakes district in the central North Island



Hinemihi is commonly referred to as *Hinemihi te tapairu* interpreted as meaning *Hinemihi* of high birth (R. Raymond, personal communication, May 15, 2009) or *Hinemihi te rangātira*. Her chieftainship status is, however, contrary to understandings of traditional tribal system rhetoric regarding chiefly ascent. Her whakapapa shows that she was not the eldest in her family, although she is directly descended from two chieftain lines, Tamatekapua and the *tohunga* (high priest) Ngatoroirangi who brought the Te Arawa people to Aotearoa (Schuster, 2007). This is an unusual phenomenon as *rangātira* or chiefly lines generally follow the principles of *mātāmua* or *tuakana/teina* whereby the first born or elder siblings assume higher status and associated responsibilities through primogeniture (Mead, 2003). Furthermore, Māori leadership was commonly through male descent not female, and the most important criteria “was age and seniority of descent” (Te Awekotuku, 1981, p. 19).

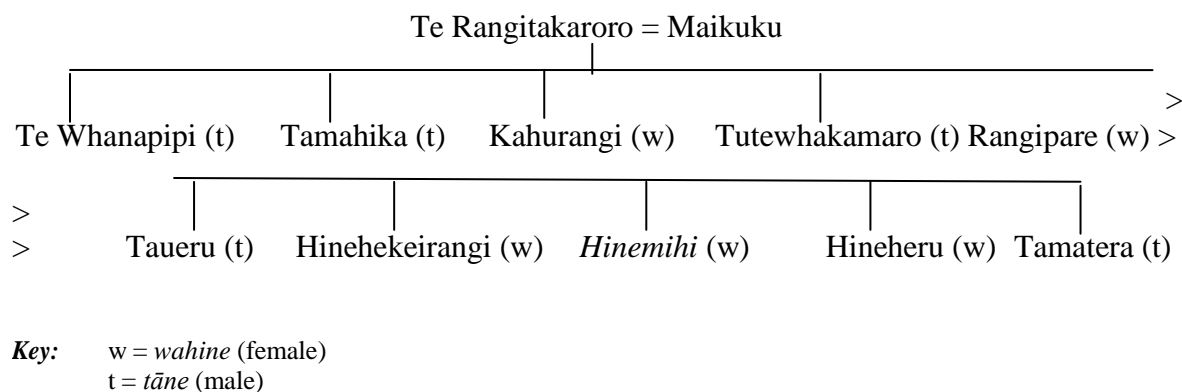
Figure 3: Ancestral line from Tarawhai and Rangimaikuku



Source: Tarakawa (1909).

The whakapapa starting from Te Rangitakaroro = Maikuku was recounted by Anaha Te Rahui in the Okataina Māori Land Court Hearing dated 23 May 1898 (Te Rahui, 1898). This whakapapa is illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Children of Te Rangitakaroro and Maikuku



Hinemihi features in historical accounts of Ngāti Hinemihi and was a significant ancestress, tracing genealogy back to Tarawhai. However, Anaha portrayed a different perspective when recalling important children of Te Rangitakaroro. In the Māori Land Court minutes in 1898, Anaha Te Rahui recounts that “Although Tamatera was the youngest, he was the most notable of Te Rangitakaroro’s children – There may be other children of Te Rangitakaroro whom I have overlooked – but if so, the other sides can supply them...”

Perhaps this different perspective was because, in the context of the Land Court narrative, it related to the whakapapa of land interests and land occupation; nevertheless, the account does indicate and confirm that the presentation of historical accounts within whakapapa kōrero, or kin-based Māori discourses, is dependent on intention, context, interpretation and perspective. The account of Anaha Te Rahui regarding the younger brother of *Hinemihi*, Tamatera, as being the most notable in the family is not reflected in the whakapapa kōrero when recounted by Ngāti Hinemihi. Oral histories recounted at any of the Ngāti Hinemihi hui I attended during the research period, or at Hinemihi in England, do not detail the stories of her elder siblings, although they are mentioned in whakapapa knowledge and probably highlighted dependent on the context of the narrative.

Regarding *Hinemihi* herself, her mana and fame was inherited through those chiefly lines but appears to be also strongly associated with her relationship with a guardian named Kataore (Schuster, 2007). Many relate her relationship with Kataore to her prominence. For example, Schuster (Personal communication, May 17, 2009) stated, “That’s how she got her mana really, because of this relationship with Kataore. He had a soft spot for her and he would sit and talk with her when others were too afraid of him.”

Kataore features in the history of *Hinemihi* and is attributed to her mana. This guardian is said to have been greatly feared by many as a *taniwha* or monster that would devour people travelling through the region, but to others he was respected as being a *tohunga* who was endowed with spiritual expertise. *Hinemihi* was fearless and was the only person able to sit and talk with Kataore. Kataore is said to have been a *kaitiaki* or guardian of the Okataina region. The various stories provide examples of differing meanings and interpretations that bring together the relational nature of whakapapa knowledge and context.

Given the place of *Hinemihi* in her whānau as a teina or younger sibling, her fame could not have come from just a simple ‘pet taniwha’ named Kataore – this interpretation does not equate with her status in tribal history where she is considered a rangātira. Rangātira were commonly defined according to the social order within respective tribal structures, based primarily on the tuakana/teina principle of leadership through primogeniture. These principles were centred on the social order of communities living within bounded places such as *pā* or fortified villages where the marae was the centre of everyday life (Barcham, 1998). In the case of *Hinemihi*’s position in her family hierarchy, the tuakana/teina principle is not applicable and it appears that her chiefly status was based upon her own personal traits as a leader. The variation of cultural ‘rules’ with regard to tribal rhetoric or tikanga

pertaining to rangātira reflects the flexibility of tikanga to meet pragmatic conditions. These variations on the social structure of Māori society endorse the flexibility in cultural reference markers as tikanga continues to be redefined dependent upon circumstance or context. Contemporary tribal leadership is now frequently derived from the ability of individuals to bring leadership qualities and Māori knowledge together to lead hapū and iwi, as opposed to a solely inherited status. These qualities are particularly relevant in the modern-day context as tribal members do not all reside within defined boundaries, but are more dispersed and diverse. The need for a flexible and pragmatic tikanga when defining contemporary tribal leadership is highlighted by Katene (2010):

Tribal leadership is often vested in the people ‘at home’ whereas the reality is that most Māori live in urban areas, away from their tribal boundaries. This means that the ‘best’ tribal leadership is not always available, all the time. In that situation, and others, leadership succession needs to be well-managed with an orderly process of identifying and grooming replacement leaders. (p. 10)

The dialectic between tribally defined tikanga of seniority and the realities of Māori people today is continuously negotiated and sometimes becomes problematic, particularly when the dialogue is used as a criterion upon which to base resource allocations. Also problematic is the availability of those of senior tribal rank to attend to the tikanga and other operations required at tribal marae while either living outside of the traditional tribal area or due to other commitments such as employment.

Tribal narratives continue to include *Hinemihi* in oral commentaries as the ancestress of the hapū and as a method by which to recall and consolidate relationships. An example of this can be found in the complex network of connections between Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tarawhai/Ngāti Hinemihi: through their tribal discourses, the cultural identity of these people associated with *Hinemihi* are continuously reinforced in their interactions and relationships. Furthermore, this type of tribal discourse persists regardless of the radical changes in tribal demographics and means of cultural communications. Due to societal change, the reality is that tribal elders no longer have lifelong apprentices to pass on their knowledge to through traditional knowledge systems; instead, many tribal authorities are now undertaking to bring tribal members ‘home’ to their ancestral and tribally identified regions. Te Arawa, for example, have developed strategies to enhance tribal knowledge transfer by holding regular wānanga. At these sessions, kaumātua encourage and allow tribal members to learn and enact

tikanga and reaffirm relationships through technologies such as SKYPE, written material, recordings and other non-traditional forums for learning.

Te Wairoa development

The settlement of Te Wairoa, as recorded by Bremner (2004), was a new township that was settled upon the arrival of European interests in the early to mid-19th century: “Te Wairoa is a site created by the migration and subsequent interaction between Māori and European” (p. 5). The subsequent development of Te Wairoa provides an example of what Pratt termed a ‘contact zone’.

...a space of colonial encounters, [which is] the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict (Pratt, 1992, p. 6).

Te Wairoa was, therefore, a space that brought people together for a common purpose, which was essentially tourism development, within a context of traditional Māori settlement patterns and cultural landscapes. These cultural practices soon became part of the tourism product in the form of cultural shows and Māori rituals of spiritual protection enacted on the tourist boats and tracks as well as other offerings.

The principal tribal grouping at Te Wairoa in the mid- to late 19th century was Tūhourangi, who held mana whenua over the area, and Ngāti Hinemihi, who asserted *rangātiratanga* or chiefly autonomy over their whare Hinemihi (A. Wihapi, personal communication, December 20, 2007). The configuration of tribal associations responded to the mobilities of people in the area. Thus, as detailed in the earliest accounts of historical narratives, many different communities of interest or kaupapa whānau have existed in the region –those with whakapapa association to the land, those communities moving throughout the region utilising the natural environment, and later, travellers or tourists coming to view the Pink and White Terraces.

It wasn’t until the 1870s to 1880s that a whānau grouping of Tarawhai decided to move from Lake Okataina to Te Wairoa to take advantage of the emerging opportunities in trade and tourism around Lake Tarawera. They chose to be identified as Ngāti Hinemihi after settling at Te Wairoa. This was not unusual, and ‘choosing’ tribal alliances appears in much narrative in waiata and whaikōrero. For example, the waiata ‘Te ra te auahi’ recounts the history of the Tarawera region, and within the waiata is the story of Ngāti Taoi, another hapū at Tarawera

who ‘chose’ to be part of Tūhourangi (R. Pene, personal communication, November 5, 2010). These tribal alliances often became complex systems within themselves as different groupings of hapū travelled and resettled throughout the country.

The histories of Ngāti Hinemihi continue the travelling legacy of their ancestors. Travel was first initiated as a means of survival, with migration of Māori from Hawaiiki some six hundred years prior and then the movement of the tribe throughout the region for available resources. Later, when Ngāti Hinemihi moved to Te Wairoa, the context of the village was to facilitate both the mobilities of the Māori and non-Māori settlers, as well as meet the needs and wants of visitors as tourism developed there.

Ngāti Hinemihi, while not of direct lineal descent to Tūhourangi, were connected as a result of the marriage of *Hinemihi* to a Tūhourangi descendent, Te Karere (R. Pene, personal communication, November 5, 2010). These tribal associations continue to be recounted in whakapapa knowledge systems to link and enhance the relationships between the hapū concerned. At Te Wairoa, there didn’t seem to be any conflict – Tūhourangi gave Ngāti Hinemihi rights to land to use and their Chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha built their whare tūpuna there – although the land surrounding the settlement was and remains a site of conflict (Schuster, 2007).

In 1845 the missionary Rev. S. M. Spencer settled in Kariri on the western shores of Lake Tarawera, and in 1850 he moved again and began developing what was to become a quasi-English-styled settlement at Te Wairoa. He began by partitioning off fenced half-acre lots to be assigned to individual families, and building a parsonage, church, schoolhouse and mill. Johnson reported in *The New Zealander* that Spencer “had been the sole means of metamorphosing a New Zealand pa [sic] into a place much resembling an English village” (Johnson, 1847b, p. 2). Te Wairoa was considered to be a model village for Māori and European settlement, until peace was again challenged in 1864 with the uprising of some Māori throughout the country who took up arms in opposition to European colonisation (Bremner, 2004). While many Māori joined this uprising, Te Arawa did not. In early 1870, a battle ensued in Rotorua between the prophet Te Kooti of Ngāti Maru and his followers and a combined Te Arawa/colonial force. Te Kooti was defeated but survived the battle and remained a continued military threat (Belich, 1986). The resultant threat to colonial aspirations in the area led to further infrastructure being developed by the military to ensure better access for the colonial armed forces, in case of further uprising. This resulted in the

improvement of road access to the district which, in turn, enabled an increase in visitors to the region (Bremner, 2004). Keam reports that in “1867 the native population retired to the more easily defended pa [sic] at Kariri, and did not return to Te Wairoa till 1873” (Kear, 1981, p. 4). After the war, Kear asserted that Te Wairoa never recovered to its original character.

Ever since Māori arrived in the region, there are accounts of battles over land and resources. Battles continued in these formative years of the Te Wairoa settlement and traditional forms of conquest continued. An example of serious warfare is described by Ballara (1998):

Ngāti Whakae and Tūhourangi had a serious quarrel, including a shooting war involving deaths, in 1848, each on behalf of sub-hapū. Tūhourangi and Ngāti Pikiao were feuding in 1852, and Ngāti Rangitahi was also feuding with Tūhourangi over ownership of Rotomahana in 1853. In this case a battle was fought, and the chief Hikuwhakarewa was killed. Subsequent fighting, also involving Ngāti Pikiao, resulted in more deaths on both sides and several defeats for Ngāti Rangitahi at the hands of Tūhourangi. (p. 303)

Nevertheless, tourists started visiting the area from that time. Tourists were arriving for the area’s scenic qualities and because of an increasing interest in the healing powers of the thermal waters that can be found around the central lakes district of the North Island. These restorative qualities were recounted by a European traveller in a letter in 1842: “[I] bathed in the tepid water which was about the usual temperature of a warm bath; a sprain which I had for some days was entirely removed” (cited in N. Taylor, 1959, p. 83), and by Johnson (1847c) a few years later:

There is no doubt however, but they possess valuable medicinal qualities both for internal use, and external application, as the Natives cure many diseases by simple immersion in them, but I should imagine that their uniform heat is the most active agent in the cure. However, an accurate analysis of their individual composition, which I had not the power of making, would throw light on their use in specific diseases, and it would be desirable that such should, be made under the auspices of Government. (p. 3)

Transportation and tourism infrastructure was still to develop. Bremner (2004) stated that although the thermal waters of the region were a central attraction for those with ailments, transport to the district was arduous and through to the mid-1800s, from a European visitor perspective, the facilities were primitive. Furthermore, there were no guarantees of positive encounters with the Māori: “Travel within the lakes district, let alone to the region, maintained an element of danger as the hospitality of local Māori was not guaranteed” (Bremner, 2004, pp. 34–35).

In those 41 years between first European visitation and the building of the whare, the tourism industry had developed to a degree where visitors were coming for the natural wonders of the region as well as the cultural experience on offer at Te Wairoa. Accommodation facilities had been built and improvements to access to the lakes had commenced. Ngāti Hinemihi had by then settled into the area, and while non-Māori commentators record that Te Wairoa was split between Ngāti Hinemihi on the eastern side of the village and Tūhourangi on the west, Māori narrative proposes that the two hapū were working together at that time. Ngāti Hinemihi Chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha had a hotel, the Cascade, built in 1876 and contracted non-Māori to manage it. The first manager was W. Wakeham.

It was during this period that the local Māori began to capitalise on Pākehā visitors:

The coming of the tourist brought easy money. The Māoris soon learned that the Pākehā was willing to pay, and pay dearly to visit the Terraces, and extortionate fees were charged...This together with payments made for hakas (dances) ... enabled comparative wealth to be easily attained and the natives could point with considerable complacency and pride to the carved three-fingered monsters with lolling tongues on their assembly building, whose eyes glared – not with the iridescence of the mutton-fish shell, as in ordinary whares – but with the genuine metallic luster of half-sovereigns, florins, shillings and sixpences.” (Keam, 1981, p. 6)

Visitors to the area were encouraging cultural tourism development in their desire to gaze at the Other. Hinemihi was one of the first Māori cultural tourism venues for the deliberate display of Māori culture in Aotearoa (Bremner, 2004).

Charges varied depending on the different types of shows provided. Guide Bubbles Mihinui recounted the Tarawera experience and said that tourists were charged a sovereign each to be entertained in Hinemihi (Riddiford, 2007). It appears that there were different shows responding to differing visitor demand. Bertram Barton was charged one shilling per performer and extra costs in the form of beer, rum and raspberry vinegar for the performers. In addition a more risqué performance was on offer: Froude (1886) recollects that his group of tourists were offered “a brief ordinary dance on moderate terms” or one in which the performance was “complete with its indecencies, which they said gentlemen usually preferred – they would expect £3.10s.0d” (p. 244). It seems there were shows targeted at women, children and demur gentlemen and shows for gentlemen only. Perhaps consideration was paid to the already developing market segments. Bremner (2004) suggests that these contrasting presentations were an illustration that “local Māori were willing to adulterate, in a performative manner, aspects of their culture to suit an audience” (p. 158). He suggests that the Māori were modifying their culture for paying audiences. Arguably this could have

simply been a response to the tourist demand for the exotic and these types of creative performances continue to be adapted to market demand. Much of the performance at Te Wairoa, perhaps a first in cultural tourism in Aotearoa, was being created to entertain tourists and capitalise on the potential income available. These types of shows did not exist as authentic cultural performances. *Haka*, for example, were generally performed before a battle to insight the spiritual realm to assist in the challenge ahead, to motivate the warriors, and to recite ancestral lessons. In the same way, *waiata tawhito* or traditional songs and chants were recited as a method of knowledge transfer and not originally designed to entertain. Indeed, the shows on offer in Rotorua today vary according to particular target markets, although all are dynamic to showcase the Māori culture. The shows also support cultural identity for those whose stories are told in the performance narratives.

The Tarawera region had become famous during this period and was reported in media of the time as the eighth wonder of the world, largely because of the geological features found close by at Lake Rotomahana, namely Otukapuarangi (Fountain of the Clouded Sky) and Te Tarata (the Tattooed Rock), or the Pink and White Terraces. The first European reported to have visited the terraces was Thomas Chapman in 1840 (Stafford, 1986). While Chapman's visit took him to the terraces, it is questionable as to whether he was intentionally seeking to visit the terraces or simply was an explorer that happened upon this landscape and the 'Natives' he encountered. John Johnson visited the region in 1846–47, and because he was visiting for 'no special reason', has been classified as the first 'real' tourist to the terraces (Bremner, 2004, p. 32). Johnson's travels were reported in *The New Zealander* between September and December 1847, in which he spoke positively about his experiences. Moreover, Johnson promoted Rotorua as a place for Europeans to have their summer residence: "Rotorua would be a most agreeable summer residence, for the scenery is pleasing..." (Johnson, 1847a, p. 2).

As the first colonial-surgeon, Johnson also referred to the potential of the medicinal aspects of the region and went on to mention that "Excursions to the other lakes which cluster around Rotorua, would afford sufficient outdoor amusement, and temporary establishments might be well supplied with provisions of all kinds" (Johnson, 1847a, p. 2). This promotion of the region was tempered by his impressions of the Natives – he had mentioned in earlier accounts that a Native chief he had met while visiting Mokoia Island in Rotorua was "inimical to Europeans" due to the emerging Government which was perceived to be an agency of enslavement and land theft.

The Natives at this time are rude and uncivilized, but time would make a change in this respect, and it may be anticipated, that at no very distant period, when the true character of its waters as remedial agents has been ascertained, and its beautiful localities and salubrious air are known, it will be a part of the country much resorted to by invalids, and by those whose leisure will permit them to vary their residence (Johnson, 1847a, p. 2).

Dieffenbach (1843), a reporter of natural history, also described visiting the area in 1840, proclaiming to be only the second European to tour the terraces: “Mr Chapman, from Roturoa was probably the only European they had ever seen, as this lake has not been visited by any other that I am aware of” (p. 382). Dieffenbach was connected to the New Zealand Company which was an agency that was promoting British settlement to New Zealand. The Company is cited as being largely responsible for the exponential immigration growth between the years 1840 to 1852. Land purchase, propaganda, and subsidised travel and settlement saw the European population grow to approximately 28,000 in those few years (J. Phillips, 2013). As part of the promotion of New Zealand to Britain, Dieffenbach reported his travels to the terraces and surrounding areas in the book *Travels in New Zealand* (Dieffenbach, 1843).

The whare Hinemihi was built at a time when tourism was emerging as the principal industry in the region. It was commissioned and financed by the Ngāti Hinemihi chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha for two main purposes: firstly as a meeting house for tribal gatherings, and secondly as a facility for the burgeoning tourist industry in the village of Te Wairoa (Neich, 2001). His naming of the whare tūpuna reflects the rich history of *Hinemihi* the person and the hope the chief had for the future.

Gallop (1998) wrote of the naming of the whare:

As a nostalgic reminder of Aotearoa’s years before the European migration and before the tourism boom began, Aporo gave his completed meeting house the full and dignified name Hinemihi o Te Ao Tawhito – ‘Hinemihi of the old world’ (p. 33).

The name Hinemihi o Te Ao Tawhito captures cultural features of the past or indeed embraced ancestral connections, as do many tūpuna whare. Her naming reflects the context of the time, that there was the perspective of change, of a ‘new world’ differentiated from the ‘old world’. In this new world, new cultural landscapes were being defined by non-Māori as European visitors and missionaries arrived in the region and the British colonial government became established in the country. Hinemihi in the name, in the symbolism in the carvings, and in the utilisation of the whare as a cultural centre for tikanga Māori and cultural

performance for tourists, was a central part of this change and the emerging tourism development at Te Wairoa.

It is unusual for whare to be named after a female ancestress (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000); indeed, the three Hinemihi whare are the only whare tūpuna of Te Arawa to be named after a female. Hinemihi ki Whakarewarewa was built by Tene Waitere for his granddaughter Rangitiria Denny in 1927, and is now located at Whakarewarewa in Rotorua. Hinemihi ki Ngapuna was completed and opened in 1962 and, although its completion was some thirty years after Tene Waitere had died, many of the whakairo were carved by him. This whare is located in Ngapuna, Rotorua.

There are other people named Hinemihi in the Ngāti Tararua whakapapa but it is after this *Hinemihi* that the hapū of Ngāti Hinemihi and three whare take their name (Schuster, 2007). In tribal narrative there is a distinction between male and female whare: whare tūpuna for female and tūpuna whare for male (H. Tapiata, personal communication, August 28, 2011). While there has been a distinction made between these two terms, upon questioning tribal elders there doesn't seem to be a rationale for the difference in terminology.

Many hapū members have been named after this ancestress. The act of ancestral naming of people and taonga is a reflection of what T. Pohatu and H. Pohatu (2002) argue is a political act: "It connects each generation of the whānau ... to a common focus of energy" (p. 12). This statement reinforces Te Awekotuku's argument (in Starzecka, 1996) that the act of naming land areas was also often political, with the naming being a way of inducing added loyalty to defend threats to land: Ancestrally identified land blocks, said Te Awekotuku (in Starzecka, 1996), "fiercely motivated [descendants] to defend it and retain its stewardship" (p. 34) as a potent reminder that their ancestors' mana was at stake. Designation of names is also a process that ensures particular histories are maintained. Those named after ancestors are both an embodiment of the ancestor through genetics and living reminders of ancestral oral histories, which are often passed down through generations of the same hapū. Most whare take the form of an ancestor, the carvings and physical form representing parts of a body and embodying the mana of the ancestors represented (Neich, 2001; Pihama, 2001; Sissons, 1998).

Strategic naming rights are common practice for Māori within the tradition of continuing genealogical knowledge systems. Thus, whether naming a person, place or taonga, the knowledge, histories and values systems imbued within the original namesake are passed on

as a legacy to the future. Ancestral naming for Māori is commonly related to major events in ancestral stories, often illuminating important historical markers in one's whakapapa and strategic in respect of the formation of alliances. At the time Hinemihi was named there were two hapū groupings residing in Te Wairoa and another tribe, Ngāti Rangitihi, in the eastern region of Mt Tarawera. At that time, in the 19th century, the tribes Ngāti Rangitihi and Tūhourangi were contesting the economic opportunities of the burgeoning tourism trade as well as other rights to resources in and around the region (Bremner, 2004).

Figure 5: Hinemihi at Te Wairoa



Source: Alexander Turnbull Library Collection (Box 8 Ref PAColl-6075-19).

The carvings in Hinemihi were principally carved by Wero Taroi, also known as Karu, Wero Mahikore and Tamati Kare, whose carving activities spanned from about 1850 to 1881. Wero died soon after the completion of Hinemihi. He was described by Kepa Ehau (1931) as “Ko te tohunga whakairo tēnei o Te Arawa katoa” (p. 22) or “the carving expert of all Te Arawa”. Wero was also descended from Tarawhai and was one of the first Ngāti Tarawhai carvers to work with metal tools. The men who worked on the build also felled the trees, were sawyers

and provided the labour. The primary builders were Aporo Te Wharekaniwha, Katene Waiana and Inia Hohaia. There were also others who came in and worked temporarily to assist the construction (Gallop, 1998).

The use of metal for tools is recounted in oral histories as an important development. While the actual tools were a new innovation that enhanced the production of cultural products such as whakairo, the narrative regarding the introduction of metal to the region of Tarawera adds to the cultural context at the time. The introduction of metal, for tools, is said to have come from a battle between Ngāti Tarawhai and the people of Te Tumu village in 1836. Anaha Te Rahui, another Ngāti Tarawhai carver, was witness to the battle and complicit in returning enemy prisoners some time later. The Te Arawa of Te Tumu lost four warriors but were able to seize an iron gate which was made into carving tools (Starzecka, 1996).

Wero Taroi was assisted in the carving of Hinemihi by Tene Waitere, also of Ngāti Tarawhai and a descendent of *Hinemihi*. While an apprentice of Wero during the build of Hinemihi, Tene went on to become another renowned *tohunga whakairo* (expert carver) and carved many whakairo for both Māori and non-Māori. One of his last major works was Hinemihi ki Whakarewarewa, which was built in 1927 and opened in 1928 (Neich, 2001). This whare is still located at his family's private residence in Whakarewarewa, Rotorua. Due to tribal land ownership discussions, this whare may also soon be 'travelling' or relocated – whānau negotiations continue.

The environment or context of Hinemihi when she was built is reflected in what the carvers were doing at that time. For example, Wero Taroi was considered one of the last *tohunga whakairo*, schooled in the early traditional carving discipline, but he also utilised British concepts in his work, with boots and bowler hats both represented on his carvings. Tene Waitere, while trained in a customary manner and a *tohunga whakairo* in his own right, was one of the first to start carving for commercial purposes and became popular with Māori and non-Māori in his commissioned carvings after Hinemihi was completed. Thomas (2009) states:

[Tene] acquired his skills in a customary manner, and had a profound knowledge of carving traditions, but worked in a new world, in the decades following the New Zealand wars, that had seen Māori ways of life profoundly and permanently changed (p. 11).

Tene also went on to carve many whare and other traditional replica artefacts (Neich, 1990–1991). Two other whare also carved by Tene, named Rauru and Te Ika A Māui, are the

only other *whare whakairo* (carved houses) in Europe, both being built and sold during a time when Māori artefacts were being produced as souvenirs or curios. Both are located in museums in Germany.

The people of Ngāti Hinemihi, particularly Chief Aporo, responded to the entrepreneurial tourism activity at Te Wairoa. Hinemihi was purpose built for two primary reasons. Firstly, she was a taonga for the hapū of Ngāti Hinemihi in that she served as a whare hui/whare tūpuna, and as such was used for rituals such as tangihanga, for tribal gatherings and as a symbol of Ngāti Hinemihi identity. Secondly, Hinemihi was a source of income from entrepreneurial tourism activities. Excluding the newly built hotels, Hinemihi was the first purpose-built facility that was built in response to the entrepreneurial activity in the village, a commodity for the purposes of cultural tourism at Te Wairoa. An early example of this tourism development was charging the visiting tourists to view the carvings inside Hinemihi and pay one shilling to “gaze upon the exotic” (Bremner, 2004, p. 156).

Pews were set up in Hinemihi for seating for the shows, and these same pews became an important factor during the night of the impending volcanic eruption as they supported the crumbling roof and potentially were the factor that saved the people inside. The floor was and still remains a dirt floor, the only whare known to still retain that feature. Ironically, while this is perhaps an authentic feature of the whare, the practicality of keeping the floor like this inhibits the ability of the current whānau to utilise Hinemihi for some of the traditional Māori uses of a whare, such as *noho marae* an overnight stay on the marae where communal sleeping with bedding at ground level is the norm.

Some of the carvings of Hinemihi originally had coins placed in their eyes; a feature which was highlighted and popularised by Alan Gallop’s (1998) book *The House with the Golden Eyes*. The use of coins in the eyes of the whakairo is said to be a display of wealth by the chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha. Gallop (1998) stated that it was a “gesture towards his own status, wealth, tribe and that of the settlement in which he was proud to be a Chief” (p. 32). Neich (2001), however, considered the use of these modern symbols to be one of the carver’s trademarks due to the fact that some of his other carved whare also displayed coins in the whakairo. Nevertheless, the money in the carvings reflected, at that time, the prosperity of the tribe, the recognised value of tourism, and their desire to show off their wealth (Gallop, 1998).

At Te Wairoa there is evidence that the community was adapting to changes to their sociocultural and built environment; there are persistent themes of what Brown suggested was the general role of the pā or village. Brown (2009) stated that:

...the wealth of a user group through the storage and preparation of food, demonstrate defence capabilities and, perhaps, take command of the natural landscape surrounding them. They were, therefore, symbols of group mana (prestige) ... important examples of the Māori built environment, as their terraces often required considerable human labour and modification to the natural world (p. 35).

Although the storage and preparation of food and defence capabilities were less significant to village life at Te Wairoa by the time Hinemihi was built, the symbols of group mana persisted in the changes to functionality of meeting houses. Wharenuī became a fusion of traditional Māori style and European influences as, for example, Christianity brought with it the need for religious gatherings, and changes to the political environment associated with the Land Wars the need for larger political gathering places; the wharenuī also became the focus.

Indeed, Starzecka (1996) stated that:

By the second half of the 19th century meeting houses became [the] most prominent feature of Māori settlements. By the 1870s, the meeting house had completely replaced the war canoe and the storehouse as the focus of local group pride and prestige. (p. 104)

Bremner (2004) asserted that alongside these changes to more permanent building styles came a change to a more commercial-transaction type payment for work. Payment for services was not a new phenomenon in pre-European times, however, pre-European payment for expert services in building and carving had been by way of tradable commodities such as food, hospitality and taonga or valuables (Starzecka, 1996).

These types of transactions could perhaps have reflected the cultural ‘economy of affection’ that exists within Māori society (Spiller, Erakovic, Henare, & Pio, 2011). Indeed, the land demarcations and mana whenua that existed in and around Tarawera in pre-European times were settled by way of ‘permanent occupation’, taonga payment and/or by way of gifts that were *tuku*, ceded, relinquished from those that had mana whenua. For example, Tarawhai, grandfather of *Hinemihi*, gifted a relative, Te Whanapokia, who had lost his home and all his taonga to a fire, some more taonga in the form of two *patu* or short weapons, one *pounamu* (greenstone) and the other *paraoa* (whalebone). Sometime later in reciprocation and in the absence of having his own taonga, Te Whanapokia gifted Tarawhai some land which included tracts of land in and around Tarawera.

Tarawhai suggested that he and Te Whanapokia should go to Waione together so as to *whakamana* or legitimise that gift. They did so, and on the way they found a very large totara tree, to which Tarawhai gave the name Te Kauae-a-Murirangawhenua, an ancestor of his. They went on further and came to another large totara tree and Tarawhai called it Taumahaate, after another ancestor of his. They still went on and when they reached Hineuta and Te Maioro, near the small lakes Rotongata and Toroatua, Te Whanapokia told Tarawhai that was the limit of the land he was giving him (Te Rahui, 1898, p. 122).

The historical significance of these transactions was reinforced through the naming of trees as a form of demarcation of the land gifted. Subsequent to this occasion, those same trees were felled by the son of Tarawhai, Tiko. After working the trees, Tiko gave them to a relative named Te Kikiwa for use in waka making. At the time Tiko had been given Te Tarata, the White Terraces. When the trees were given to Te Kikiwa and he had finished working on them he sold the waka:

... the canoe was sold by Te Kikiwa to Tutaki – that is, it was given upon request made and payment was awaited. The utu was a patu paraoa – Te Kikiwa gave it to Tiko as utu for the tree. When Taumahaate was finished, it went to Ngāti Awa – The utu was a patu pounamu (Te Rahui, 1898, p. 122).

And so the original gift of taonga from Tarawhai to a bereft Te Whanapokia became an integral exchange within a Māori economy of affection. These trades continued with the ancestral trees, the stories of who worked the trees, the intertribal relationships and taonga that became important parts of tribal history. In addition, this gift of land consolidated a large part of the Tarawera region to Tarawhai and his descendents. These subsequent transactions continue to be recounted in oral history; the taonga valued for the mauri and mana they hold; and the narratives, through their telling of the mapping out of land blocks and subsequent *tuku*, are evidence of ancestral land succession, confirming land interests as well as providing a rich history of tribal ancestors and their relationships. Thus the original gift of taonga became an intergenerational narrative of relationships and reciprocity. This narrative also highlights the significance of taonga in terms of iwi historical interpretation.

Taonga were integral to these trades, not as a personal profit-driven type of payment but as a record of mana of those concerned and confirmation that the transaction would be honoured. These trades sometimes came to grief and another form of acquiring the mana over land was enacted, that of battle and conquer. The accounts of Anaha Te Rahui are recorded in the Māori Land Court minutes to provide a context for the succession of lands. *Hinemihi*,

although included in the whakapapa of Tarawhai, was not included in this particular historical account, again endorsing the contextual nature of Māori narratives. They are not simply a chronological history but histories that offer a deep and meaningful interpretation dependent on the orator, the kaupapa and the requisite meanings with respect to particular contexts relative to the histories that are being recounted.

When European trade commenced, these tradable commodities soon were replaced with items such as blankets, guns and cash. Society became dependent on profit-driven economies that did not necessarily reflect the economy of affection that used exchange as a way of consolidating relationships rather than for individual gain.

By the time Hinemihi was built, construction of meeting houses had become a significant industry and, whether payment was in kind or in cash, “Patrons and clients of expert carvers had to be people of substance, able to marshal the considerable resources required for major carving projects” (Neich, 1996, p. 110). Neich (1996) asserted that “the changes were so rapid that some individual carvers made the transition from war canoe builder to meeting house builder to tourist art producer in one lifetime” (p. 110). This appears to be the case with Tene and Wero, the carvers/builders of Hinemihi.

In the context of the changes in the rationale for meeting houses, building styles and commercial payments, Bremner (2004) suggested that “in some respects the construction of Hinemihi can be seen as an act of the present, designed for the future, while recognising and representing the past” (p. 154). This interpretation is not unlike Mead’s (1994) definition of taonga Māori, and indicates that regardless of context, Hinemihi continues to be that conduit between the past, present and future, continuing her legacy of the representation of Māori identity.

By the 1880s the wharenui had become the central place of Māori communities. The traditions in and around the wharenui sustain cultural and spiritual life, and it is at the open space in front of the wharenui, the *marae ātea*, where “the ancestors are recalled and where the tribe’s social cohesion and identity is strengthened” (Garbutt, 2007, p. 112). Salmond (1975) asserted that when “Māori people gather for hui, they have immediate access to the world of history, mythology and traditions which remains a vital reality for as long as hui lasts” (p. 14). Hinemihi provides for the same access to culture as what Salmond proposed, albeit within new cultural landscapes which offers multiple histories, mythologies and traditions dependent on the kaupapa for the respective gathering. Te Awekotuku (1996)

extended upon Salmond's notion of hui and asserted that Māori believe that “wherever Māori people gather for Māori purposes and with the appropriate Māori protocol, a marae is formed at that time, for that time, unless contested” (p. 35). This alludes to a view that marae are also ‘travelling’ together with Māori travellers. This is contrary to Te Arawa tribal rhetoric whereby marae are confined to the physical tribal boundaries of Te Arawa in order to ensure tribal control of their kawa.

Figure 6: Te Wairoa township before the eruption.



Source: Josiah Martin, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 1973.

At the same time the British Colonial Office was establishing their colony of New Zealand, missionaries were spreading the word of the gospel in the area and Tūhourangi/Ngāti Hinemihi were adapting to new commercial activities. In addition, the social effects from the development of these new relationships were emerging. For example, the introduction of alcohol brought a new tradable commodity and a blight on the Māori community as drunkenness and disorderly behaviour were being reported by tourists. This behaviour

resulted in the development of the Māori Blue Ribbon Army, a temperance movement, initiated by an American settler William Snow (Stafford, 1986). According to Snow, the influence of the movement came largely from Chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha.

[D]ue to no one man more than to the chief as Te Wharekaniwha stepped boldly forward, and calling upon all his tribe, men, women and children, to follow his example declared himself favourable to the movement, and signed his name to the pledge... (Bremner, 2004, p. 164)

According to reports, more than half of the Māori community at different stages at Te Wairoa subscribed to this movement (Bremner, 2004).

At the same time there was widespread introduction of disease that ravaged the community. Charles Haszard, the school master, reported on 15 May 1886 that “a sickness had overtaken the Māori population at Te Wairoa ... there was a large drop off in school attendance and the wailing for the dead in the village was constant” (Riddiford, 2012). Keam relayed that at least 20 of the Te Wairoa population of 120 people had died. Europeans said it was typhoid and other respiratory diseases; the Māori took it as a sign of impending doom (Riddiford, 2012).

The reported debauchery from alcohol consumption, coupled with the increase in mortality from disease, was perceived by many to be a result of the commercialisation of the culture. Indeed the impression emerges that commercial development at Te Wairoa lead to cultural degradation and this impression is reinforced in the historical narrative that continues today. For example, stories about the tohunga Tuhoto focus on his premonition of the 1886 eruption and the warning he made to Chief Aporo that if tourism was to continue there would be a great disaster. This notion is supported by Gilbert Rikihana (a Ngāti Hinemihi kaumātua) who contended that Tuhoto could talk to spirits:

Tuhoto and Aporo were known to be divided over the entertainment of tourists in Hinemihi. It was thought to be a breach of sacredness/tapu of the house – displayed by ostentatious wealth with the use of tourist coins in the eyes of the carvings instead of paua shell. Aporo struck Tuhoto over this on 23 May 1886. (Riddiford, 2012)

Indeed, Tuhoto, the tohunga at Te Wairoa had warned Chief Aporo that a great disaster would come upon the people if tourism was continued in the region. The story is repeatedly contextualised to the modern day; for example, Emily Schuster said:

It’s like the feeling that I have, this is my culture, I don’t want it to be spoiled by commerce this is how I feel in some of my thinking. I’m quite sure this would have been in the minds of some of our people at that time who felt the same way (Riddiford, 2012, clip 2).

Retrospectively, these tourism activities were blamed for the volcanic eruption that happened in 1886. Nevertheless, development progressed with the construction of hotels and new infrastructure for tourist access, both by road and lake, and a guiding system was developed with local Māori providing tours to the terraces. In 1881, after Hinemihi had been built, cultural concerts were also produced for different audiences and performed inside the whare (Gallop, 1998).

During the 19th century British tourists were “imputed to their experience of Māori tourism [as] a confirmation of the civilising influence of the Victorian Empire” (Ryan, 1997, p. 258), implying that the appeal of the ‘Other’ was an emergent theme as tourists were attracted to Māori cultural tourism framed within their own social and political contexts. Hinemihi was built in response to this growing market of visitors (Bremner, 2004). Hollinshead (1996) suggests that while the tourist ‘gaze’ influences how the Other are represented, the Other can also re-establish their own image through rejecting the Other’s or the dominant social group’s expectations. The dialectic between tourists and hosts at Te Wairoa reflected the power of the tourist gaze but is also affirmed in the cultural identity of the host communities. Therefore, Hinemihi was more than a place for the hapū to gather and a venue for concerts but a cultural icon that further established the image of Tūhourangi/Ngāti Hinemihi to visitors.

The eruption – 10 June 1886

On 10 June 1886 Mt Tarawera erupted, devastating the whole region (approximately 2500 hectares) and destroying the Pink and White Terraces. Te Wairoa was covered in volcanic mud and the buildings in the village were mostly destroyed. There are differing records of how many deaths there were in the area, largely due to the semi-nomadic nature of the Māori communities in the region as well as the considerable recent mortality due to disease and the lack of accurate demographic record keeping at that time. According to tribal information, about 153 to 157 people lost their lives that night, a huge loss for the small communities of Tarawera (Riddiford, 2007). Not only had the communities suffered huge loss of life but their homes and economy were devastated, too. Two buildings that survived the eruption without collapsing were Guide Sophia’s house and the whare Hinemihi (Barr, 1984).

Figure 7: Hinemihi after the Tarawera eruption



Source: Burton Brothers, *Hinemihi – post eruption*. © National Trust Images

In the aftermath, survivors started making their way to Rotorua and were invited to stay temporarily at Ohinemutu, a then established Māori village in central Rotorua. Traumatized and with nothing but the clothes they wore, the survivors were looked after and offers of help came in from throughout the country. Survivors slowly started relocating and settling elsewhere, most in Ngapuna, Whakarewarewa, although factions of the family also settled in destinations such as the Coromandel and further afield, many of these places having kin relationships of some kind with Tūhourangi. The wider tribe of Te Arawa began the arrangements for the traditional farewell of the dead. During this time of tragedy, food resources, accommodation and the basics of life were depleting and the suffering of both the hapū of Tūhourangi and Ngāti Hinemihi continued for many years (Keam, 1988).

While Hinemihi had withstood the eruption, the whare was abandoned as was the whole region. Rescue and recovery efforts at Te Wairoa in the wake of the eruption were hampered by transport difficulties as the landscape was largely covered in thick ash and the roads leading into the settlement from Rotorua had been destroyed. Nevertheless, three days after the eruption, non-Māori rescuers discovered the tohunga Tuhoto-Ariki, who was still alive and had been buried in his whare. He was thought to be about one hundred years old, and due to his status and prophecy about the eruption, Māori were afraid of him and considered him

tapu or sacred (Neich, 2001). Tuhoto-Ariki was taken to Rotorua hospital where staff proceeded to prepare him for his hospital stay. This included the cutting of his hair which went against Māori tradition that prohibited anything to do with his head to be touched. He died soon after. After the devastation of the Tarawera eruption in 1886, the whole area was considered *tapu*. Many had been killed, and the area was considered dangerous and uninhabitable (Riddiford, 2007).

Lord Onslow

Several years later, in May of 1889, the Right Honourable William Hillier became New Zealand's 13th governor general, and he remained in office until February 1892 (The Cyclopedia Company Limited, 1897). In this role, he also became the commander-in-chief of the New Zealand Defence Force and was, according to his son Viscount Cranley, committed to the "consolidation of the British Empire" (Gallop, 1998, p. 76). Hillier was the 4th Earl of Onslow, Lord Onslow, his estate being located at Clandon Park, Surrey, England.

Lord Onslow arrived in New Zealand with his wife, three children and an entourage of staff in April 1889. During his tenure in New Zealand, Lord Onslow, and often his family, travelled extensively throughout the country. Gallop (1998) stated that Lord Onslow loved New Zealand and that "the culture, traditions, folklore, history, art and language of New Zealand's indigenous people was of enormous interest to the young Governor" (p. 80). While working in many communities throughout the country, Lord Onslow accumulated many generous gifts from Māori tribes, which he took back to England and are now displayed in the mansion at Clandon.

The Onslows also had a son while in New Zealand, in 1890, and Lord Onslow, in his desire to forge a permanent link with the country he loved named his son Victor Alexander Herbert Huia, known by Māori as Huia Onslow. Huia was received by 'his people', the Ngāti Huia, at a formal ceremony at Raukawa marae, Otaki, when he was 10 months old. Included in the formalities were leading chiefs of the tribe, who welcomed the contingent of Huia and his entourage in full force. Lord Onslow's regard for the welfare of Māori was recognised and, in the formalities, Māori acknowledged the honour bestowed upon them to have the Queen's representative give his child a 'native' name. Huia Onslow was duly considered a member of Ngāti Huia.

As Lord Onslow's tenure was coming to an end in 1892, he was keen to return to England with souvenirs from Aotearoa as reminders of his and his family's stay. His preferred options included a Māori waka or canoe for his lake, or a large carved figure or Māori meeting house. Hinemihi had remained at Te Wairoa alone for five years as her owners/iwi no longer lived there, and thus she wasn't being used. After much negotiating on behalf of Lord Onslow by the New Zealand Native Office and prospective sellers of meeting houses, Roger Dansey, the postmaster in Rotorua, brokered the deal between the then-owner of Hinemihi, Mika Aporo (the son of the late Chief Aporo Wharekaniwha) and Lord Onslow. In January 1892, twenty-three carvings were purchased for £50.

Hinemihi relocates to England

The whare was dismantled and the 23 whakairo were named, numbered and recorded in a list that was to be used by the new owners to rebuild Hinemihi. This list has since been lost, adding to the anonymity of some of the whakairo (Gallop, 1998). There was likely to have been more carvings but due to the pillaging that followed the eruption the true number of whakairo associated with the whare is not known. As reported in *The Dominion* newspaper in 1935, Mika Aporo recalls the initial transportation:

I was asked to cart the carvings to Putaruru (Oxford), the railhead at that time. As the eruption had destroyed the usual road from Te Wairoa to Rotorua, I had to take the carvings to the shores of the Green Lake, and canoe them to Motutawa Island, and from the island to a spot known as Tauranga-nui, where I had a bullock cart and three pairs of bullocks, and where there was a fairly good road to Rotorua through Pakaruka on to the Waiotapu Road ... at the time I thought the carvings were going to be kept in Auckland and I was surprised to hear recently that they were in England. (Gallop, 1998, pp. 96–97)

Evidently those involved in the sale were under the impression that the carvings were being sent to the National Museum in New Zealand. Whether this would have influenced the sale and relocation of the whare is unknown; however, there have been subsequent and repeated requests by Ngāti Hinemihi, supported by Tūhourangi, for Hinemihi to be returned 'home'.

The bill of sale is dated 27 January 1892, and so Hinemihi was shipped to her current location, Clandon Park, Guildford, Surrey, England. The bill of sale is located in the Onslow mansion at Clandon today. She arrived in England in April 1892 with Countess Florence, Lord Onslow's wife, and their children.

The whare was re-erected on the grounds of Clandon Park, in 1892, by workman on the estate. The reconstruction of the whare was based upon pictures of the whare in New Zealand

that had been provided along with the shipment. These pictures were of the whare after the eruption which showed a roof covered in volcanic ash. Ironically the workman interpreted the laden roof as a thatch roof, which reflects their world view of British-styled house roofs of the time, and thus the new roof of Hinemihi was made, and continues to be, a thatch roof. While the thatch roof is a British feature, it should be noted that the original shingle roof that was on Hinemihi at Te Wairoa was also not a traditional Māori or native New Zealand material. The physical appearance of Hinemihi, as a Māori whare, appears to have not significantly changed over the past 127 years although she is smaller than originally built.

According to Gallop (1998), the whare was reconstructed on the lakeside so that she could be used as a boat house. However, although early pictures taken at that time indicate this location, it is still not clear whether the whare was ever in fact utilised for this purpose. Indeed, between 1893 and 1956, she is also thought to have been used as a ‘Wendy’ house or children’s playhouse, and as a storage place for summer outdoor furniture (Gallop, 1998).

While Hinemihi has never been forgotten in the tribal histories of Te Arawa in Aotearoa, there have been decades when she was physically disconnected from Māori at Clandon Park. Yet, even during these long periods of disconnection in England, there have been several occasions where her links to home have been re-established. For example, during the First World War, Lord Onslow’s son Huia opened the estate to be used as a hospital for foreign soldiers, many of whom were from New Zealand and Australia. The hospital was not open to severely wounded soldiers, mostly those who were recovering from their injuries. Soldiers recuperating at the estate from the New Zealand (Māori) Pioneer Battalion had discovered Hinemihi by the estate lake and asked the Countess if they could dismantle and work on conserving her as the carvings had begun to perish. Thus, in 1917 Hinemihi was moved a short distance to her current location, close to the mansion. The soldiers made attempts to repair the whakairo and restore the building. It appears that she became a working project as part of their rehabilitation. Undoubtedly, those Māori who worked on her would have felt a connection and her ability to act as a reminder of home, not unlike the expatriates connected to her today (Gallop, 1998).

There is little information recorded about people’s involvement with Hinemihi during the years from the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion soldiers’ contact in 1917 until 1956 when the National Trust took over ownership of the estate from the Onslow family. In 1956 Lord Onslow’s granddaughter gave the estate, including Hinemihi, to the National Trust of Great

Britain due to the burden of upkeep and taxation (Gallop, 1998). The Onslow family remain in residence on the estate in the old bailiff's house and farm, with the remaining approximately 325 hectares of land not given to the Trust ("The Earl of Onslow", 2011).

The estate features a Palladian mansion, seven acres of gardens, a lake and Hinemihi. The National Trust is the biggest landowner in England with Trust membership exceeding three million people. The Trust officially opened Clandon Park to the public in 1971 after a two-year renovation project. It is now one of three hundred historic buildings located in tourist destinations within the Trust's ownership. A large landowner, they manage many different parks, estates, castles and places of historic and current interest. The National Trust state in their mission: "We protect over 300 historic buildings. Our team works hard to ensure they are preserved for ever, for everyone using traditional conservation techniques" (National Trust, n.d.). They are the largest trust of its kind in the world and consider their role as one similar to the concept of kaitiaki over their respective resources or estate holdings.

One of the first major reunions of the Ngāti Hinemihi/ Tūhourangi hapū with Hinemihi since the eruption was in the summer of 1986 when Emily Schuster (great-granddaughter of the carver Tene Waitere) and performance artists from the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua visited Hinemihi as part of a tourism promotional tour to Europe and the United Kingdom. The visiting group had requested Alan Gallop (then working for the English Tourist Department and tour manager) to find her location and to seek permission from the National Trust to allow the group to visit.

This visit, although not the first by Māori, was the genesis of the reconnection between Ngāti Hinemihi/Tūhourangi and the whare; it also was the first time that Alan Gallop became aware of Māori connections between Clandon Park and Aotearoa. This reconnection and awareness initiated the current swell in visitation of Ngāti Hinemihi/Tūhourangi tribal members as well as the beginnings of a relationship between the National Trust and Māori from both England and Aotearoa. The 1986 visit heralded a new era and rekindling of the relationships between Hinemihi and her communities, reinforcing the notion that Hinemihi continues to act as a unifying cultural conduit.

In the 1980s, the Trust approached Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi to assist with restoration work. The Trust commissioned direct descendents of Tene Waitere to carve new replacement

carvings and invited the hapū to play a greater role in her conservation. The Trust acknowledges that:

Her huge significance makes it important that she is conserved and restored to the highest possible standard, so that she may continue to be enjoyed by visitors and to fulfil her role in the ancestral traditions of the Māori people (National Trust, 2008b).

Now there is a working relationship between the hapū and the National Trust which has resulted in Hinemihi becoming a ‘home away from home’ for many Māori now residing in England. This expatriate community, Ngāti Rānana, was started by a small group of Māori in the 1960s. Based in London, Ngāti Rānana represents what Durie (2008) defined as a Māori kaupapa whānau. They meet at Hinemihi at least once a year for an annual kōhanga reo fundraiser hāngī. This event attracts more than 250 people, mostly from Ngāti Rānana and New Zealand expatriates. Many Māori visiting England go to Clandon Park to visit the whare, primarily through connections with Ngāti Rānana and whānau visiting from Ngāti Hinemihi, indicating the increased profile Hinemihi has had since the National Trust established a relationship with Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi and opened Clandon Park to the public.

Hinemihi remains within a tourism destination as Clandon Park is now open for visitors (National Trust, 2008b), but she also remains a significant taonga for all her communities, or what Gallop terms ‘Hinemihi’s people’, be they Māori or non-Māori.

Figure 8: Representation of Clandon Park showing location of Hinemihi within the estate



Source: National Trust (2013, p. 1).

Upon arriving at the public car park of Clandon Park, you pass by the office where tickets are sold and information about the National Trust and the Park is available. The mansion is described as an impressive example of Palladian England and is open to visitors at set times during the week. There is not a lot of information available to the public about Hinemihi at the ticket rooms however in the print media available when purchasing entry tickets, a brief of her history is included as exhibit number 7 alongside other Park features such as descriptions of the ‘Lime tree walk’ and ‘Daffodil field’. Information on the New Zealand ‘Garden of well-being,’ that had been donated to the estate in 2004 from the Chelsea Flower Show, is also included as well as a brief on the intended conservation and restoration work.

The National Trust is working with the Māori community on Hinemihi’s conservation and restoration. This is a major project and we are currently trying to raise funds.

Please contact Julie Lawlor, Property Manager, on 01483 226 160, if you would like to help.

The narrative directs those interested to the Onslow museum room for more information.

Figure 9: Clandon Park Mansion



Source: Author.

As one walks around past the mansion, to the right, you come to what looks like many marae ātea in Aotearoa although few, in Aotearoa, have the manicured lawns that characterise this one.

The lawn, which makes up the forecourt or marae ātea in front of Hinemihi is surrounded by the mansion and gardens of Clandon Park. While I was visiting in 2006 there were several temporary structures to the left of Hinemihi set up for a wedding. Staff in attendance for the wedding said there was a football celebrity getting married. The estate is hired out for these types of events and functions regularly. This particular occasion was being held close to where the marae ātea of Hinemihi is utilised on Māori ceremonial occasions. At this wedding venue, Hinemihi is just part of the Park, a unique type of building that stands out as different compared with the rest of the estate, although staff did highlight that she is often the backdrop for wedding photos and other events. There is no visible signage explaining what she is or her history. The sacred space that is created on days such as the hāngī (earth oven) day event has no cultural significance to these wedding visitors, which is unusual for tribal marae as this

forecourt is the sacred space of all ceremonial occasions. Thus, while Māori and non-Māori pay respect to the marae ātea on Māori cultural occasions and the National Trust also consider Hinemihi to be one of their important cultural buildings, the cultural importance of this place is fluid in that it is reconstructed as a cultural space only when the ‘communities of Hinemihi’ hui there.

Figure 10: Hinemihi from inside – View of Clandon Park Mansion



Source: Schuster family private collection.

The grass in front of Hinemihi frames the whare as you walk towards her. On the right side of Hinemihi is a garden that is planted with a few New Zealand native tree ferns with carved

trunks. The garden requires special care as the English climate does not bode well for New Zealand native plants. During the winter months, the ferns are covered with straw and fleece to protect them from frosts and cold temperatures. The whare and marae ātea are not unlike marae in Aotearoa, particularly with the native planting however there are not the standard ‘marae’ facilities found in marae throughout Aotearoa. For example, accommodation type services are not present. This is currently in a state of change as the National Trust seeks to develop the whole site, based on advice from multiple stakeholders, including Ngāti Hinemihi, Tūhourangi, a Māori architect, conservationists, Ngāti Rānana and historians associated with Hinemihi. A. Hoete is a Māori architect working on the planning for the development of Hinemihi. He presented the conceptual plans at the Kohanga hāngī event in June, 2009 (see Figure 33). The plan includes a *wharekai* or dining facility, wharepaku or ablutions and weather shelter for the marae ātea, the area in front of the meeting house. These are now dependent on funding arrangements which has required a full scope of what the different communities of Hinemihi actually want and how this can fit into the National Trust fundraising and development schedule. The National Trust want to ensure that any investment will match community participation and usage (“Te Maru o Hinemihi”, 2012b).

Chapter Three: Literature Review

*E rapu ana o te ra, te mātauranga o te Pākehā me nga tikanga Māori o
nga tūpuna e...*

Seek out today the knowledge of the Pākehā and those things passed
down from our ancestors

This literature review is primarily an appraisal of the philosophical concepts pertaining to researching Māori history. Located from a Māori world view, Māori histories are characterised by the establishment of meanings and/or ‘truths’ within the network of social relationships of those involved in particular historical accounts. Arguably all history is an interpretation and contextualisation of the past; the difference in this study is that Hinemihi was and continues to be a Māori icon, a cultural reference despite being outside of a traditional Māori context. The theoretical and methodological considerations for the study are kaupapa Māori based and the goal of the study is to ascertain factors that contribute to Māori cultural sustainability outside of Māori notions of ‘place’. *Hinemihi* is the eponymous ancestress of Ngāti Hinemihi and, as such, it is reasonable to expect that the tribal views and connection with the whare would provide the ontological framework for the study. The history of Hinemihi, however, is influenced by the global context within which the whare is positioned and thus extends far beyond the tribal *whakapapa kōrero*, translated as kin-based ways of knowledge transmission, of Ngāti Hinemihi. As a consequence, the theoretical basis for the research is not exclusively framed within the knowledge system of Ngāti Hinemihi. Even so, a kaupapa Māori approach has been adopted to provide the space for a cultural analysis of the different networks, contexts and historical interpretations of the whare.

A kaupapa Māori approach to the research recognises the interrelatedness of the many contexts, perspectives and meanings and relates these to the cultural well-being and meaningful engagement of those connected to Hinemihi. Contextualising the history of Hinemihi from Aotearoa to England not only reflects the contrast in the physical location of the whare but also the dichotomous nature of the social and cultural landscapes throughout her history. The current location of the whare and her ownership and usage are literally worlds apart from where her journey began, yet some aspects of the story of Hinemihi remain the same. One constant is the continued values and beliefs within the *whakapapa kōrero* of

Hinemihi because the whare represents, for Ngāti Hinemihi, the stories of their ancestress and thus their tribal identity.

The literature pertaining to relative topics such as history, identity and cultural studies is prolific. The philosophies underlying these subject areas are considered within this literature review to align with the kaupapa Māori approach of the research, with specific reference to the thesis topic. The literature applied in this review does not attempt to bring together non-Māori theories to simply be overlaid upon and applied to this socio-historic account as such an act is seen to diminish the Māori epistemological approach to Māori-based research (Edwards, 2009). As such, the research assumes a critical reflexive approach as its analytical tool, and the researcher establishes this approach within concepts of kaupapa Māori related to cultural well-being.

Existing literature pertaining specifically to Hinemihi primarily focuses on the period of time the whare was at Te Wairoa during the beginnings of tourism in New Zealand and her sale and relocation to England. She is mentioned in many of the books on Māori carved houses as she is one of the few meeting houses outside of Aotearoa and one of only three in Europe (Neich, 2001). Dean Sully's (2007) publication '*Decolonising Conservation: Caring for Māori Meeting Houses outside New Zealand*' is written from a conservation perspective, highlighting changes to conservation theory throughout her history. There are several literature references to Hinemihi, indicating interest by both Māori and non-Māori in both her past and also potential for her future. The whare is a cultural icon, offering a unique and rich history which presents the opportunity to contextualise a broad scope of study of human experience, negotiations of meaning, historical interpretation and construction of identity.

This study deconstructs the social and cultural factors that have influenced how Hinemihi has and is perceived, her role as a cultural icon, and her future as a continuing ambassador for Māori both in England and Aotearoa. The methodological implication of this was the need to access information that reconstructs the past, and this was achieved through the process of revisiting historical accounts that have principally been written from non-Māori ontological positions. This does not necessarily mean challenging those who have written on Hinemihi but rather exposing the historical points in time and the sociological accounts and representation that have influenced the meaning of what Tosh (2006) terms the 'formal record' of historical events. Thus the formal record can be reconstructed by adopting a kaupapa Māori historical approach.

Māori history

Ko te wa ki mua e whai ake nei ki muri

The time that is before us, the future, builds on and represents what has gone before, the past

History, for Māori, is inextricably linked to the present and synchronously the future. The above proverb refers to identity as being sourced from our history and how history both reinforces that identity and maps out one's future; the proverb speaks of the present in the context of the past. Therefore the past is rooted in one's mauri, or what the Reverend McCabe termed 'the essence of a person': "the essence of the child cannot be separated from the essence of the elder because they share a common humanity" (McCabe, 2010, para 29). The mauri is passed down through the generations and links us to our cosmological parents, *Ranginui* (Sky father) and *Papatuanuku* (Earth mother), and to the universe as a whole – a notion Royal (1998) said reaffirms our relationships with creation and with the universe including our environment.

In a broader interpretation the above proverb is also used to reinforce ancestral lessons and legitimise cultural traditions and histories, thereby recognising the importance of context in historical and cultural analysis. Regarding cultural analysis, Bhabha (1994) argued for the need for further investigation and cultural theoretical thought into the hybrid nature of most populations because views of 'social difference' are important for cultural production and emergent notions of belonging which, in turn, promote cultural capital and community well-being and enhance cultural, social, economic and political growth.

Hollinshead (1998) asserted that the advance by social scientists and anthropologists promotes context rather than system when investigating social history and culture. Hollinshead (1998) went on to say that "what counts is not so much culture as 'system', but culture as 'context', where all acts and events are potentially meaningful but also always inherently ambiguous" (p. 122). Positioned within a tourism context, Hollinshead (1998) added that:

...all things in life are being increasingly interpreted as artefacts of culture, per se, it is critical that in tourism and elsewhere managers and researchers take pains to think about and differentiate the indivisibility/divisibility of populations and the mutual but difficult proximities of cultures. (p. 122)

Māori histories are intrinsically linked to cultural connections, identity and social well-being, and are interpreted in many different and complex ways dependent on perspective, interpretation, social and political contexts, amongst many other influences. Bhabha (1994) stated that the value of cultural analysis lies “in a capacity to produce a cross-referential generalizable unity that signifies a progression or evolution of ideas-in-time as well as a critical self-reflection on their premises or determinants” (pp. 36–37). He termed this the *Third Space* aligned to the critical and self-reflective nature of kaupapa Māori scholarship. The Third Space concept is applied throughout the study as the space to enable a Māori-centred analysis of history.

Stafford (1967) asserted that while the histories recounted in Te Arawa tribal traditions (which make up some of the tribal considerations of analysis for this study) are not necessarily in chronological form, oral historical accounts are a valid source of history. The histories recounted in whakapapa kōrero, for example, draw upon tribal interpretation to ascertain times, places and the significance of key events. The emphasis of tribal narrative is relationship based, acknowledging ancestral connections and legacies from the past that provide pathways and foster new or ongoing relationships for the future. The importance of Māori histories, therefore, is not about picking out pieces of the past to suit the present but rather the emphasis placed on a holistic analysis of context, social relationships and other culturally significant influences that provide meaning to people, not just a chronology of historical facts. Indeed, from an epistemological positioning, rather than proving ‘facts’, the research demands an analysis of ‘What is a fact?’ (Kirkpatrick et al., 1978).

Smith (1999) stated that indigenous historical research requires “a critique of how we, as the Other, have been represented or excluded from various accounts” (p. 28). While Smith (1999) asserted that the discipline of history goes against indigenous historical approaches, there are now non-indigenous historians who are also demanding a critique of how history is represented and the way in which historians position themselves to recover historical ‘truth’ and meanings (Munslow, 2006). Juxtaposing theoretical notions of space and place into Māori societal contexts and utilising Māori concepts as a frame of reference, this research examined how Māori have prospered, suffered and/or transformed within the changing global environment since Hinemihi was built in 1881.

Friere (1985) asserted that in order to understand the capacity for social transformation one must look at the present context while concurrently considering the historical contexts of a

given time. Friere (1985) termed this a “critical awakening”, or “the process of denunciation and annunciation” (p. xxiv). Henare (1988) highlighted a similar process whereby historical contexts provide for future considerations:

If we as a distinct people are to enter the 21st century as Māori, it will be on the path signposted by our ancestors and founded on their standards and values. The only valid path is to seek optimum growth both in terms of ngā tikanga and ngā ritenga and in terms of resource constraints and limitations. (p. 6)

Thus to understand the dynamics from the history of Hinemihi that have maintained the status of the whare as a Māori icon, consideration must be given synchronously to the meanings derived from current, past and future contexts. The cultural identity of Hinemihi today, therefore, must be contextualised to her past to ascertain her cultural heritage and the subsequent interventions and interpretations that have sustained the cultural identity of the whare from the 1800s to now.

Amundsen, Jansen and Mey (2012) stated that Hinemihi seems to be “culturally displaced and ripped from context. They [referring to the photographs of Hinemihi] present two scenes rife with mixed signals all refusing to add up to a coherent historical narrative” (p. 6). However, this study challenges that notion and the belief by some that these different connections to Hinemihi make it impossible to bring together a reasoned historical account. The study will demonstrate how through a kaupapa Māori approach, the people of Hinemihi, as different as they are, provide a social history that adds meaning to the mauri of Hinemihi.

Kaupapa Māori research is fundamentally politically driven in that history has been recorded within Western frameworks of power. Smith (1999) asserted that “to hold alternative histories is to hold alternative knowledge” (p. 34) and therefore proposes that the absence of indigenous views in historical accounts is politically motivated and is a result of “the mission of colonization” where colonial ideology was put forth as the ‘truth’ and indigenous perspectives were silenced. It is further argued here that “all groups have a sense of the past, but they tend to use it to reinforce their own beliefs and sense of identity” (Tosh, 2006, p. 1), also often presented with political motivations or intent.

A lineal approach to time and space is an example of how colonial ideology was reinforced (Smith, 1999). There are different orientations of time and space for Māori. Western ideas of time and space are generally recorded systematically and based upon a lineal view of history that includes measures of technological advancement and notions of development. This development represents, for many indigenous or colonised peoples, the story of domination

as those determining ‘development’ articulate from their own ontological view, who and what development is. This discourse relies upon a pre-history point of time so as to enable measurement against traditional knowledge systems and contact with ‘modern societies’ (Smith, 1999). This notion of being developed and striving for essentially a Western society created the idea that if one did not measure up to Western pedagogy, they must be underdeveloped; i.e. development is measured against the dominant Western constructs and classifications of hierarchical orderings of the world. While purported as being a positive move during the Enlightenment era, the idea of ‘uncivilised’ societies becoming modernised, or what Rist (1997, p. 238) termed ‘semantic conjuring’, brought with it the assumption that modernisation was an even or equal development for all.

The emergent post-colonial research discourse continues this legacy of silencing indigenous people’s ways of knowing and minimises the importance of indigenous research approaches in indigenous research. Post-colonial research approaches are viewed by some indigenous intellectuals as “the convenient invention of Western intellectuals which re-inscribes their power to define the world” (Smith, 1999, p. 14). Furthermore, Bhabha (1985) refers to this power debate in the context of ‘governmentality’ and a deliberate strategy of colonialist regulation:

The political moment of cultural difference emerges as the problematic of colonial governmentality, and eclipses the transparency between legibility and legitimate rule. Mill’s ‘recording’ now encounters the difference of writing as a strategy of colonialist regulation...” (p. 73)

Traditional approaches to studying history in the context of Hinemihi are reflexively critiqued throughout the thesis to highlight this notion of colonial regulation, an approach that influences both the historical record as well as current and future plans for Hinemihi at Clandon Park.

In response to Bhabha and others who challenge traditional history theory and the objectivity of historians, alternative approaches are emerging that address issues of interpretation, representation, meaning and motivation in historical research. Declaring one’s subjectivity lends to advancing what Bhabha asserts is essential in historical study. He stated that “each position is always a process of translation and transference of meaning” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 26). Bhabha’s arguments support those of Freire (1985), who asserted that adopting a critical sensibility extends upon an historical sensibility and hence enriches the historical account. This notion is also supported by kaupapa Māori theorists who maintain that the position of the researcher is critical in understanding the historical account and therefore the

acknowledgement of one's subjectivity within the research itself adds meaning towards emancipatory outcomes or positive outcomes in terms of Māori people, language and culture (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999, Henry, 2012). Jackson (2011) framed the subjectivity of a researcher as a compulsory part of historical definition for Māori, saying that it is importantly about "defining the Māori Self" (p. 74). Therefore, a central part of kaupapa Māori historical accounts is the acknowledgement of the subjectivities of those undertaking the research and the recognition that this subjectivity will be a central influencing factor in research outcomes.

Mageo (2001) said this subjective form of historical knowledge transfer is a legitimate source of authority. Such processes, said Mageo (2001), not only extend upon the notion of history being conceptualised as a chronology of past events but also acknowledge that history is part of the present and a representation of one's own cultural identity. Conversely, however, historical knowledge in the context of Western conservation has traditionally ignored the subjectivity of historians. For example, in respect of taonga and their conservation, Sully (2007) critiqued Western approaches stating that the conservation of such treasures "lies in the preservation of the physical object and the information it 'contains'" (p. 34). He went on to critique how this information is categorised and defined through lenses of Western knowledge systems that objectify the physical nature of the treasure, while ignoring its living history. These systems, said Sully (2007), "essentialise the past, freeze periods of history and objects, and segregate the present from the past" (p. 34). This notion of 'freeze framing' and segregating the past from the present goes against what many historians say history actually is. Mageo (2001) stated that "identities appear as sites of transit between layers of historical experience" (p. 2). Experience and context is repeatedly endorsed as important factors in historical investigation and indeed in identity validation.

In addition, Foucault (1980) questioned empirical methodologies and argued that historians must analyse the framework of power from where historical narratives were written. Drawing on the work of Foucault, Munslow (2006) argued that every historian's interpretation of the past is fundamentally a version of their own invention based on pre-conceived assumptions and world views. He challenged historians who claim objectivity in their research and maintained "the past construed as history is an endless process of interpretation ... and our categories of analysis, assumptions, models and figurative style all themselves become a part of the history we are trying to unravel" (Munslow, 2006, p. 130).

Byrnes (2001) argued that historians must declare their subjectivity in their research and consider approaches that indicate “a historian’s own interests and reveal the circumstances of their own historical moment without masking ideological and methodological suppositions” (p. 117). The position of the researcher is important as is the recognition that history is a “structure of emplotments” (Munslow, 2006, p. 169) and must be considered in the context of relationships between events, time and people, and not in isolation (S. Hall, 2003). History is therefore not singular and the researcher’s position or perspective is a significant factor in how any given history is presented. Tosh (2006) stated that in a historicist context, “situating ourselves in a trajectory that is still unfolding gives us some purchase on the future and allows a measure of forward planning” (p. 40) – a perspective that aligns to the imperative of Māori historical knowledge where the past links the present with the future. Extending upon this notion, historical knowledge within a kaupapa Māori philosophical approach is contextualised in the endeavour to ‘recover’ indigenous histories so as to reclaim “the power to transform history into justice” (Smith, 1999, p. 34). In keeping with this, I too position myself into the research as a way of declaring my subjectivity and in seeking ‘truths’ that align to Māori historical interpretation.

The history of Māori cultural displays provides an example of how the contextualisation of history from a kaupapa Māori position may not only change the way Māori culture is presented but provides for the space to analyse complex interactions and relationships far outside the actual ‘object’ represented. McCarthy (2007) stated that in order to explain changes to the display of Māori culture, a critical historical investigation must be undertaken. He asks: “[H]ow and why has the display of Māori culture changed ... can we explain these extraordinary transformats – from curio to taonga?” (McCarthy, 2007, p. 7). The same author also supported the contextualisation of history by saying that the culture of display is shaped by “the complex relations of colonization, modernity and nationhood ... the eye is a product of history reproduced by education” (McCarthy, 2007, p. 7).

Munslow (2006) asserted that traditional Anglo-American history theory is also based on power relationships and said that historians often possess the power to rationalise history “for their own ideological ends” (p. 132). Kaupapa Māori ideology concurs with this by asserting that “history is about power” (Smith, 1999, p. 34) and that for any history to have meaning, it is dependent on who has the emancipatory power to transform that historical knowledge into justice. To undertake a study of history within a kaupapa Māori paradigm, therefore, is part of what Smith called a “critical pedagogy of decolonization” (Smith, 1999, p. 34).

S. Hall (2003) contended that identity developed through cultural practice over time is a “‘production’ which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation” (p. 222). Tosh (2006) concurred, acknowledging that the historical process is important and noting that isolated accounts of history are not significant without looking at relationships between events over time. Both Tosh and S. Hall emphasised the importance of representation and the interdependence of history and context in achieving meaningful historical accounts.

Te Awekotuku (1981) argued that regardless of the accounts of historical fact, historical meanings are of greater significance. These meanings are based on the response of different agents to the historical stories, or what Clowes (2007) termed the “completion of symbol internalization”. The importance of different events in history and ‘traditional authenticity’ varies according to the agents’ own ends or systems of relevance. Te Awekotuku (1981) asserted that despite the differing histories written about Māori by people whom she called “the literate, fact conscious non Māori researcher” (p. 12), those same histories posited within a Māori context are important as our response to empirical data is based on different interpretants. This perspective is supported by Crosbie (2007) who contended that the “representations of ‘the other’ are more defined by the colonist or settler’s self-interested projections than actual indigeneity” (p. 148), a statement which gives further support for the notion that the positionality of the research and/or researcher is critical to findings based on interpretation and representation, particularly when referring to cultural identities.

Kaupapa Māori research – An epistemological study

Hapaitia te ara tika pumau ai te rangātiratanga mo nga uri whakatipu

Foster the pathway of knowledge to strength, independence and growth
for future generations

Smith (1999) asserted that reclaiming history from a Māori perspective “is a critical and essential aspect of decolonization” (p. 30). The focus of Māori history within whakapapa kōrero, for example, is future focused and situated within the broader context of Māori development. Māori history is, therefore, related to promoting and enhancing Māori futures.

Māori history is based upon social relationships framed within Māori concepts that are reflected...

inter alia on *whanaungatanga*, *manaakitanga*, *kaitiakitanga* and *tohungatanga*. The value of kinship, the importance of reciprocity, the duties of stewardship and the necessity of customary expertise ... all integral elements of the Māori renaissance. All these concepts are designed to bind people together... (High Court Records, 1994).

While research on Hinemihi and other whare has included the Māori or whānau voice (Sully, 2007; Thomas, 2009), interpretation and research focus still rests with those who are undertaking the respective research projects, and they are principally non-Māori. Pihama (2001) argued that Western research is inadequate in understanding, interpreting and presenting Māori experiences. Challenges to Eurocentric epistemologies have resulted in a body of literature recognising kaupapa Māori as a valid research approach that is “founded as is all epistemology on cultural and historical specificity” (Henry, 2012, p. 25).

According to Pihama (2001), kaupapa Māori theory provides “distinctive tools through which we can view our world and analyse our experiences as Māori” (p. 24). Kaupapa Māori theory is underpinned by epistemology which Arrowsmith (2009) defines as the “theoretical study of knowledge, what knowledge is; how it might be assessed; what the grounds, assumptions for an idea might be; what claims to truth might be made; whether true knowledge can be achieved”.

Jackson (2011) offered examples of how kaupapa Māori theory can be applied through the epistemological lens of mātauranga Māori; for example, how a Māori literature review can incorporate the natural and cultural landscapes that are embedded in ancestral stories of the land: “...there are actually stories in the land. Stories are knowledge, and knowledge is literature” (p. 71).

Jackson challenged researchers within kaupapa Māori theory to not accept the way that we have been defined by others but to seek definitions the way our ancestors, our tūpuna, have defined us – through whakapapa, through stories and therefore through traditional Māori ways rather than Western literature. The definitions, interpretations and representations of research are continuously critiqued against elements of Māori knowledge determined within Māori literature (Hamilton-Pearce, 2009; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999). Critical reflection is therefore central to the mission of kaupapa Māori research. Kaupapa Māori, therefore, is the theoretical and methodological thread that underpins the thesis.

Edwards (2009, p. 148) considered the inception of kaupapa Māori as a discourse that began with the increased relationships between Māori and non-Māori knowledge systems. The benefits of this discourse are the increased conversations about Māori epistemology and its validation thereof. However, Edwards (2009) also asserted that the kaupapa Māori agenda in research has moved beyond critiquing non-Māori against Māori research discourses, and stated that rather than focusing on critical examination of others, the focus should be on encouraging the use of ‘our own’ epistemologies. Edwards (2009) went on to caution:

We run very real risks of compromising to the point that we uncritically import elements of non-Māori epistemologies into our episteme and being and as a result replicate the colonial viruses and infect ourselves with those things that we are seeking to shed and that may actually not be in our best interests. (p. 148)

Nepe (1991) described kaupapa Māori research as the “conceptualization of Māori knowledge” (p. 17). He confirmed the notion that kaupapa Māori must centre upon the use of Māori epistemologies, defining kaupapa Māori as:

...a ‘body of knowledge’...accumulated by experiences through history, of the Māori people. This Kaupapa Māori knowledge is the systematic organization of beliefs, experiences, understandings and interpretations of the interactions of Māori people upon Māori people, and Māori people upon their world. (p. 4)

Māori knowledge originates from a metaphysical base that “influences the way Māori people think, understand, interact and interpret the world” (Pipi et al., 2004, p. 143). These scholars support the view that kaupapa Māori is premised upon Māori epistemologies conceptualised upon a distinct Māori ontological base.

Graham Smith (cited in Smith, 1999) summarised kaupapa Māori research, stating that it:

- is related to ‘being Māori’;
- is connected to Māori philosophy and principles;
- takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and
- is concerned with ‘the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well being’. (p. 185)

It is this quest for cultural well-being that has essentially necessitated new forms of academic research grounded in Māori-specific knowledge systems. This approach was endorsed by Castellano (2004) in his discussion on indigenous knowledge and Aboriginal people: “[E]thical regimes for Aboriginal research must ... extend beyond current definitions of research involving human subjects to include research that affects Aboriginal well-being” (p. 104). The debate continues as to what ‘well-being’ is, although studies show that when Māori

are within environments that validate their cultural identity, where Māori value systems are applied and can be measured through a holistic Māori ontology, then that is where well-being, in this context, is defined (Houkamau, 2006; McNeill, 2007).

Spiller, Erakovic, Henare and Pio (2011) asserted that well-being is multidimensional “through better personal relationships and better relationships with the natural world” and that “Care is at the heart of the Māori values system, which calls for humans to be *kaitiaki*, caretakers of the *mauri*, the life-force, in each other and in nature” (p. 153). The same authors challenged researchers to consider multidimensional approaches based on an ethic of care that considers and promotes values-based codes of conduct, codes that validate tikanga Māori as principles in achieving positive outcomes in researched communities.

Edwards, McManus, and McCreanor (2005) asserted that kaupapa Māori approaches provide “possibilities for creativity and innovation within a framework that is responsive, reflective and accountable” (p. 89). These frameworks have been positioned within multiple contexts and critically examined through Māori frames of reference, often not derived from traditional cultural elements but chosen or selected via a complex network of relationships amongst respective communities. The responsive and reflective characteristics of kaupapa Māori research feature a system of continuous critique of interpretations of knowledge and relationships between people and mātauranga Māori, the distinctive knowledge base upon which kaupapa Māori is derived. Hence, to research and analyse the social histories of Māori communities, the relationships between the respective communities and Māori frames of reference must all be considered within a kaupapa Māori body of knowledge.

The research, therefore, adopts a research approach that seeks what Smith (1999) said is positive and transformative outcomes for the researched. However, the goal of transformational change is limited to the constraints of the respective research projects and is critiqued by some as unachievable, particularly within the confines of academic and scientific research (Rata, 2004; Tamihere, 2010). It is acknowledged here that this study also has limitations with regard to the application of the research to transforming the communities of Hinemihi; however, these limitations also provide an opportunity to reflexively challenge current pedagogy on how cultural identities are formed for travelling Māori and how the recognition of these identities can support positive outcomes for this growing Māori population cohort – the Māori diaspora.

Mātauranga Māori – Māori knowledge systems

Mātauranga Māori is created by humans according to a world view entitled ‘Te Ao Mārama’ and by the employment of methodologies derived from this world view to explain the human experience of the world (Royal, 1998, p. 6).

Te Ahukaramu Royal asserted that Māori knowledge systems all have a set genealogical paradigm called ‘Te Ao Mārama’ (the world of light/possibility/potential) which frames all aspects of the environment, ancestral experience and generations of interpretation, from creation through different periods of history to the present. Both Henare (1988) and Royal (1998) described this paradigm of an experiential form of knowledge as a ‘distinct pathway’ determined by generational/ancestral knowledge transfer and understanding. Edwards (2009) used the term *whakapapa kōrero* to describe these forms of knowledge and argued that “learning occurs across spiritual, physical and social and cognitive dimensions and that the Māori world view is an interconnected system for creating reality’ (p. 144). Williams (2001) stated that “mātauranga Māori is a system which codifies knowledge according to its relatedness to environmental and life issues, rather than to what things are in themselves” (p. 16), presenting a form of knowledge that is context based and relates to everyday life.

Edwards (2009) asserts, in his research, that Māori elders placed different value on knowledge dependent on the context and the relative importance of knowledge to particular people. He established that the term *mātauranga* was not considered by his *kaumātua* to be a Māori term but one that had emerged from how Pākehā view knowledge: “a Pākehā discourse of Māori knowledge systems and practice” (Edwards, 2009, p. 147). This view challenges current rhetoric in that *mātauranga* then sits outside of traditional Māori knowledge; however, Edwards (2009) goes on to state that there is space to:

... re-claim the term and re-present *mātauranga Māori* in ways that we see as fit or move our thinking to *māramatanga Māori* – Māori wisdoms and articulate it for ourselves and then to protect the articulation from abuse. (p. 147)

Māori society, therefore, has its own distinctive knowledge base which is context determined. Nepe (1991) stated that this knowledge base:

... has its origins in the metaphysical realm and emanates as a *Kaupapa Māori* ‘body of knowledge’ accumulated by experiences through history, of the Māori people. This *Kaupapa Māori* knowledge is the systematic organization of beliefs, experiences, understandings and interpretations of the interactions of Māori people upon Māori people, and Māori people upon their world. (p. 4)

Kaupapa Māori knowledge derives, therefore, from Māori histories. These histories are founded upon relationships between people and their environments and framed within

metaphysical ancestral philosophy. In the context of this research and by virtue of the social and physical environments of Hinemihi, the research documents historical accounts of accumulated experiences, understandings and interpretations of the people and contexts within which the whare has been positioned.

The interrelationships between the complex systems of mātauranga Māori are fundamental to kaupapa Māori research (Royal, 2008). An example of these concepts and how they are identified for the tribal people of Tuhoe were presented in a model developed by John Rangihau, a respected Tuhoe leader and political advisor, who created the model based on his own tribal knowledge. Rangihau attempted to address the burgeoning migration of Tuhoe Māori to urban centres in the 1970s and the diminishing power of *Tuhoetanga*, rendered here as Tuhoe identity, brought about by distance and subsequent disconnect, by distinguishing key Tuhoe identity markers (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2003). He introduced Tuhoe wānanga to reinforce Tuhoe identity through tribal knowledge, utilising identity markers such as language, value systems and key components of what it is to be Tuhoe (Milroy, 2008).

This model has been adapted and extended upon by Ka'ai and Higgins (2003) to form a Māoritanga conceptual paradigm to embrace unique markers of what it is to be Māori, albeit that the paradigm was first developed from a distinct Tūhoe tribal ontology. The irony of changing the ontological approach from a *kaupapa-a-iwi* or tribal ontological framework to a kaupapa Māori paradigm provides a point of critique. Rangihau (1992) was very much of the view that there is no such thing as 'being Māori' and that Māori identity is intrinsically connected to being tribal. He stated:

Although these feelings for me are Māori, for me they are my Tūhoetanga rather than my Māoritanga. Because my being Māori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person as against being a Māori person. It seems to me there is no such thing as Māoritanga because Māoritanga is an all-inclusive term, which embraces all Māoris. And there are so many different aspects about every tribal person. Each tribe has its own history. And it's not a history that can be shared among others. How can I share with the history of Ngāti Porou, of Te Arawa, of Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am a Tuhoe person and all I can share in is Tūhoe history. I have a faint suspicion that Māoritanga is a term coined by the Pākehā together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, than for tribal people all you can do is unite them and rule. Because then they lose everything by losing their tribal histories and traditions that give them their identity. (p. 190)

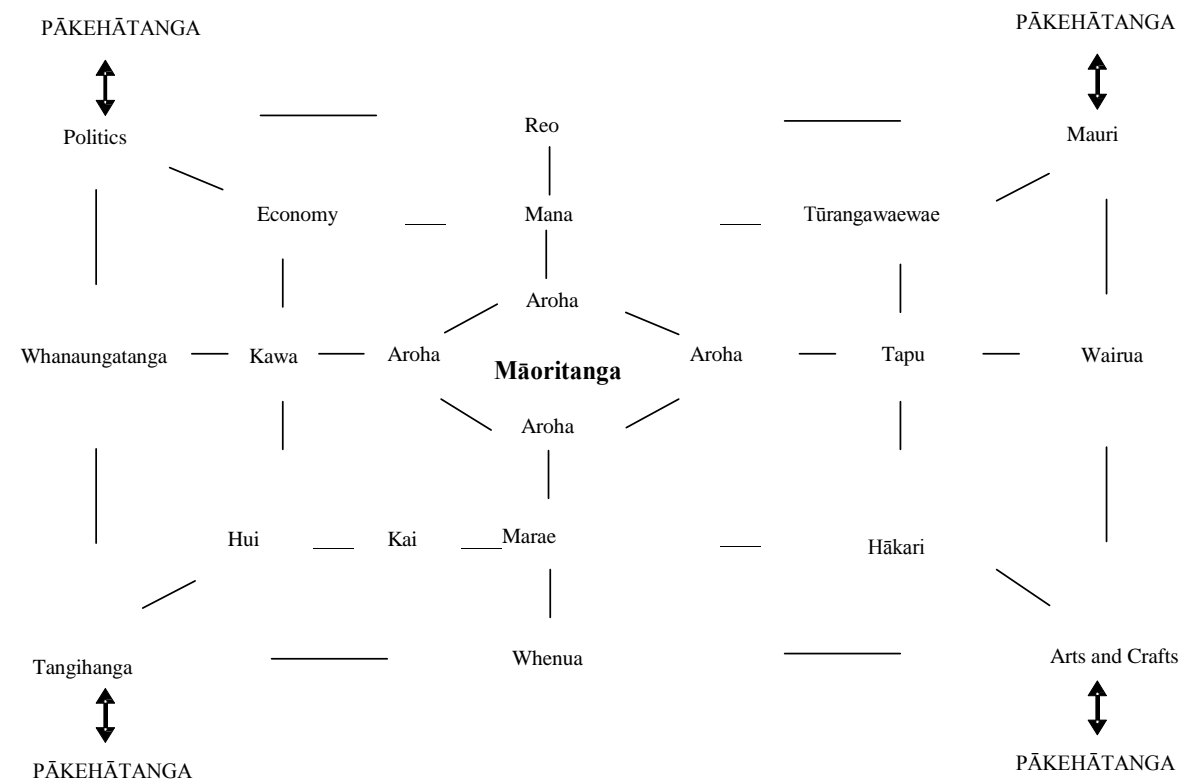
McNeill (2007) argued that the notion of a pan-Māori or national Māori identity is a result of a "deliberate neo-colonial strategy that puts the last touches on cultural annihilation" (p. 46). This is endorsed in the history of colonisation whereby the Crown's policies were directed at

the assimilation of Māori into non-Māori society (The Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2014). The detrimental effects of Crown directives of assimilation, land confiscation and other strategies is well documented and disparities between Māori and non-Māori in social indices for education, health and justice have been directly attributed to these policies (Houkamau, 2006; Milroy, 2008; Tahana Ltd, 2006). Nevertheless, the pan-Māori approach is endorsed by many Māori intellectuals (Durie, 2008; Pihama, 1993; Smith, 1999) in response to the current context where ongoing ‘detrribalisation’ has resulted in the majority of Māori living in urban centres outside of tribal boundaries. Emery (2008) contended that the reality for the majority of urban Māori is that many are “three or more generations removed from their traditional tribal lands” (p. 44). Durie (2006) asserted that while:

... Māori are far from homogenous and show a wide range of cultural, social and economic characteristics, there are nonetheless sufficient commonalities to warrant treatment as a distinctive population, at least for measuring social, economic and cultural parameters. (p. 14)

The notion of kaupapa Māori, therefore, is not in opposition to the views of McNeill (2007) or Rangihau (1992) whereby a tribally prescribed kaupapa-a-iwi philosophical paradigm is presented but rather supports the view that the complexities of Māori identity must consider the diverse realities and be positioned within the global context. Henry (2012) concluded that a “*Kaupapa Māori* paradigm embraces traditional beliefs, whilst incorporating contemporary resistance strategies that embody the drive for ‘*tino rangātiratanga*’, self-determination and empowerment for Māori people, as opposed to the subjugation of colonial experience” (p. 23). The principal caution in this critique is to recognise the complexity and diversity of Māori cultural identity as to do otherwise has, in the past, resulted in a Western ideology of what it is to be Māori against a backdrop of Western discourses of power.

Figure 11: Conceptual Model of Māoritanga



Source: Ka'ai and Higgins (2003, p. 16).

Ka'ai and Higgin's (2003) adapted Rangihau model locates Māoritanga in the centre (see Figure 11). This position allows for Māori researchers to locate their research from a kaupapa Māori position, whereby the subjectivities of the researcher are declared as influential in interpretation and the research itself. The model encompasses Māori knowledge systems, beliefs and values through a relational paradigm whereby all elements are interdependent. Thus the model acknowledges that position, motivations and context influence the ways in which history and cultural identity are articulated and presented. As an example, Royal (1998) said that human understanding is interdependent on context and that "one set of symbols [can] refer to several realities" (p. 6). Mātauranga Māori in the model reflects the non-negotiable relational nature between the cultural concepts which are essentially there to ensure the survival of Māori identity for future generations (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2003).

The concepts in this Māoritanga model reflect generic markers that can be found in much of kaupapa Māori and Māori identity literature. These mātauranga Māori based models are

indicative of the multidimensional and holistic nature of the Māori world view (Durie, 1994). An ontological perspective established upon the accumulated experiences of Māori peoples throughout history, and the metaphysical relationship and origins thereof to their environment.

Rangihau (1992) highlighted many elements essential to a mātauranga Māori episteme. He argued that the cultural concepts in this model are central to one's cultural identity and are essentially relationships focused. These concepts are all interdependent and all mediated through *aroha*, which is commonly translated as love but has much deeper meanings. Ka'ai and Higgins (2003) interpreted this first layer or tier of *aroha* as love, concern for others, sympathy and charity. They stated that *aroha* in the model "emphasizes the notion that whānau/hapū/iwi ... are committed to the survival of their kinship group/s to ensure their identity as tangata whenua ... for future generations" (Ka'ai and Higgins, 2003, p. 16). Royal (2008) quoted Māori Marsden when defining *aroha*: "*Mana tūturu* – ko te *aroha*" (your prestige/spiritual guardianship – is love). Royal also defined *aroha* as being an essential part of Māori identity, an endowment from our ancestors or a quality identified from our primal parents, Ranginui and Papatuanuku. Mahuika (1993) also endorsed *aroha* as a necessary element of Māoritanga and interpretation of things Māori from a Māori perspective: "*Mana tūturu* and autonomy, in terms of culture and spirituality, that we earn, the peculiar way that we regard our social and physical environment, through our whakapapa" (p. 6). These interpretations of Māoritanga stemming from *aroha* are all located within a whakapapa paradigm where ancestral connections are requisite to Māori cultural identity. The interdependence of these concepts found in Māori identity paradigms form the basis of values-based knowledge. Henare (1999), when referring to values significant to Māori, asserted that "we must understand the parts to understand the whole, as they are all integrated, interconnected and interdependent, both with each other and clusters of other values" (p. 52). The values and understandings in whakapapa narratives are complex and the histories located from a whakapapa framework are dependent on context. The stories contained in waiata tawhito are examples of this complexity and dependence on context as histories are recounted and linked to current events or occasions, thus providing the space for ancestral knowledge to be applied in tikanga, and for evaluation and debate today.

The application of a kaupapa Māori paradigm in the research required an analysis of how knowledge is created within the lived experience and realities for Māori. Henry (2012) stated that:

... *Kaupapa Māori* can be seen as a methodology, that is, as a set of research methods and procedures, which in turn are shaped by our assumptions about what is ‘real’ and what is ‘true’. Methodology in this context is not so much a matter of distinguishing ‘quantitative’ from ‘qualitative’, or ‘deductive’ from ‘inductive’ methods, but of recognising that *Kaupapa Māori* is a framework, a paradigm for understanding what is real for Māori, how Māori live according to tikanga, and how knowledge can be created out of those *tikanga*. (p. 25)

Tikanga are therefore principles that realise Māori knowledge in action, are contextual and provide reference points for a reflexive examination of meanings and understandings against a Māori ontology. Mead (2003) stated that tikanga represent guidelines of ideal behaviour and are values based. According to Mead, the following principles underpin all tikanga, and while these principles are the ideal, not achieving a particular principle does not negate its use or value:

- 1) manaakitanga: caring and looking after people
 - 2) aroha ki te tangata: having a concern for other people
 - 3) whakapapa: respecting the identity, lineage and relationships of others
 - 4) mana: acting in a way that enhances mana and self-esteem of a person
 - 5) tapu: respecting the sanctity of persons and of places and protocols
 - 6) utu: being mindful of the principle of reciprocity
 - 7) tika: observing proper standards of behaviour
 - 8) mātauranga: proper training and education so one knows what to do
- (Mead, 2003, p. 2)

Tikanga are defined by Moorfield (2015) as the correct method, custom, lore and/or cultural practice. Tikanga evolve over time, are pragmatic in practice, and carry the principles and values of Māori culture. Tikanga Māori continually evolve in response to the changing world although the basic tenets of tikanga continue to be passed down through generational learning, again demanding whakapapa knowledge or ancestral knowledge in the endeavour of protecting oneself from both the spiritual and physical realms. Pihama (2001) stated that tikanga “can be defined as a cultural template, customs, rules, laws, processes, appropriate ways of being, distinctive Māori ways” (p. 119). Henare (2010) cautioned against sectorising tikanga concepts. Tikanga must be reflexively critiqued, as outside of context, the meanings and understandings of them will be lost and they become merely token gestures of cultural awareness. Many pōwhiri, for example, are conducted in workplaces and classrooms that are unrelated to anything Māori but are undertaken as if they are being conducted on a marae. The changing tikanga from the original purpose is considered, by some, to be a threat to deeper understandings and meanings of tikanga which originated from very pragmatic practicalities of marae and other Māori societal structures (T. Higgins, personal communication, September 9, 2009).

Tikanga are often set down as a list of rules; for example, the tikanga of removing one's shoes prior to entry into a whare. At my marae, and in our tūpuna whare, men are allowed to keep their shoes on. While a seemingly inconsequential practice, during a Tūhourangi tribal wānanga, this was challenged by the women present. After much debate, the original rationale was revealed and the practice continues. Primarily it was related to where the women walk inside the whare – on woven fine mats – and thus it was a practice involving conservation of our *raranga* or weaving. These tikanga are constantly critiqued to ensure integrity and understanding of our cultural practices. Such protocols and ways of being Māori therefore incorporate intrinsic Māori values such as relationships of people with others as well as their respective landscapes and histories, and are manifested in tikanga. Thus tikanga is representative of Māori knowledge systems that are derived from multiple reflexive perspectives. Tikanga may not necessarily be based upon whakapapa knowledge and/or engagement with tribal marae or contexts, yet it is my contention that tikanga as well as Māori histories are based on and informed by Māori epistemology.

Māori tribal knowledge is arguably the touchstone of Māori identities. Genealogical connections, shared stories of historical significance, and stories of tribal lands and ancestries come together to unify tribal communities. Moana Jackson argued that all of these ways of knowing are part of Māori cultural literature. He reflected on a literature review he undertook in preparation for a conference in 2011. His literature review was conducted when he went 'home' to Te Matau o Māui in Kahungunu:

It was a lovely sea-breezed walk but I call it a literature review because where the cliffs tumble down to the foreshore ... there are actually stories in the land. Stories are knowledge, and knowledge is literature (Jackson, 2011, p. 71).

Oratory has been and still is a key method of knowledge transfer for Māori, although the adoption of written literature in the 19th century has been part of Māori histories since the arrival of European traders and missionaries, who spread the word of commerce and the Bible and subsequently introduced the written word to Māori.

The interpretation of Māori history was transformed when the medium of cultural literature changed from a predominantly oral tradition to that of a written tradition. The written word not only transformed how Māori knowledge was communicated but allowed for the introduction of Western forms of interpretation. Written histories transformed the method of critical analysis found within traditional methods of historical account. Smith (1999) asserted "we have often allowed our 'histories' to be told and have then become outsiders as we heard

them being retold...our orientation to the world was already being redefined as we were being excluded systematically from the writing of the history of our own lands” (Smith, 1999, p. 33). Often these histories are unrecognisable outside of context or outside of the Māori knowledge system in which they originated.

This reinterpretation of Māori history can be likened to what Hall (2003, p. 245) refers to as the “syncretic dynamic”, or the appropriation of the dominant discourse to ‘fit’ the differing positionalities of cultural identities. The syncretic dynamic is when cultural forms or elements have been critically appropriated from a dominant discourse to the ‘New World’ as a reconstituted ‘place’, “a narrative of displacement, that gives rise so profoundly to a certain imaginary plenitude, recreating the endless desire to return to ‘lost origins’, to be one again with the mother, to go back to the beginning” (Hall, 2003, p. 245). This reconstituted place when positioned within a Māori discourse can be related to the migration story where the narrative reconfirms our collective identity as Māori through a link to our lost origin of Hawaiiki. However from a non-Māori discourse, the narrative portrays another perspective that separates the historical account into the past, as traditional, and the current context, as non-traditional. This concept is further discussed in Chapter Five.

Neich (2001) gave another perspective on the introduction of written literature to Māori, describing it as an increased and conscious awareness of difference, bringing forth the notion of difference distinguished from Pākehā. He stated that Māori identity began to be consciously considered as soon as European contact had been made and that these distinctions were “implied in the differences in art, material culture and behaviour” (p. 298). This heightening of individuality where Māori “could possess an independence of mind and a greater privacy of thought, thereby allowing increased detachment from the traditional past” (p. 298) meant there has been a philosophical shift from a cultural knowledge framework that is founded upon a seamless past and future to a non-Māori view that history, or the ‘traditional past’, is unrelated to current or future cultural identities.

For many, the writings of Pākehā ethnographers such as Elsdon Best (1924) and the collections of Sir George Grey (1854) have provided a key source of information for family histories and for the survival of knowledge that would have otherwise been lost over time (Simmons, 1966). Grey’s collections are enriched with manuscripts of several Māori experts in oral histories. Te Rangikaheke penned much of the local histories of Te Arawa in waiata and also composed waiata that continue to be recited by descendents to this day. However,

while these traditional forms of knowledge transfer were being penned into manuscripts, they do not simply represent a transcription of traditional knowledge into written form. The writings of Te Rangikaheke display an awareness of cultural difference and forms of detachment in that they presented an “implicit assessment of traditional Māori culture” (Neich, 2001, p. 298).

The information in these manuscripts alone has and is being used as written confirmation for matters such as Treaty of Waitangi land claim negotiations. The record of 9800 pages of material continues to serve iwi in waiata tawhito, *karakia* or prayers/incantations and poetry. At the time these manuscripts were written they were being immortalised as firsts in new technologies of written literature.

Ironically, written literature of that time is also critiqued as a method to support the colonisation of British Colonies, whereby histories have been discounted to mere oral traditions. Thus written literature has reinforced history from a perspective that has supported oppression of indigenous peoples. Smith (1999) stated that:

The idea of contested stories and multiple discourses about the past, by different communities, is closely linked to the politics of everyday contemporary indigenous life. It is very much a part of the fabric of communities that value oral ways of knowing. These contested accounts are stored within genealogies, within the landscape, within weavings and carvings, even within the personal names that many people carried. The means by which these histories were stored was through their systems of knowledge. Many of these systems have since been reclassified as oral *traditions* rather than histories. (p. 33)

The classification of Māori oral histories into what Western literature has termed ‘traditions’ devalued Māori historical knowledge, further marginalising their historical relevance to today. But Māori are not alone - through colonisation, indigenous peoples throughout the world have struggled against Western views of history, although at the same time been complicit.

Jackson (2011), when relating power imbalances within Western research, asserted that the “imposition of that whole discourse is one of the most damaging things that has been done to our people because it has altered the very notion of our identity and worth” (p. 74). Perhaps due to the prominence of metaphorical meaning within kaupapa Māori and the culture as a whole, interpretative critique is central to ensuring the integrity of Māori knowledge transfer as well as presenting a Māori perspective to our own histories. Relating to this is the colonising effect on knowledge systems that has occurred since the early missionaries and

colonists started settling in Aotearoa. As Merata Mita (cited in Smith, 1999) stated, “We have a history of people putting Māori under a microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving themselves the power to define” (p. 58).

Another form of mātauranga Māori interpretation is in the use of cultural arts and crafts in recounting history. Māori crafts are not simply cultural souvenir-type products made for sale at a gala or fete but a form of art that transfers knowledge of the political and social environments of a given time. Cultural politics, for example, are reflected in interpretations of Māori art and how these forms of communication add meaning to one’s cultural identity. Neich (1993) observed that cultural art forms reflect the cultural politics of the time. This is true in the case of Hinemihi, with the art forms in her whakairo reflecting aspects of the political environment at the time of the construction of the whare. Her art forms also reflect the dichotomous nature of the environment Hinemihi is positioned within; for example, the inclusion of European features in some of the whakairo is said by some to suggest that non-Māori (Victorian Europeans) were held in high esteem as non-Māori representations were included in many of the carvings of that time. The different interpretations of the taonga alone present the complexities involved in Māori histories.

Taonga and art history

A prime example of how different interpretations of taonga have influenced both the way Māori and, in this case, museum rhetoric is applied to taonga was the Te Māori exhibition which began in 1984 in the United States. The taonga or exhibits, while treasured by the many tribal groupings they came from, were largely sourced from museum collections around Aotearoa. Prior to the exhibition, the taonga were mostly displayed in obscure parts of museums or kept in museum storage. The exhibition is considered a milestone for Māori cultural display as these taonga, after being a great success overseas, returned to do a tour of Aotearoa alongside a swell of Māori pride and an acknowledgement by all of the great value of Māori artworks and histories. The Te Māori exhibition became what Herle (1997) asserted public displays engender, places “where the meanings of objects change ... spaces for transitive, entangled and contested realities in museums, politics and representation” (p. 65). In a Māori context, Terrell, Wisse and Phillipp (2007) stated that, “keeping the taonga warm, from a Māori point of view, means re-establishing links with Māori people where they have been broken, and by so doing, helping to conserve the essence – the life force (mauri) – of the taonga themselves (p. 96).

The intrinsic and extrinsic value of Māori art was not generally recognised by Pākehā in Aotearoa prior to this time because colonial interpretation of art had excluded the value of Māori culture and cultural interpretation was not part of the colonial project. The ‘space’ of the Te Māori exhibition changed Māori exhibits in New Zealand from how they were perceived in the mid- to late 19th century, as “either exotic curios, evidence of the strange savagery of the natives, or natural history specimens, indistinguishable from the flora and fauna of Māoriland which were subject to the gaze of their European colonial masters” (McCarthy, 2005, p. 63).

In the 1900s until the beginnings of what has popularly been termed the ‘Māori renaissance,’ from the early 1970s, Māori art had commonly been contextualised in New Zealand either as museum artefacts or souvenir-type pieces or ‘kiwiana’. Within this context, taonga were seen as “... the products of the Māori engagement with Europe and the world they were produced, not just by colonisation’s culture, but recolonisation’s culture as a means of giving a distinctive brown tinge to the Britain of the Pacific” (McCarthy, 2005, p. 64).

The Māori renaissance was led by the advent of the te Kōhanga Reo movement, Māori activist groups seeking recognition of Māori culture and language, and the pressure on the New Zealand Government to recognise the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori injustice, Crown land confiscations and the detrimental effects of colonisation on Māori society. During this period, Māori art also witnessed a renaissance where taonga Māori was again being interpreted from a Māori ontology. Taonga began to be recognised and celebrated by both non-Māori and Māori.

The inception of the Te Māori exhibition began in 1972 and its planning took more than a decade before it finally opened in the United States in 1984. The work involved in planning the exhibition represents an important point of time for Māori cultural recognition. It is paradoxical that the taonga in the Te Māori art exhibition were relatively unrecognised in Aotearoa until they were displayed and valued overseas. Now, many of the exhibits from the exhibition have been reconnected in some form with their whakapapa whānau. The raised awareness and inclusion of Māori in the exhibition lead to either repatriation of many of the taonga to their tūrangawaewae or, at least, to having their whakapapa whānau play an increased kaitiaki or spiritual role in their care. Indeed, the decision by the New Zealand Government to appoint a Te Māori management committee during the initial exhibition development phase was a first, and this committee set about investigating how best to include

Māori in the exhibition of their respective taonga. The committee's work led to the policy whereby Māori had the right to exercise a veto over their taonga, and extended into the ability of iwi Māori to accompany their taonga, ensuring Māori were trained as guides and were integral to the dawn opening ceremony of the exhibition (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014, para 3). Furthermore, the exhibition not only presented exhibits alongside interpretation from descendants of the original owners but produced a Māori space outside of tribal bounds that ensured cultural safety in exhibition practices and created a 'travelling marae', a multi-tribal space within new and contemporary non-Māori contexts. Practices developed around the exhibition, then, could be said to be a milestone in presenting the flexibility in tikanga Māori, particularly in the adaptability of how mātauranga Māori can be communicated, maintained and sustained in changing environments. Mead (1996) endorsed the importance of the marae and how kaupapa Māori can be transferable in non-Māori or foreign places, when he stated that:

...the marae remains the pivotal site of Māori political and economic negotiation. It is also the location of ceremony and celebration; it is a place to rest one's feet, to make a stand, to claim one's rights. It is a place that pulsates with the mauri, the essential spirit or metaphysical sense of being part of the community and of the land. Mauri can be manifest within a natural object or an artefact – a carved stone, sculptured wood, talismanic nephrite ... Thus it may travel ... so that the marae, as a physical venue or site may be constructed in the galleries of an overseas institution. (p. 35)

The paradox in this text is that the marae is a place "to claim one's rights" and "sense of being part of the community and of the land" while synchronously "it may travel ... [to] an overseas institution". This paradox was played out in the galleries where the Te Māori exhibition travelled in the mid-1980s, and to a certain degree the exhibition provided a precedent for the care of Māori taonga and ability of Māori to create their own spaces in foreign environs away from the marae at home. However, the exhibition also raised issues of what are appropriate Māori protocols, who are tangata whenua in these forums, and how do Māori, and others, connect to the marae when the natural landscapes and whakapapa relationships with the taonga is absent. These issues align to the tensions raised throughout this research regarding Hinemihi being located in England.

Essentially the respective Māori tribes reflected upon tribal histories through the transfer of cultural knowledge systems and contextualised them to the different spaces to which the exhibition travelled, thereby creating a marae at each location. Each tribe took turns to imbue the exhibition with stories through waiata, whaikōrero and the exhibits themselves. Mageo (2001) endorsed this form of historical transfer when she said, "[H]istory is a way of talking

about aspects of culture that are shared in the present” (p. 5). Furthermore, Mageo asserted that the consequence of contextualising these types of ancestral markers from history into the present legitimises current practice and cultural controls as a representation of cultural identity itself.

Mātauranga Māori analysis of the narratives used in and around whare tūpuna provides for a significant body of historical knowledge for those connected to them (Pihama, 2001, p. 84). The taonga in the form of the whakairo and raranga of Hinemihi, as well as the *hangarau* (technologies) and *hanga whare* (building techniques) used in the construction of the whare, all provided sites of analysis alongside their relationships with other relevant mātauranga Māori elements. This relationship between the elements of Hinemihi is highlighted by the following quote from Mead’s (1994) book, *Te Māori: Taonga Māori treasures of the Māori*:

Ko Te Māori te whakaaturanga o te tuturutanga o te hinengaro, te wairua, me te ngākau o te ao Māori kau pahemo.
Koianeī nga taonga i mahue iho i a ratou ma tatou, a, e kōrero mai nei.
E kōrero ana enei taonga mo te ahua o tenei mea o te mana, te ihi, te wehi o te tangata.
Ko rātou nga kanohi o te ao kōhatu, te herenga mai o tera ao ki tenei ao, nga tohu hoki ki te ao kei muri e tu mai ra.

Te Māori is an expression of the deepest recesses of the mind, the spiritual essence, and the heart of the ancient Māori.
These masterly pieces are their legacy to us and they speak to us.
These treasures speak to us of power, inspiration and the awesome wonder of mankind.
They are the faces of the old world; the links of the old world to this world; and the signposts from this world to the world which stands before us.

(Mead, 1994, preface)

The carvings of Hinemihi, which were carved by the master carver Wero Taroi and his assistant Tene Waitere in 1881, represent what many taonga Māori imbue, namely “the old world, the links of the old world to this world, and the signposts from this world to the world which stands before us” (Mead, 1994, preface). These signposts allude to the essential concepts of Māori identity and provide for critical reflection of the intellectual traditions of interpretation based within an ethic of care, or what Jackson termed “manaakitanga honesty”. Manaakitanga honesty challenges researchers to reflect upon one’s own practice as a researcher and encourages an “honesty that comes from respect, and a willingness to acknowledge and share” (Jackson, 2011, p. 76).

Culture is not static, and while an artefact can be viewed as just an object, the historical experience and cultural context of artefacts, for Māori, adds to the ‘storehouse of knowledge’ and establishes the artefact as more than just a static object but a living phenomenon, a taonga. This notion is highlighted in Hakiwai (1996):

He toi whakairo, he mana tangata (Where there is artistic excellence, there is human dignity).

Māori treasures occupy a special and important place in Māori cultural identity ‘when a descendant holds one of the pieces, all the power, awe and authority of the ancestors flows into the living person. Tears flow, and a living bridge is built between, the living and dead, the past and the present. (p. 51)

Kaumātua Hiko Hohepa said of taonga: “They are connections to our ancestors, those things we value” (H. Hohepa, personal communication, 1997). Therefore, the relationships and connections with people determine what makes an artefact or an object, a taonga.

The context of the times in which the whakairo and *turapa*, or woven panel which is unique to Te Arawa, of Hinemihi were created, provides a starting point for the analysis of the physical aspects of the whare. In analysing these ‘objects’, a history of the carver and context within which he worked was sought from his descendants.

Many stories are recounted of *Hinemihi* the person and these stories are represented in the carvings of the whare (see Neich, 2001). The investigation of the physical aspects of the whakairo and their meanings founded upon tribal narratives and contextual factors is important to the historical account. The study, therefore, examined the whakairo in the whare as a form of narrative analysis to ascertain the legacy of memories and messages in the taonga and how they have contributed to the cultural identity and form of Hinemihi. This investigation started at the time the carvings were made, through to the present time, whereby the whare is now undergoing major conservation and renovation work.

The analysis of the taonga is therefore based on kaupapa Māori discourses which are applied to extend the signs and symbols of the taonga from historical accounts. This challenges the simple ‘inside/outside’ division, or Self and Other, and posits the analysis within “a complex overlapping landscape of containment” (Douglas, 2011, p. 11), or into Bhabha’s (1994) Third Space where “... the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew” (p. 11).

The signs and symbols represented in the whakairo are considered within a Māori paradigm that reconfirms multiple interpretations that are dependent on kaupapa or context. The stories and interpretations of individual whakairo are told from narratives sourced from the many communities of Hinemihi and analysed through those elements of kaupapa Māori that reflect the cultural identity of Hinemihi as Māori or that of the travelling Māori.

In addition, the analysis drew upon kaupapa Māori research methodology in understanding particular Māori forms or symbols; in this case, the whakairo or carvings of Hinemihi. Pihama (2001) stated that the wharenuī is an appropriate symbol for analysing Māori, because:

... it is the embodiment of our being. The wharenuī as a representation of selected tūpuna, both female and male, is itself a storehouse of knowledge. The wharenuī also serves as shelter and protection, whilst holding within the space generations of stories and images that remind us of our place in the world (p. 90).

The last comment is made more significant given the current location of Hinemihi and the role Hinemihi plays in reminding those New Zealand expatriates in the United Kingdom of their place in the world.

Māori scholars draw on the whare whakairo as a means of presenting a Māori world view, whether in symbolic or conceptual representations (Melbourne, 1991). For example, Goulton (1999) presented parts of the whare in depicting key concepts of a teacher education programme, He Huarahi Ako, and Durie (1994) developed and implemented the 'whare tapa wha' model into health care in Aotearoa, utilising the four walls of a whare as a metaphor for human development. Māori orators utilise the whakairo in whare in their narratives and through these semiotic methods of analysis, interpretation and meaning are then presented for critical reflection within respective tikanga contexts. Knowledge systems in taonga, therefore, have multiple meanings and change dependent on the kaupapa and relationships these interpretations foster.

Māori identity

Inā kei te mohio koe ko wai koe, I anga mai koe i hea, kei te mohio koe.

Kei te anga atu ki hea

If you know who you are and where you are from, then you will know
where you are going

This whakataukī emphasises the notion that relationships with ancestral connections are a requirement in order for one to move forward into the future. The whakataukī is referred to in the context of whakapapa knowledge systems. Kawharu (2010) stated that you must “call on identity to link yourself to your cultural landscape”. Jackson (2011) argued that this is one of four components of kaupapa Māori: “It is to know who we are as our people have always defined who we are, and not to know who we are as defined by others” (p. 74). Jackson emphasised the need to create our people’s own cultural spaces that define who we are as Māori. Essentially a Māori person comes from a genealogical pool of those who migrated to Aotearoa from Eastern Polynesia throughout the 7th century. While there is debate as to the precise timing and settlement of different Māori tribal groupings, it is an accepted prerequisite that to be Māori you must whakapapa or genealogically link to a specific tribal ancestry, “bound by DNA, common histories and shared interests in whenua” (Durie, 2008, slide 3).

The ‘discourse of identity’ is described by some as a dialectic between self reflexivity as a process of self-image, ‘the Self’, against a backdrop of society or human nature, and the tradition of framing oneself against the Other, or what Bhabha (1994) called the image of the ‘missing person’ or the ‘invisible eye’. As an example the identification of Māori as a people only came about after the arrival of the European. The word Māori literally meaning ‘normal, usual, natural or common’, is now extended upon to identify an ‘aboriginal inhabitant, indigenous person or native’ when framed against the other, the European or Pākehā. This dialectic produces a dilemma in respect of “the impossibility of claiming an origin for the Self (or Other) within a tradition of representation that conceives of identity as the satisfaction of a totalizing, plenitudinous object of vision” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 46).

Fanon’s (1963) work sought to conceptualise the social antagonism of the colonial relation. He defined a phenomenological affirmation of the Self and the Other, which became a major

precept in the early literature in the ‘interrogation of identity’ as a form of struggle by the colonised against colonial oppression. Bhabha (1994) asserted that the “colonial relation” between Fanon’s conceptual schema of transformations of truth and value is impossible to achieve as it “refuses the ambition of any total theory of colonial oppression” (p. 41); however, Bhabha did support Fanon’s philosophical position that “the struggle against colonial oppression not only changes the direction of Western history, but challenges its historicist idea of time as a progressive, ordered whole [and challenges] social reality, as a pre-given image of human knowledge” (p. 41).

Fanon’s identification of the colonial subject challenges the idea that identity can be “historicized in the heterogenous assemblage of the texts of history, literature, science [and] myth” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 43). Bhabha (1994) termed this condition the “visibility of cultural mummification in the colonizer’s avowed ambition to civilise or modernize the native” (p. 43). Fanon linked identity to the processes of liberation where he described decolonisation as an historical process that can only be understood by discerning the “history-making movement which gives it form and substance... It is the colonist who fabricated and continues to fabricate the colonised subject” (Fanon, 1963, p. 2).

With regard to Māori identity, Emery (2008), in her research about her own Māori tribal grouping, Ngāti Te Taringa, acknowledged that the diversities or realities of being Māori is not founded within an essentialist construct of Māori identity, where identity is profiled against a set criteria of being Māori (as an homogenous group), but rather articulated from the lived realities of the ever-changing complex societies within which we live and this includes non-Māori. She drew upon the identity-profiling work of Durie (1997) to come up with two principal groupings: “‘home dwellers’ (mana whenua or ahi kaa) and *te ahi tere* (away-dwellers who have no intention of returning home to live)” (Emery, 2008, pp. i–ii). A critical reflection on the diasporic nature of Māori shows that cultural identity is increasingly being deconstructed and reformed to articulate and reflect the identities of Māori in the present. Emery concluded that there was a growing need to consider a sub-grouping of away dwellers and termed this group the ‘underprovided’ who “May have whānau on hapū lands but has no access to *papatipu* [ancestral land] and/or whānau” (p. 260). This grouping, according to Emery, do not have access to whakapapa knowledge systems that embrace tribal histories, relationships with their hapū and associated connection to land and cultural capital; they are not only disenfranchised from the cultural capital of their hapū and iwi but their identity as Māori is compromised. There is also an evolutionary aspect to cultural identity and change

that transcends Māori identity as prescribed by the aforementioned identity concepts, namely recognition of the diversities of culture. This diversity is presented here as the Third Space, responding to the hybridity of identities that can support those away dwellers or what this thesis terms ‘Māori travellers’ who have and continue to evolve with time and change.

The increased demands on Māori to identify or link with one or many tribal authorities in order to rationalise resource allocations has highlighted the importance placed on whakapapa knowledge or ancestral connections to being identified as Māori. New cultural landscapes, political agendas and make up of contemporary Māori society have changed the way Māori identify with their culture and to each other (Durie, 2006). Cultural identity markers or definitions have always been dependent on social relationships (whanaungatanga), largely structured through a complex network of kin-based systems. While social relationships are still integral to identity, how those relationships are developed, nurtured and enacted are no longer based on bounded places such as tribal territory but now on social spaces that may or may not align with traditional Māori identity criteria. This is, of course, not a new phenomenon – travel and social change is a fundamental part of Māori history and, indeed, the history of the human race. These systems of identity for Māori have and continue to challenge traditional notions of whakapapa and have become problematic for some who through travel no longer integrally engage with their kin relatives. As a result, there are some who create their own cultural capacities that respond more appropriately to their respective contexts (Carter, 2013).

The new cultural landscape has highlighted dominant hegemonies that have had negative implications for Māori cultural identity, particularly in how Māori identity has been and is measured. Through whakapapa kōrero, one can ‘prove’ or validate one’s ability to identify as Māori. In the absence of that knowledge system, however, those elements that were and are considered the essence of being Māori have radically changed. Those knowledge systems based upon whakapapa, relationships, histories and physical resources such as land still exist within whakapapa kōrero, but there are now also new ways of being Māori. And while these new ways may be outside of whakapapa, they are still based or themed around relationships, context, events and shared histories or, indeed, kaupapa Māori frames of identity.

The above discussion is not exclusive to Māori. Mageo (2001, p. 2), in her discussion on reconfiguring identity in the wider postcolonial Pacific context, concurred with the notion that identity is based on relationships with one’s environment. Mageo also asserted that

memory and how memory is interpreted according to cultural value systems and processes is fundamental in articulating cultural identity. Too often cultural identity is conceived as flat – as an ideological presentation of culture. When one re-examines cultural identity in light of memory, however, these identities appear as sites of transit between layers of historical experience. Therefore, it is context, relationships and how histories are interpreted that are the fundamental basis for identity criteria.

The dialectic between whakapapa kōrero and new markers of what it is to be Māori has led to an emerging body of knowledge that seeks to validate the diverse cultural fabric of Māori identity (Durie, 2008; Edwards, 2009; Ehau, 1931; Emery, 2008; Houkamau, 2006; McIntosh, 2007; Meredith, 1998; Milroy, 2008; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Peterson, 2001; T. Pohatu, 2003; Rangihau, 1992). These Māori-determined definitions of Māori identity, while diverse, all respond to kaupapa Māori priorities, often challenging non-Māori agendas or world views, and all are centred upon relationship-based epistemologies that seek connections and relationships to create shared spaces conducive to promoting wellness in a holistic sense.

The nature of Māori epistemology for the multiple contexts and agendas that inform Māori identity is commonly debated amongst tribal authorities, government departments and urban communities. An example of this is the way in which Treaty of Waitangi settlement processes have engendered multiple methods to articulate and identify Māori.

Tribal organisations are encouraging their members to be counted in the national census, and P. Douglas (2013) gave two reasons for this:

To prove their size as an iwi to the Crown and to prove their size as an iwi to each other. One serves to improve the quantum of their settlement [referring here to Treaty of Waitangi claims] and the other their legitimacy as a force. (p. 188)

The settlements have included governmental apologies to tribal Māori and return of significant resources, either through land return or other forms of compensation. Within this context the tribal identity rhetoric has become vital for tribal peoples to come together to support tribal claims. However, it can also be seen as having now become a political tool to force people to ‘fit’ into the new type of tribal authority schema whereby one has to figure out which authority they will align to. The mandating of tribal authorities to manage the return of tribal resources has provided challenges to how Māori connect with sometimes

multiple tribal affiliations – or even do not connect at all. In addition, conflict has arisen regarding the way the government mandating processes are managed (Laird, 2014).

Most tribal authorities require tribal endorsement through kaumātua approvals; often these are undertaken through either hard-copy or electronic registration. Paradoxically, these contemporary methods of validating one's connection to tribal resources have led to the realisation that this mandating process, through tracing whakapapa and kaumātua endorsement, is fundamentally flawed. Urban authorities and factions of different hapū are also challenging these iwi/hapū mandating processes as they advocate for the many Māori who no longer acknowledge or have a relationship with their tribal relatives and thus tribal lands.

Many government policies and/or agencies reflect and are influenced by Māori and recognise the importance of cultural identity as a form of relationship building and connection with communities. As an example, Coxhead (2013) stated that the Māori Land Court is now about social purpose “We as a court continue to facilitate when there is a disagreement between whānau members, hapū and, at times, iwi. But we are also about facilitating connections, communication and reconciliation between people” (pp. 30–31). These relatively new approaches to government funding and departmental activities reflect the lobbying by Māori for best-practice initiatives to address the inequities in social indices across the board by incorporating Māori ideologies of ‘wellness’ to policy development. This area of policy development also acknowledges the fluid nature of cultural identity, in that culture is not static but is constantly in a state of change, and thus initiatives must recognise the multiple and diverse elements involved.

The ways in which Māori values and beliefs are enacted today are found in theoretical constructs of kaupapa Māori. Hamilton-Pearce (2009) asserted that kaupapa Māori is “the normality of living and being Māori, the tangata whenua, the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand” (p. 78).

Professor Pat Hohepa (2010) defined being Māori thus:

To be Māori is to know who we are, to continue the search for sovereignty or *mana motuhake*, to work towards peace and harmony within ourselves and with others, to understand that we do not need to have our beliefs and practices, our language and culture ghettoised any more for them to survive, and we do not have to put aside our being Māori to become professionals, academics, locally and globally. To be global we may require knowing more languages than Māori and English, because the

majority of peoples of the world are multilingual. Our health and well being, individually and collectively, physically, culturally and mentally, is reliant on our sustaining our Māoriness and making it a normal part of our local and global lives. That is the peace and harmony we need for ourselves and our Māori kin and communities. All what I have said, we have sung in our Ngāpuhi from Hokianga anthem:

Takahia te ao, ka kitea te iwi

E tū tangata mai tātou,

Ngā uri o rātou,

Kua mene ki te pō.

Walk the universe, and

You will find our people,

Let us stand proudly

Descendants of those

Who have gone to te pō (p. 4)

The above “Ngāpuhi from Hokianga anthem” again reinforces that notion that knowledge of our ancestral links is a definitive statement of ‘knowing who we are’. While this doesn’t detail connections to land *per se*, the cosmology of Māori from the beginning of time primarily connects us to our primal parents, *Ranginui* and *Papatuanuku*, and thus links us to ‘place’, albeit the entire earth and its environs. A further focus on the tribal region of Ngāpuhi is relayed in the narratives that associate the region with whare. Commonly known as Te Whare o Ngāpuhi, these associations with whare are common and utilised in much Māori knowledge. Tikanga, ritenga, pakiwaitara, whakataukī and waiata are just a few media by which these linkages are repeatedly reinforced, further consolidating and specifying connections to the world. All these modes of communication are found in the physical and ritual spaces of whare tūpuna and can be analysed through kaupapa Māori methods to contextualise Māori identity.

Many support the notion that one’s cultural and social identity emanates from both genealogical and political origins (Carter, 2013; Durie, 2013; Norris, 2007). For example, Smith (1999), when detailing her position in research, stated that “politically, my dissent [sic] lines come down through my tribal lines but also through my experiences as a result of schooling and an urban background” (p. 13). Identity is guided by one’s culture and is “a vital component of a people’s very humanity” (Teaero, 2002, p. 2). Furthermore, Teaero (2002)

asserted that art interpretations and meanings are a “significant and invaluable component of the cultural capital of Oceania” (p. 2). The importance of cultural identity represented in art is, therefore, not only the value of the artwork’s aesthetic components but also its position within a broader socio-political discourse. Thus, cultural identity is also considered within the art of Hinemihi.

‘Titiro ki muri kia whakatika ā mua’

Look to the past to proceed into the future

Māori accounts of history often move between the past and future synchronously as an indivisible action. The above proverb acknowledges the lessons of the past as requisites for the future. Peterson (2001, p. 15) brings these two facets together in his paper ‘Reclaiming the past, building a future’. He uses the metaphor of bones to present how the ancestral past informs the future. Iwi translates as both bones and tribe, and hence is a play on words. Referring to the work of playwright Hone Kouka, Peterson (2001) said:

[Kouka] reassembles the bones of both his ancestors, and those of other Māori, by demonstrating how the present is constructed by the past, offering a view of contemporary Māori identity that is traditional and modern, rural and urban, respectful of the past and open to the future (p. 15).

Meredith (1998, p. 1) called for the end of the notion of “the innocent essential ‘Māori’ subject”. He confirmed that Māori identity must be based upon “a complex and plural ‘Māori’ subject constructed around a sophisticated understanding of the notion of ‘Māoriness’, a ‘Māori’ critical consciousness, and a relational politics betwixt ‘Māori’” (p. 1). Social science and anthropological research now rejects the idea that culture can be examined within “pristine, intact, and well-bounded cultures” (Hollinshead, 1998, p. 121). Increasingly, social scientists are acknowledging the “indivisibility/divisibility of populations and the mutual but difficult proximities of cultures” (Hollinshead, 1998, p. 122).

Carter (2010) investigated the notion that ethnic or cultural identity, with its underlying ethics, values, knowledge and practices, is a key influence in building social capital:

Social capital is just resources that are embodied in relationships developed over time that draw on the future for use in achieving goals and that are a collective resource rather than individual. So it’s about communities, it’s about relationships. For Māori, social capital [is about] relationships that increase the economic, social and political potential of the whole iwi leadership. So social capital, for Māori, is based on and grows from the norms, values, networks and ways of operating that are the core of our cultural capital. And it’s framed in tikanga processes; cultural relevancy drives

development and advancement. So it's understanding who we are and how we work those relationships. (Slide 8)

In the context of Māori leadership potential, Carter emphasised that social capital is therefore about the utilisation of resources that arise out of social relationships created within Māori values and cultural practices.

While many Māori consider connections with whenua and their natural landscapes (in tribal regions of Aotearoa) to be an essential element of Māori identity (Coxhead, 2013), there is evidence that it is, in fact, not a necessary element. Rather, it is the relationships developed over time with those natural landscapes and respective obligations to their protection and guardianship as well as of ancestral legacies that create Māori identity markers. Barcham (1998, p.303) asserted that complexities within Māori identifiers become problematic as the changing Māori demographic continues to be delineated within static cultural frameworks, particularly when cultural reference points do not accommodate the majority of Māori who live outside of the tribally defined structures of Māori.

Identity construction has been shown to be cross-culturally important and recognises that social identity “has micropolitical underpinnings” (Norris, 2007, p. 653). These micropolitical issues include what McIntosh (2007) called “traditional identities” that “... have many inclusionary mechanisms that allow Māori to find a valued place for themselves but...it can exclude some Māori by having relatively unyielding criteria in place to prove one's ‘Māoriness’” (Slide 10).

Throughout history the criteria for measuring cultural identity has continually evolved and been influenced by political agendas. Māori identity, in itself, is a political and social construct, a product of European contact, colonisation, the adoption of Christianity, and the rapid influx of immigrants (Durie, 1998). The importance of whakapapa to Māori identity cannot be understated; however, whakapapa and connection or relationships with physical landscapes are not the only prerequisites to being Māori.

The confines of kin relationships and connection to place as cultural identity markers excludes many Māori and challenges the survival of Māori language and culture as well as opportunities in an increasingly globalised world, particularly with regard to social capital. Even though whakapapa and tribally bounded whenua continue to be the focus of people's rights to being Māori, a range of interventions, characteristics and identity markers perpetuate, celebrate and provide opportunities to Māori regardless of ‘place’. New forms of

organising tribal resources are also emerging, particularly in the political environment in the wake of Treaty of Waitangi claims processes (Rata, 2004, p. 4). Whakapapa in itself is no longer the sole prerequisite to claiming hapū or iwi affiliation. Emery (2008) found that even within those of Ngāti Te Takinga kin relatives, it wasn't the whakapapa that created the necessary relationships that enhance hapū membership but rather the ability for the *haukāinga*, or for those who live on the tribal lands, and the away dwellers to engage, to whanaungatanga. She found there were many barriers to enhancing these types of engagements and it was primarily based on the intent of the different factions of the whakapapa whānau to share their distinctive cultural knowledge.

Mageo (2001) highlighted the part power plays in cultural identity definition and the legitimacy history affords to present-day cultural identity definitions when she said, "[T]he legitimacy lent by history to a certain version of cultural identity makes that version a source of authority not only about history but in relation between cultures and between competing groups within a culture" (p. 5). Frameworks of power must be considered when looking at Māori identity criteria, as those who have the power to define are often the ones who present the dominant version of historical events and culture and determine identity indices, which is certainly the case in tribal history.

Hohepa (2010) acknowledged the global nature of Māori peoples and subsequent changes to Māori identity connections, a view contrary to many Māori writers who also prescribe the necessity of connection to land in both a domicile (or residential) and genealogical sense (Milroy, 2008). Hohepa (2010) spoke of sustaining our Māoriness through being together and knowing who we are. This is a challenge when a significant number of Māori live outside of their tribal regions, many in urban areas in Aotearoa and also Māori expatriates who reside overseas (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Māori demographics, and society as a whole, are continually changing; in particular, Māori society has changed from one based on tribal communities dependent on each other, where individuals and families lived in a communal place, to a more diverse and dispersed people. In response to these changes, tribal authorities are attempting to engage tribal members through developing databases of members, supporting tribal events, developing websites to communicate with members and various other activities to encourage and sustain tribal relationships. These activities attempt to reach out to urban or travelling Māori who for some, over time, find their experience with tribal heritage, connection's, identification to their ancestral tūrangawaewae is diminished or has been compromised and sometimes doesn't exist. Not a problem in itself particularly for those

that choose not to engage in their Māori ancestry however many are now reconnecting and hapū and iwi are seeking to improve on providing the space for those 'returning home'.

Indeed, we have always been travellers so this concept of globalisation of Māori is nothing new and relocation is part of our histories, identity and culture. Māori were sailing the Pacific Ocean well before the 'famed' European explorers, such as Abel Tasman in 1642 and James Cook, came to New Zealand. James Cook was the first European to map New Zealand in 1768 (J. Wilson, 2009). While Māori came to Aotearoa from Eastern Polynesia about 1400 years ago, the whakapapa or relationships of people to those original travellers is still a predominant narrative and recounted in most Māori methods of knowledge transfer; thus, disconnection with this whakapapa becomes problematic in identifying as Māori.

This disconnect with tribal place, while significant for cultural identity and tribal knowledge systems, is not essential in the criteria for Māori identity. Māori identity is not confined to connections with geographical place alone; rather cultural identity emerges from socially created spaces that are dependent on the relationships between people as well the relationships with cultural references founded in ancestral knowledge systems. It is therefore acknowledged that the multiplicities of interpretations of Māori identity are not solely based on place. Hence, by extending on current traditional identity paradigms, I discuss what Houkamau (2006) asserted is a necessary component in interpreting multiple identities, namely the incorporation of the individual groups and individuality of group members, or what Jackson (2011) has termed the Māori Self.

The physical disconnect of Māori with the tribally delineated whenua, particularly for expatriate Māori, has exposed a renewed significance and sense of place, defined by whanaungatanga, by relationships and by cultural connections that have sustained Māori identity through significant societal change and mobility. The relationship and intrinsic Māori connections to whenua are not derived from a physical connection to a piece of land but originates from a metaphysical base that began from the relationship of our primal parentage, Ranginui and Papatuanuku.

The cosmological relationship and connection to Papatuanuku and Ranginui is a common denominator for most indigenous peoples who consider themselves to be hunga tiaki, or stewards of nature and resources, as opposed to owners of land. The notion of stewardship or guardianship in Māori culture is present in all cultural systems and has a strong focus on reciprocity. Within the concept of manaakitanga, for example, it is about maintaining and

uplifting the mana or prestige and honour of a person, family, object or entity; in return it is expected that the person, entity or object reciprocates, thus reinforcing the relationship and placing obligatory conditions on the encounter.

While these metaphysical connections have been maintained in Māori narrative and histories and imbued in most cultural centres such as marae throughout the country, the socio-political environment has largely influenced the applicability of some of these cultural values to modern society; for example, the dialectic between tribal and urban Māori authorities on the distribution and allocation of Treaty of Waitangi claim settlements (Tamihere, 2010). This dialectic has ignited debate on entitlements of Māori who are not necessarily connected to their respective tribal affiliations and/or tribal land holdings but are, however, Māori.

Tamihere (cited in Martens, 2007) argued for a fairer distribution of government support for urban Māori. He argued for the validations of the urban Māori experience as part of what he termed a “modern Māori identity”. What Tamihere objected to “...was a distribution to Māori on the basis of their ability to whakapapa to rural marae, which would effectively eliminate urban Māori who had lost touch with their genealogical ties to their rural origins” (cited in Martens, 2007, para. 6).

Furthermore, the notion that a prerequisite to being Māori as tangata whenua is to have a connection to a particular place contrasts with the notion that Māori were and continue to be great navigators. The illogicality of this prerequisite is highlighted by the major changes to Māori society and mobility of Māori since the great migration of Māori to Aotearoa from Hawaiki, as well as European colonisation of the 19th century, urbanisation in the 20th century, and globalisation of Māori moving forward in the 21st century. The common thread in Māori societal change has been one of constant mobility and change of place. It is a paradox that these mobilities which permeate tribal dialogues, narratives and historical interpretation are then disregarded when purporting Māori identity as being dependent on a connection to tribal place, through primarily genealogical relationships. Historically, habitation and use of particular land blocks has always been politically motivated. Many stories of battles over land are recounted in whaikōrero and waiata tawhito on marae throughout Aotearoa.

Given the diverse demographic of Māori in terms of age groupings, residence, ethnic and cultural identification, mixed ethnicities, socio-economic status, etc. and the emergence of urban and travelling Māori, iwi leadership are now starting to rethink participation in Māori

resources, culture and identification. Tamihere (2010) and others have advocated for a modification to thinking around Māori cultural identity that, Tamihere says, must be inclusive of identity criteria of most of the Māori population.

While ancestral connections to land and other resources continues to dominate Māori identity indices, there are other cultural elements found in conceptual models such as the Rangihau model of Māoritanga that embrace primary elements of cultural identity or criteria that challenge political or economic motivations and reinforce relationship-based criteria. These criteria, therefore, create an environment of inclusion rather than exclusion, particularly for those who live away from the *haukāinga* or tribal lands. This is reflected in a common whakataukī recited by Māori and non-Māori:

He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata

What is the greatest thing in the world? Tis people, tis people, tis
people

Meri Ngaroto, Te Aupouri

Many Māori themselves create their own cultural spaces and therefore construct their own Māori identity while located outside of their traditional *iwi/rohe* or tribal/regional conventions. This endorses the argument that Māori cultural identity is not confined to a set of fixed criteria or physical connection with land. Indeed, in the case of the travelling Māori or Māori diaspora, cultural practice outside of conventional traditional environments is considered a vital element in keeping their Māori identity alive. James Clifford (1997), in a more general context, endorsed this by stating that “practices of displacement might emerge as constitutive of cultural meanings rather than as their simple transfer or extension” (pp. 2–3). Clifford termed this phenomenon of travelling societies as “dwelling-in-travel”. He promoted the idea that the mobility and adaptation of peoples in new contexts correlates to new cultural landscapes as opposed to many who maintain a more static traditional theory of culture, interpretation and meanings.

A large proportion of the Māori population living outside of Aotearoa is represented by the Māori Australian diaspora. In 2006, this population was calculated at 126,000 (Hamer, 2007). Hamer (2008) stated that as many as one in every six Māori now live in Australia, a third being Australian born and many being third-, fourth- or even fifth-generation Māori, having

been born and raised in Australia. These diasporic communities are recreating Māori spaces in Australia and often, like other Māori communities, they are not connected through kinship ties or indeed connected to their ancestral tribal groupings in Aotearoa. Te Puni Kokiri (the Ministry of Māori Economic Development) acknowledges this shift in cultural connectedness. Inevitably Māori culture is adapted to Australian circumstances, with the apparent prevalence of non-kin definitions of whānau being one example (Hamer, 2007, p. 110) albeit within a culturally constructed paradigm that embraces Māori values, beliefs and practices.

Māori Australians (both residents and citizens) are sometimes referred to or refer to themselves as ‘Maussies’, ‘Ngāti Kangaru’ or ‘Ngāti Skippy’. Like Ngāti Rānana of London, people who affiliate or identify with a grouping similar to a tribal grouping adopt the prefix ‘Ngāti’ as a form of collectivity. This moniker indicates that Māori in Australia or London consider their kaupapa whānau/iwi as a new form of tribe albeit overseas. Indeed, some Pākehā New Zealanders have also adopted this form of identification or connection with New Zealand, using the term Ngāti Pākehā to identify non-Māori New Zealanders predominantly of European or British ancestry; perhaps they have chosen this prefix both to confirm their connection to New Zealand as well as differentiate themselves from their European ancestors. This new form of identification is becoming more prevalent as Māori increasingly settle and create their own Māori identities in new cultural and natural landscapes.

The travelling Māori or those who reside outside of their own tribal regions often return ‘home’ to their tribal areas to maintain and sustain their cultural identities. While not identifying themselves as tourists per se, these Māori returning home for special events such as tribal sports tournaments, kapa haka festivals and marae-based reunions, are returning not to compare themselves against ‘others’ cultures but to reconnect and reaffirm those relationships with their own culture as Māori (Wikitera & Bremner, 2009).

Defining Māori identity demands an analysis of the relationships between people and symbols that connect people to their culture. This requires a level of knowing the Māori Self, as defined by Jackson (2011), and having the “power to define” (Smith, 1999). Within this context and extending upon the power relationship between culture and new technologies is the advent of information technologies (IT) as a socio-political system. Hamilton-Pearce (2009) concluded that, while IT is considered as pure object from a culture-neutral or Pākehā discourse, IT has further endorsed “colonisation, racism and sexism that under-represented

groups such as Indigenous women experience because culture does not matter” (p. 12). She challenged this culture-neutral view and said that IT is inseparable from the social, cultural, historical and political contexts it is produced within. By taking a socio-political approach, said Hamilton-Pearce (2009), IT can embody the ideologies of that culture and has the potential “to influence and effect change in the society, the world and the user” (p. 12).

Alongside the advances in global communications through IT and increased international contact with primarily museums, there has been an increased awareness of indigenous taonga being held in both public and private collections around the world. A corollary of this is that repatriation options for taonga now can include cyberspace options rather than physical repatriation. An example of this is what Ngata and Ngata (2008) termed ‘web repatriation’, whereby cultural centres can be located in cyberspace, where all tribal members connected to a taonga can access the graphics of a taonga and its histories, waiata and peoples connections. This idea became part of a wider project to web repatriate taonga of the iwi of Te Aitanga o Hauiti (a hapū from the East Coast of the North Island). After indentifying iwi limitations to accessing a physical museum to visit taonga, or indeed Māori returning to their tūrangawaewae or hometowns, the idea developed “to bring taonga home through 3D imaging” (“Te Aitanga a Hauiti uses 3-D technology to access their traditional taonga”, 2010). Due to the trade of these items, as gifts or for other unknown reasons, many taonga have become artefacts in museums and various art collections throughout the world and disconnected from their iwi. The project, for the iwi of Te Aitanga o Hauiti, recognised that the tribal histories of many of these artefacts were kept alive in the shared memories of the descendents of the original owners and that “an artefact in a museum becomes a taonga when the story is told by the original owners” and “becomes part of a taonga without having to leave the museum” (as translated and reported in “Te Aitanga a Hauiti uses 3-D technology to access their traditional taonga”, 2010).

This project by the people of Te Aitanga a Hauiti provides a unique example of how linkages, communications and relationships with their respective whakapapa whānau, hapū and iwi are being renewed or re-established. This case shows how technology can be utilised to reconnect people with each other and with their taonga and, furthermore, to conserve the mauri of the taonga in a new and innovative way. A Web-based collection of taonga was a positive solution that allowed optimal access of the hapū to the knowledge systems, histories and actual location of the respective taonga presented.

The concept of web based taonga repatriation has not gone unchallenged as some attendees at the 'Cultural Centres the Way of the Future Conference' in 2008 considered the Hauiti project potentially detrimental to those who are attempting to physically repatriate taonga from museums overseas. Te Aitanga a Hauiti representatives held steadfast, though, that the use of technology provides an effective local solution to a global issue relevant to many indigenous groups. Questions were also posed around the need to repatriate the taonga to New Zealand in physical form as otherwise they are simply still artefacts in a museum. This argument raises the question: What is a taonga? In the context of this section, a taonga is measured on the importance of relationships, and the value and knowledge systems that the taonga imbues. The dialectic between physical repatriation of taonga back to tribal control as opposed to taonga remaining in museums raises debate for those connected to the taonga, which is not necessarily seen as negative by those engaged in the debate. Indeed the increased interest in the taonga enhances its mana and, as relationships are created or reinforced, its intrinsic value is reconfirmed and historical interpretations and meanings continue to be drawn. Thus, the history of the taonga is contextualised to the present within a kaupapa Māori paradigm.

The process of transferring knowledge via new forms of social media, communications and web tools rather than attempting to physically repatriate these items in museum collections, has resulted in a relationship of positive reciprocity between the 'owners' and guardians, in a kaitiaki sense, of the taonga. This positive reciprocity brings the taonga back in a metaphysical sense from being interpreted merely as an object to a taonga that captures the history, meanings and Māori interpretation. In the example of the Web-based taonga project cited earlier, a Te Aitanga a Hauiti representative stated that "we are able to add value to taonga in overseas collections through bringing them home in 3-D and holographic imaging" ("Te Aitanga a Hauiti uses 3-D technology to access their traditional taonga", 2010). At the same time these forms of cyber-repatriation are adding value to collections, as museums are enriched with the social and historical information about their collected works. These new innovations and communications have the potential to reconnect Māori communities with their lost taonga and can be made accessible to iwi no matter where people are in the world, spreading the potential audience to include those tribal away dwellers. These disconnections of taonga or landscapes with the people who treasured them have lead to a loss of many histories that they represented. Now, however, these strata of memory can be transposed through new technologies that add value to the relationship of people with the taonga and

associated histories, essentially bringing these artefacts back to life. This could be considered a new form of visitation, travelling via the web.

Lindsay (1991) asserted that “conserving the essential elements of taonga includes encouraging an active relationship with their Māori spiritual owners” (p. 7). Terrell, Wisse, and Philipp (2007) endorsed this, asserting that to conserve the essence, the life force or mauri of taonga, from a Māori point of view it must involve relationships and links with Māori people. There is a correlation between the maintenance of the mauri of taonga and other non-Māori philosophical views. Sloterdijk, a German philosopher, for example, from a purely spatial architectural perspective questioned what it is to ‘being-in-the-world’. He stated that “co-existence (Mitsein) precedes existence (Dasein) ... the individual is never alone” (cited in Engels-Schwarzpaul, 2011, p. 11) and made explicit connections between forms of self and spatial relationships.

When taonga have been disconnected, for whatever reason, from their spiritual owners and the context is non-Māori, they often become or are considered to be just objects, curios, artefacts, art works, souvenirs or subjects for ethnographic or anthropological study by others (Engels-Schwarzpaul & Wikitera, 2009b). The question posed here then is: When does a taonga become an object or artefact, or when does an object or artefact become a taonga?

Whare tūpuna/Tūpuna whare – Frameworks for kaupapa Māori research

The difference between terming an ancestral house a whare tūpuna or a tūpuna whare is slight and assumptions can be made as to the lexical difference. However, for Tūhourangi the term whare tūpuna relates to a whare with a female ancestress, as in the case of Hinemihi, and a tūpuna whare refers to whare with a male ancestor (H. Tapiata, personal communication, August 28, 2011).

The whare whakairo emerged in the early 19th century as a “symbol of social unity, representing an ancestor’s body in which descendents gathered to express an emerging sense of tribal identity” (McCarthy, 2007, p. 22). Whare are often applied as analogies to kaupapa Māori research (Melbourne, 1991; Pihama, 2001) An example developed by Durie (1994) is the whare tapa whā model that emerged from debate in 1982 involving the need for better Māori health models that made sense to Māori and that included Māori cultural references. This model addresses the complexities involved in improving Māori health from an

mātauranga Māori perspective. The model uses the four walls of a house as a metaphor for human development. Durie (1994) drew these themes together, calling them:

- Taha Wairua
- Taha Hinengaro
- Taha Tinana, and
- Taha Whānau. (p. 47)

Durie's model seeks to embrace both physical and metaphysical elements in order to improve Māori health. The whare tapa whā model of health is used as an outcome measurement tool of Māori health that's focus is on Māori as individuals. Physical health indicators are measured alongside spiritual and whānau dimensions. The whare tapa whā provides a holistic approach that places Māori in the centre and provides cultural space for Māori within a health paradigm.

In conjunction with kaupapa Māori elements represented in whare, Gell (1998) argued that houses "objectify the organic connectedness of historical processes" (p. 252) and act as collective indices of agency: "artifacts like Māori meeting houses are not 'symbols' but indexes of agency ... the agency is collective, ancestral, and essentially political in tone" (p. 253). This reiterates the relational nature of whare to context, culture and socio-political environments.

In its literal translation – ancestral house – whare tūpuna implies ancestral relationships and historical contextualisations to particular places. These whare and the taonga, whakairo and turapa within are utilised as markers to support much of Māori oratory, storytelling, histories, genealogy, cosmology and other cultural knowledge systems. The history of the whare themselves are often represented in the whakairo and highlighted in the whaikōrero or Māori narratives during hui. The narratives commonly outline the social histories, the context of different periods in time, and historical facts such as individuals connected to the whare, its construction, the rationale for its existence, its naming, etc. Therefore Māori meeting houses "are understood to have biographies, sometimes as eventful as those whom they represent" (Sissons, 1998, p. 36).

Sissons (1998) stated that while Māori meeting houses were not invented as traditional Māori houses they "became traditional – nineteenth-century structures that underwent distinctive processes of traditionalisation" (p. 37). The processes of traditionalisation emerged over the

history of individual whare as contemporary culture came to be regarded as “valued survivals from an earlier time ... an historical accomplishment” (Sissons, 1998, p. 37). Hakiwai (2007) cautioned that these taonga must not be relegated to the historic past as “the cultural significance of these taonga have restorative dimensions in relation to the articulation of identity, belonging, and connection” (p. 52)

Whare tūpuna represent in physical form an ancestor, a genealogy, a cosmology relating back to the beginning of the world (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2003; Mead, 1994; Melbourne, 1991; Neich, 2001; Pihama, 2001; Starzecka, 1996; Sully, 2007). The whakairo, turapa, *kōwhaiwhai* (painted rafter panels) and other elements in the whare are like looking at a history book (K. Wilson, 2010). The symbols in whare imbue links to the landscape, the haukāinga or homelands, and further consolidate the relationships of people to each other as well as their cultural landscape that often relates back to the time of creation (Carter, 2013). As a consequence, the symbolism in whare provides a pivotal connection of Māori to their ancestry, their homelands, their culture and traditions, and so provide their unique view of the world.

The whare is now used in many ways to symbolise elements of kaupapa Māori methodological processes. For example, Te Wānanga o Raukawa utilise the whare framework or structure to explain the university's programmes and respective importance in the university; they have termed this ‘the whare of knowledge’ (Te Wānanga o Raukawa, n.d.). The whare tūpuna can be applied as a cultural paradigm that provides a foundation for how Māori identity is formed. Hinemihi is similarly utilised here, as a schema of cultural identity, to unpack the realities and connections of Māori identity, an identity that is reflected in both whakapapa and kaupapa whānau narratives and interpreted within Māori and non-Māori contexts.

Most often whare tūpuna are located in tribal areas that also link to the landscape with which the tūpuna or his/her descendents lived. For Te Arawa, the tribal grouping of Hinemihi, few marae and therefore few whare tūpuna are located outside of the tribal region. This rule that Te Arawa marae be only located in tribal boundaries is so Te Arawa people can maintain the Te Arawa kawa and tikanga important for upholding the mana of the Te Arawa people. The tapu of the paepae (sacredness of the marae and subsequent rules of spiritual protections) has many quality control mechanisms to ensure protection and safety of the physical, emotional and spiritual aspects of all peoples present. Certain responsibilities and obligations are

enacted by both hosts and visitors to the marae. These protocols also reflect the unique identity of the tribe and through these traditions the continuation of ancestral lessons are transmitted. The kawa and tikanga include who and how respective rituals are controlled to ensure the *tika* or correct way is communicated throughout time. In the days where Māori lived and worked communally within pā or tribal villages, these standards were maintained within everyday life; however, as Māori society is increasingly becoming more diverse and many live away, other forms of learning have become popular. For example, tribal wānanga and tribal hui (predominantly connected to land issues) as well as university programmes have all now become common place in transmitting mātauranga Māori.

Summary

This epistemological study considers the experiences of people connected to Hinemihi throughout her history. While these experiences began from and within a tribally based Māori environment, even in the construction of the whare, European iconography were represented in the carvings. The experiences of non-Māori and their relationships with the whare are also considered, albeit within concepts of kaupapa Māori. The review outlined kaupapa Māori theory and how the concepts and epistemological foundation can be applied in spite of the non-tribal, non-Māori context of Hinemihi. It also reviewed how mātauranga Māori systems are premised upon Māori experience and understandings that may also be found outside of traditional Māori contexts and notions of Māori identity. Māori identity was also discussed as the subjectivities and context of the researcher and research are requisite features of kaupapa Māori research.

Kaupapa Māori theory necessitates a reflexive approach and thus the literature regarding how Māori knowledge is framed was also part of this review. The literature endorsed mātauranga Māori as a culturally validated knowledge system. The dialectic nature of Māori knowledge provides the space for mātauranga Māori to be critically examined, reclaimed and framed within a paradigm of māramatanga; wisdom that is conceived from an ancestral base within contemporary Māori cultural contexts. By conceptualising the whare, in this case Hinemihi, as a Māori cultural framework, with all its complexities, the resultant analysis is significant for not only endorsing the use of kaupapa Māori as a valid research approach but also, in a broader sense, because it reinforces the fluid nature of Māori identity and Māori histories within a contemporary paradigm.

Chapter Four: Methodologies

The focus of this chapter is to outline the methodological framework that underpins this study. It presents an overview of the methodological design, building upon facets of the kaupapa Māori research approach outlined in Chapter Three. The methodological considerations outlined in this chapter are, therefore, aligned to the ethical implications and the challenges of kaupapa Māori research. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the methods that apply to this research.

The study is shaped by the overarching proposition that cultural identity is maintained through Māori cultural reference points that are not dependent on geographical place alone but on relationships with each other in both a physical and metaphysical sense. The research articulates those cultural reference points and the applicability of those aspects of Māori culture to the case being studied. The complexities of studying such a multifaceted topic, that of contextualising Hinemihi, her cultural identity and history, in this case demanded a *bricolage* of methodological tools that brought together Māori cultural heuristics and historical analysis to support both ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ reflections of Hinemihi as a cultural conduit.

To study social relations of the past, present and potential future developments of Hinemihi, a multidimensional approach is required. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) stated that research of social interactions requires qualitative investigation that resembles “a complex, dense, reflexive, collage-like creation that represents the researcher’s images, understandings, and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under analysis” (p. 3). This *bricolage* concept is critiqued by some as being superficial and lacking rigour (Jamal & Everett, 2004; Kincheloe, 2001). However, the position of the researcher largely influences the research outcome and this subjectivity needs to be dealt with reflexively within the social arena of which it or the researcher is a part. Therefore, this history of Hinemihi was established through multiple sources including traditional academic sources such as literature review and archival research as well as Māori sources such as tribal wānanga, analysis of existing oral histories, and examination of the physical composition of the whare itself, as well as my own relationship with Hinemihi.

Aligned to and conducive with a kaupapa Māori methodological approach is the gathering of the many accounts and interpretations of Hinemihi and reflection upon the cultural priorities

of both the whakapapa and kaupapa whānau of Hinemihi. Thus the observations, narratives and other collateral information gathered are considered within the context and interrelationships of the different parts. Through this process, the interpretive study and analysis is validated within a kaupapa Māori framework. Pihama (2001) asserted that in order to establish historical contexts and affirm cultural integrity, cultural representation and Māori self-determination, an exploration of the history of discourses from a kaupapa Māori perspective is necessary. In analysing the different perspectives of Hinemihi, a kaupapa Māori framework underpinned the research methods that considered not only rational, objective and instrumental knowledge but also embraced the ideas and subjectivities of the researcher and that of the researched.

In order to bring together the multiple accounts and interpretations throughout the 128 years since Hinemihi was built, a dual social and historical analysis was necessary. Firstly, considerations of the whakapapa whānau were drawn from the researcher's participation in tribal wānanga, hui and dialogue, and from narratives and archival literature in Aotearoa. Secondly, considerations of the kaupapa whānau were drawn from the researcher's observations at different hui in the lead up to and attendance of the annual *hāngī* event at Hinemihi in June 2009, and from dialogue, narratives and archival literature in the United Kingdom. The discourse between the communities of interest in Hinemihi offered a rich tapestry of reasoned (and sometimes unreasoned) arguments that required a dialectical approach to ascertain what are the common threads or tensions that have sustained the identity of Hinemihi as a Māori whare tūpuna, a cultural conduit for Māori and non-Māori (Māori and British), and her continued mauri or metaphysical presence. This cultural hybridity according to Bhabha (1994) provides a split-space of enunciation in which, he posits:

...may open the way to conceptualizing an international culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity....it is the 'inter' - the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the inbetween space - that carries the burden of the meaning of culture.

And by exploring the Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves. (p. 38)

Methodological design of the study

The methodological design followed five phases of research derived from what Jackson (2011) prescribed as foundations for kaupapa Māori research, namely the four components of bravery: knowing who we are, knowing where we are at, knowing what we have to do, and knowing where we have to go.

Figure 12: The five phases of research

Te wā (Phases of research)				
Tuatahi	Tuarua	Tuatoru	Tuawha	Tuarima
Kōrerorero/kaupapa	Kaupapa Māori	Titiro	Tukunga iho	Māramatanga
Scoping the research with iwi Confirming ethical approach to this kaupapa	Literature review Generate theoretical and methodological considerations	Observations Narratives Archival search	Findings Results Critical analysis	Meanings Significance Implications
Rautaki – hoa haere (Strategy for analysis based on kaupapa Māori components of bravery)				
Knowing who we are	Ko wai koe? Critical reflection on research influences, perspectives and interpretations “Defining the Māori self” (Jackson, 2011, p. 74) as defined by Māori			
Know where we are at	Analysis of the current perspectives, perceptions and interpretations of Hinemihi as defined within ancestral indices; reclaiming the power to define and ensuring the survival of everything that makes Māori unique			
Know what we have to think about	Māori intellectual traditions; asking the right questions Traversing the momentous, the banal and the frivolous to meet the kaupapa; supporting “‘Manaakitanga honesty’, honesty that comes from respect” (Jackson, 2011)			
Know where we have to go	Do we need change? If so, what is needed to transform so as to promote sustainable Māori culture and identity for future generations?			

Kaupapa Māori – Culturally appropriate ethics

Ethics committees within universities, within which this research was bound, are often administered by a set of objectives based on principles as prescribed by the respective universities. The standards generally focus on procedural aspects of obtaining informed consent from research participants. The Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEK) outlines key principles that guide the committee in its decision making:

- informed and voluntary consent
- respect for rights of privacy and confidentiality
- minimisation of risk
- truthfulness, including limitation of deception
- social and cultural sensitivity, including commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi
- research adequacy
- avoidance of conflict of interest.

While these principles are sufficiently generic to allow broad application across research disciplines, the actual context and ethical character of the research project is often limited to and posed as a generic standard of care to one's social and cultural sensitivities (Castellano, 2004). How these social and cultural sensitivities are applied in research is agreed between researchers and their respective ethics committees.

Smith (1999) argued that kaupapa Māori researchers must include as priorities the “development of discussion of culturally appropriate ethics; continued collaboration with our own diverse iwi and communities of interest; and ongoing development of culturally sympathetic methods” (p. 192). Pipi et al. (2004) asserted that kaupapa Māori provides for a code of conduct in research and “critically reflecting on Kaupapa Māori research practices ... helps us to make the subconscious become conscious” (p. 141). With this in mind, culturally appropriate ethics was a fundamental part of determining the methods to be used in the research.

The principles within kaupapa Māori research must therefore meet tikanga principles that essentially uphold the mana of people, seeking positive social transformation and improved outcomes. This position is supported by the Whariki Research Group Report (Edwards, McManus, & McCreanor, 2005) when it states that research “... draws distinctly on Māori world views, especially that of *mana tangata*, the acknowledgement of the human being, her families and the cultural precedents for interpersonal relationship borne out in contact between peoples” (p. 91).

Smith (1999) asserted that there are certain culturally prescribed ideas that guide or reflect the way we behave within kaupapa Māori research. Smith defined these as:

1. aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)
2. kanohi kitea (the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face)
3. titiro, whakarongo ... kōrero (look, listen ... speak)
4. manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)
5. kia tupato (be cautious)
6. kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of the people)
7. kaua e mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge). (p. 120)

A challenge in utilising tikanga in analysis is that these principles are not static – they are pragmatic in application and respond to the cultural landscape and societal context. Nevertheless, these broad tikanga principles are utilised by many Māori researchers to describe the ethical approach of their respective research within a kaupapa Māori paradigm (see, for example, Cram, 2001; Hamilton-Pearce, 2009; and Smith, 1999); the principles also endorse the need for continuous critical reflection upon the research project. Cram (2001) argued that such critical reflection ensures the validity and understandings of the complexities of tikanga and how it is applied within research practice and, importantly, to the research findings and interpretation. Thus, the form of analysis in this study is reflexive in that tikanga is critically examined alongside elements of Māori knowledge systems. While these tikanga-based principles provided a primary set of criteria on which this research was based, they are values based and therefore must also respond to the complexities to which Cram (2001) referred.

Values-based research behaviour was acknowledged by Castellano (2004), who challenged sets of ethical behaviour criteria, when referring to Aboriginal ethics:

In the world of Aboriginal knowledge, a discussion of ethics cannot be limited to devising a set of rules to guide research behaviour in a defined task. Ethics, the rules of right behaviour, are intimately related to who you are, the deep values you subscribe to, and your understanding of your place in the spiritual order of reality ... Imposition of rules derived from other ways of life in other communities will inevitably cause problems, although common understandings and shared interests can be negotiated. This is the ground Aboriginal peoples stand as they engage in dialogue about research ethics that will limit the risks and enhance the benefits of research affecting their lives. (p. 103)

Central to this research was the challenge of meeting both academic and Māori-based ethical obligations. Being ethical in this research was much broader than gaining and maintaining ethical approval through the university Ethics Committee and its respective standards – more importantly is the obligation of the researcher within kaupapa Māori to be concerned with

“positive social transformation” and that “indigenous approaches to research seek positive and improved outcomes for the participants and their wider communities” (Edwards et al., 2005, p. 91). How this can be achieved can be explained through the continuous endeavour to maintain a person’s or peoples’ mana, “the acknowledgement of the human being, her families and cultural precedents for interpersonal relationships borne out in contact between peoples” (Edwards et al., 2005, p. 91). Jackson (2011) stated that: “If an intellectual tradition can’t interrogate the people and the culture to whom it belongs, then it is not an intellectual tradition” (p. 76). However, Jackson (2001) also reaffirmed the maintenance of mana and differentiated between ‘brutal honesty’ and manaakitanga honesty borne out of respect. Jackson emphasised the need to be critically reflective as researchers, to articulate, understand and consider what we have to think about, and to ask the difficult questions when required.

Manaakitanga honesty, which is borne out of respect, is the ethic of care that is proposed by Spiller, Erakovic, Henare and Pio (2011) to be central in creating well-being or “relational wealth” through “valuing the intrinsic worth of others; demonstrating care, empathy, and respect; and seeking to base relationships on shared values” (p. 154). Spiller et al. (2011) challenged researchers to seek approaches that embrace Māori values that both inform and value the creation of multidimensional relational well-being. Marsden (cited in Royal, 2003) termed this approach the “woven universe”, whereby the Māori world view seeks out relationships with each other, primarily within kinship groupings but also extending out to the world and creation, embracing the metaphysical as an important part of who one is. Henare (2010) stated that the Māori world view seeks to “close gaps of separation, not promote separation, so that the saying ‘I belong, therefore I am’ holds greater validity, or indeed ‘I belong therefore I am, and so we become’” (p. 3). Thus for Māori, culturally appropriate ethics go far beyond ensuring the human research participants’ social and cultural sensitivities are met and place an obligation on the researcher to create and foster relational well-being through the ethic of care in the whole research project and beyond. The common theme of research within this type of ethic of care, which both limits the risks and enhances the benefits of the researched communities, was addressed in a number of ways within this research project. As an example, the informed consent processes and the information brochure for this research were central in gaining ethical approval from the university. However, the ethical approval from the iwi, Te Arawa, and from the hapū, Ngāti Hinemihi, to take up the research required, prior to beginning the research proper, consideration of whakapapa and whānau connections, disclosure of motivations and anticipated use of

the information, attending relevant hui for approval, and ascertaining and speaking with expert tribal members to confirm research validity – all while concurrently attempting to abide within the restrictions of the university ethics rules. All of this activity was necessary prior to even reaching the formal research fieldwork activities of observing and gathering stories and understandings of research participants. The rigorous nature of Māori ethics within tikanga Māori and what Castellano stated is the “spiritual order of reality”, while challenging, provides for a deeper engagement with the research and an obligation for the researcher to negotiate ethical standards with the researched; as a consequence, the resulting ethical standards will represent not only those of the researcher but also those of his or her wider whānau, hapū, iwi and respective communities.

Another example of ensuring culturally sympathetic ethics were employed while simultaneously balancing academic ethical conditions was the AUTECH requirement to gain informed consent for the research fieldwork by way of a signed consent form. Gaining this type of consent from participants was problematic in the context of observation at a large hāngī festival such as that at Hinemihi ki Clandon in June 2009. Observing the tikanga, the festival, the waiata and participating in the festival activities meant that I was required to seek informed consent from all those present. Logistically this was impossible as in excess of 500 people attend the hāngī, which is the major annual event at Hinemihi for the expatriate community in England. Furthermore, obtaining written consent compromised all the tikanga principles as outlined by Smith above. For example, distributing written information does not imbue ‘aroha ki te tangata’ as an information sheet does not create a shared relationship with recipients; likewise, the principle of ‘kaua e mahaki’ cannot be mitigated as an information sheet again could be considered a flaunting of my own self-importance and knowledge. In addition to this contradiction of kaupapa Māori principles, if I was to distribute the consent forms and information packs to the whole festival, it would have potentially changed the way people behaved and made me, as the researcher, very uncomfortable. Thus I was unable to undertake observational research in an academic sense as the festival was not a place to impose my research project. I did, however, continue to collect data through participation in the kawa and tikanga at the hāngī day at Clandon and then reflexively analysed my experiences of the day. I also sought approval to utilise the performance and presentation narratives through those organising, managing and presenting and performing at the event.

Qualitative methodologies

The research drew upon the scholarship of kaupapa Māori philosophers (Durie, 1998; Pihama, 2001; Rangihau, 1992; Smith, 1999) and utilised an amalgamation of qualitative methodologies to address issues of representation, interpretation and social interactions within the multiple aspects of the history of Hinemihi. The data collection took the form of oral histories or narratives sourced from interviews and conversations, observation and participation at many hui, as well as archival research in Aotearoa and England. The data was analysed through the subjective lens of the researcher, drawing on concepts of mātauranga Māori and semiotic analysis as a way of contextualising the research and informing this social history of Hinemihi.

Qualitative approaches emphasise culture and meaning and provide for deeper understandings of social interactions and the multiple realities of people within any given context (Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Riley & Love, 2000). The acknowledgement of the researcher's position and influence over the research findings is considered crucial in presenting any history as interpretation of data is dependent on and established through the researcher's world view (Munslow, 2006; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999; Tosh, 2006). In qualitative studies, "researchers gradually make sense of what they are studying by combining insight and intuition with an intimate familiarity with the data" (S. Taylor & Bogden, 1998, p. 142). The prefigured strategies for this study were, therefore, framed within qualitative methodological approaches as quantitative research methods alone are inadequate in interpretative kaupapa Māori-based studies (Lee, 1992).

Participative action research (PAR) was initially considered the most appropriate method to adopt as it met the demands of a Māori researcher (as an insider) who is part of the research community and of the tribal community supporting future development and care of Hinemihi. As the research progressed, however, it was evident that there were two major challenges to the use of PAR. Firstly, during the research, I shifted between insider and outsider positions and therefore was unable to affect research outcomes in a traditional PAR respect. For example, I occupy two spaces/places in the context of being both a whakapapa whānau member (an insider) as well as a kaupapa whānau member (perceived by some as an outsider). These positions were fluid however the 'participative' and 'action' that is requisite of PAR was out of the control of the researcher as it was solely determined by those who were part of the research - a source-oriented approach (Tosh, 2006). Secondly, the full scope of the research, while framed within a doctoral study is multigenerational in that it seeks out

meanings from her history to inform future endeavours for the communities of Hinemihi. These endeavours or actions within a source oriented kaupapa Māori framework are mediated through concepts such as whakapapa obligations, are multigenerational and therefore not bounded within a problem-oriented research project. While this methodological approach features participation, the action upon and subsequent analysis of the research data is ongoing and was undertaken from both the position of an insider and, synchronously, an outsider.

Active participation was sought with people who are connected to Hinemihi in many different capacities, through participant observation and narratives conveyed at different hui, wānanga; sometimes the information was also corroborated by secondary research sources such as archival records and notes. Reflexive feedback was incorporated in the research process to continually reconceptualise issues identified by participants into the research objectives as actions for progressive change. Narratives were analysed based on a thematic categorisation of key concepts drawn from archival research, the literature review and analysis of both the physical and metaphysical aspects of the whare. This approach aligned with kaupapa Māori methodologies where a critique of existing historical accounts and theoretical frameworks is necessary to articulate approaches and objectives that provide for pathways to future growth (Smith, 1999).

The kaupapa Māori approach to the research reconceptualises the history of Hinemihi through an analysis of multiple stakeholders' perspectives. The intent of this was to 'revisit' sites of representation of Hinemihi to identify previous research paradigms and analyse both formal and informal structures that best facilitated or inhibited previous research participants' input. Whyte (1989) asserted that this approach optimises the viability and credibility of the research to the research participants, as participants are an active part of the research process. Consequently, key issues and articulation of important types of data to be studied were endorsed and negotiated with participants in the study. Continuous communication with participants was undertaken through participating in hui (physically in Aotearoa, and through teleconferencing to England), written feedback (predominantly via email), conference presentation and publications (Engels-Schwarzpaul & Wikitera, 2009a, 2009b; Wikitera, 2008; Wikitera & Bremner, 2009).

The obligatory nature of kaupapa Māori research demands critical reflection on the part of the researcher and research participants to ensure the integrity of the research data and that the participant-determined objectives are met. The assumption behind this process is that through

the researcher's and research participants' continual negotiation with the research data, issues raised regarding interpretation and representations of 'truths' will be addressed. I contend here that a kaupapa Māori methodological approach seeks to bridge the gap between research and practice by finding ways of combining 'intellectual forces' in the endeavour to find the way to progressive change. Therefore a goal of the research was to identify the many ways deculturated Māori exist and progress in an environment that often silences indigenous voices or only considers identity through an 'enculturated' Māori ontology (Houkamau, 2006; Meredith, 1998). Houkamau (2006) defines this enculturated view as a "cultural view of identity" where Māori identity is:

conceptualised as the extent to which Māori can engage competently with specific aspects of traditional Māori culture and society or conduct themselves in a culturally 'Māori way.' From this perspective common indicators of Māori identity include self-identification as Māori, understanding the Māori language and culture, and involvement in Māori social activities p. ix-x).

I adopted this phenomenological approach because the historical significance of Hinemihi is dependent on her relationships, both historical and contemporary. The first relationship to consider is the genealogical groupings of Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi, two hapū that, like most Māori tribal groupings, rely heavily on oral traditions and interpretation - 'the enculturated'. However, also important are more contemporary considerations in view of her current location in England, ownership by the National Trust, and non-kin relationships such as her importance within the expatriate community of Ngāti Rānana, Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana and the National Trust of the United Kingdom – both deculturated and enculturated. Utilising kaupapa Māori approaches provided for a Māori perspective to articulate the current socially created spaces of this iconic cultural reference.

White (1975) maintained that in order to sort through historical evidence, one must "prefigure the field, that is to say, constitute it as an object of mental perception" (p. 30). He argued that every historian utilises a combination of "prefigured strategies of explanation" to construct 'interpretations' of the past as opposed to absolute 'truths'. Representations of truths are often determined within Western power frameworks that "respond to only 'objective', 'rational' and 'instrumental' patterns of knowledge" (Hughes, 1995, p. 52) and are not sympathetic to minority groups (Foucault, 1980; Smith, 1999). It is acknowledged here that the subjectivities of researchers and their experiences are crucial to understanding and interpreting constructions of communities and the relationship between knowledge and explanation (C. Hall & Tucker, 2004; Munslow, 2006; Oakes, 1993; Smith, 1999). Tosh (2006, p. 8) contended that historians must acknowledge their place as the Other and be mindful that the

“atmosphere and mentality of past ages had to be reconstructed too, if the formal record of events was to have any meaning” (p. 8). He also, therefore, endorsed the need to reconstruct the context of past ages, albeit through another subjective interpretation. With regard to Māori history, reconstructions of the past are also primarily acknowledged in the historical account, although for Māori, history is not just a record of the past but more importantly a practice to inform the future.

Semiotic methods of analysis embrace the fluidity of social value systems by articulating ‘cultural memories’, the knowledge systems, beliefs and values that influence respective interpretations (Houser & Kloesel, 1998). Neich (2001) supported a semiological mode of analysis as being appropriate in consideration of historical communication systems. A two-level hierarchy of social contexts alongside individual variations enables a study of carving or taonga that treats “Māori carving as a communication system with its own rules of grammar, undergoing changes with time” (Neich, 2001, p. 259). Neich maintained that adopting a one-dimensional statistical study approach, such as examining the visual systems of ‘iconics’, deliberately avoids the question of meaning. These one-dimensional approaches, while useful for elucidating the grammatical rules of visual systems, “cannot tell much about the structural rules of the communication system or about the continuity of changes it has undergone” (Neich, 2001, p. 258).

The history of Hinemihi provides a number of points of interest and has been recorded by various historians, academics and visitors offering different perspectives of her life since she was built. While the physical aspects of the whare could be analysed through a one-dimensional approach or presented from a traditional art history perspective, the metaphysical presence or wairua the whare imbues is told when attempting to record her Māori history. Peirce (cited in Houser & Kloesel, 1998) termed this aspect ‘metaphysical realism’ and utilised semiotic methods to reveal the different layers of meaning based on different social groupings’ motivations. The analysis used in the current study drew upon semiotic methods of analysis to articulate the diverse and changing social value systems when contextualising interpretations of the history of Hinemihi.

A semiotic analysis is dependent on articulating the knowledge systems, beliefs and values that influence respective interpretations or consideration of what Peirce termed ‘collateral information/observation’ (Houser & Kloesel, 1998, p. 494). Clowes (2007, p. 19) argued that this is a form of ‘symbol internalisation’:

Public systems of representation produced socially are thereby turned to the agent’s

own ends. This point of development could be regarded as the point of completion of symbol internalization for the agenda has now built a new mode of symbolically-mediated self-regulation that is essential to its ongoing activity. (p. 19)

Thus, not only do the knowledge systems, beliefs and values of a community influence the interpretation of Hinemihi and vice versa, they also influence the agenda of the agent or the person in regulating how the information is presented.

A semiotic analysis also supports the historical process and requisite anchor points that inform this historical interpretation of Hinemihi, both the person and the whare. Tosh (2006) contended that historical process is important; extending upon Peirce's work, Tosh argued the need to consider the context of a particular part in history as well as the relationship of those parts. In this point he acknowledged that isolated accounts of history are not significant without looking at relationships between events over time. S. Hall (2003) stated that identity developed through cultural practice over time is a "'production' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (p. 222). Both Tosh and S. Hall emphasise the importance of representation and the interdependence of history and context in achieving meaningful historical accounts. This aligns with kaupapa Māori priorities whereby history is considered not purely within the past but is also framed in the present and signposts the future, is never static, and does not provide for meaningful information if recorded outside of context.

While the primary methodology changed from a PAR to a multifaceted kaupapa Māori methodological approach, Paulo Freire's definition of PAR as a "process of self awareness through collective self inquiry and reflection" (cited in Reason, 1994, p. 329) aligns to a kaupapa Māori approach. Within this definition, PAR supports kaupapa Māori in what Reason (1994) stated was a method that:

...values the people's knowledge, sharpens their capacity to conduct their own research in their own interests ... allows problems to be explored from their perspective and maybe most important liberates their minds for critical reflection, questioning and the continuous pursuit of inquiry. (p. 329)

PAR relates to what Smith (1999) stated are kaupapa Māori priorities by promoting a share in control through maximising participation of the researched communities. It endorses the value of people's knowledge through allowing critical reflection processes to guide the direction of the research, and it responds to the inclusion of the researched communities in determining what counts as ethical research. While this continued to be an underlying approach to the research, it became clear early on that not only were the multifaceted and the ever-changing contexts of the research communities geographically poles apart but the

motivations for the different communities and their connections to Hinemihi were sometimes also very different. Hinemihi as a cultural conduit and an example of kaupapa Māori research does relate to ‘sharpening the capacity’ of the people of Hinemihi to indeed conduct research; however, this is not the main focus of the research and so a shift in the primary approach to analysis was made to be conducive to kaupapa Māori priorities.

Smith (1999) argued that “story-telling, oral histories, the perspectives of elders and of women” (p. 144) have become integral to indigenous research. In the desire to maintain ancestral linkages and pass down beliefs and values, oral histories are a common method employed in mātauranga Māori processes. Ancestral stories are implicit in the representations found in whakairo, raranga and other physical and metaphysical manifestations of the whare tūpuna. These art forms act as a map or story book for people to interpret, and therefore investigation into interpretations of the taonga of Hinemihi, including the whakairo and waiata tawhito, were reflexively considered.

Methods and challenges

In re-historicising the history of Hinemihi, the multidimensional methodological approach was guided by notions of te tinana, te hinengaro, te wairua and te whānau (the family, in a broad sense). There are several Māori health models that bring together similar Māori concepts in developing and delivering holistic health services to Māori; for example, Nga Pou Mana (Henare, 1988) and the Te Wheke model (Pere, 1984). The challenge for implementation of health service delivery utilising generic models such as these is in the nature and multiplicity of Māori identities, and as such these models are contextualised and reflexively applied to the different communities to which they are delivered. Similar challenges were faced during this study in respect of the different communities connected to the whare and the multiple contexts in which the whare has been and currently is situated. The radical changes of context, from the construction of the whare in Aotearoa to her reconstruction in England, and the multiple communities and narratives about the whare continue. Furthermore, the different communities of interest throughout the history of the whare held, or hold, different priorities. For example, due to the current context of Hinemihi being owned by the National Trust and predominantly cared for by non-Māori, the physical care of the whare was a primary consideration for the National Trust to ensure conservation of the structure met the standard of care afforded the other historic buildings in their ownership. While the physical aspects of the whare are important to the Māori communities of Hinemihi, more importantly are the interrelationships of the people

connected to the whare and the interpretation and mauri of the story of *Hinemihi*. Thus the data collection and findings for this research is organised into two distinct groupings: narratives and/or historical interpretations from the whakapapa whānau, and the narratives and/or historical interpretations from the kaupapa whānau. In distinguishing these two whānau groupings, the narratives unsurprisingly focused upon or emphasised different periods of time and events in the continuous historical account and hence required different methods of data collection.

The following section is a reflexive description of the qualitative processes of the research methods.

Data collection

During the preparatory stage of the fieldwork, prior to travelling to England, there were unexpected whānau challenges. Full commitment to whānau hui, marae activities and meeting the demands of my immediate whānau were sometimes compromised by my choice to focus on and complete the doctoral study. During the build-up to the main overseas fieldwork in 2009, I did, however, choose to attend hapū wānanga on *karanga* (formal or ceremonial calls; usually the ceremonial call of welcome onto the marae at the start of a pōwhiri). These wānanga started out from my own self-interest in engaging with and supporting Tūhourangi, but, unexpectedly, these karanga sessions became integral in supporting the data collection processes of my research. This support came about in two key ways. Firstly, the mātauranga surrounding karanga was shared with us. This entailed dialogue on who had the right to karanga and we were able to practise within the space of our marae and under the tutelage of our kaumātua. Secondly, was the method in which the wānanga participants were able to collectively construct meanings against our own realities. During these karanga sessions with our aunties, uncles and cousins, shared stories of experience, of our nannies, of tribal history, of locations of karanga and of tribal idiosyncrasies were intermingled with dialogue, debate and reflection. This wānanga, and subsequent ones, became the primary forum for whakapapa whānau data collection as it offered the opportunity for me as a whānau participant and researcher to reflexively gain an understanding of the narratives in the whakapapa kōrero of *Hinemihi*. This form of enquiry, according to Tosh (2006), is values driven and allows “the content of the source to determine the nature of enquiry” (p. 89). Tosh termed this a *source-oriented approach*. Sourcing the research data from the whakapapa whānau not only entailed participation, approval and

support of the hapū activities of Tūhourangi and Ngāti Hinemihi during the period of data collection for this study but also formed the basis for an ongoing relationship and commitment to those who contributed and shared their knowledge during this phase.

Contrary to a source-oriented approach is a *problem-oriented approach* whereby a specific historical question is posed and directs the researcher to relevant primary sources. While the second approach is best aligned to the “pressure to produce quick results that is imposed by the Ph.D. degree” (Tosh, 2006, p. 90), it was not conducive to this study with respect to mātauranga Māori and the tikanga of kaupapa Māori research; however, the problem-oriented approach was applied to much of the fieldwork in England. This approach was adopted due to time constraints and the spread of research participants. As such, this section outlines the methods and challenges of researching the whānau while balancing both source- and problem-oriented approaches.

Researching whānau

Whakapapa whānau

One of the major challenges at the beginning of this study was finding, meeting and developing relationships with people who would become part of my research. The source-oriented approach to engaging potential research participants, while an exciting and gratifying project in extending my whānau network, was also daunting. I knew through experience that I could not simply contact people, send them my research topic, research questions and information sheets and expect them to engage in research that is delving into potentially sacred, personal and whakapapa information.

The initial decision to write a social history of Hinemihi as a doctoral study was tempered by the fact that I am based in Auckland, and so I did not know or had not met with those working on the story of Hinemihi and her conservation or the Ngāti Hinemihi kaumātua involved in her current care. Rather than making cold calls to those people from whom I needed to seek approval for my research, I asked family members who have an association with them. While this is not a robust method of selecting participants for the research, initial conversations and responses included, “Go speak to Uncle Shippy; he goes fishing with...” or “Go see Uncle Frankie; he might be at ... hui next month” or “He is a nice fulla. Go to his house behind the ... down the road from...”. Self-introductions, particularly when asking for permission to undertake this type of research, did not sit comfortably with me as a method of

meeting with these important people as a high level of respect must be afforded. Many visits to the marae, going to every hui I could possibly attend (within the constraints of distance from home), marae duties including cooking, cleaning and supporting at different hui, was the informal method I found best to meet with and develop relationships with the whānau. Dishwashing for hundreds at the marae could be considered a menial task, but for those in the know, it is a labour of love and the place to find out all the marae and whānau happenings. Unfortunately, the way I got to meet with most of the key people for my research was by speaking with them informally at tangihanga of hapū members. Through these serendipitous meetings I was able to reaffirm whānau relationships and, at the same time, confirm my research and start on the journey of meeting the whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau of Hinemihi.

Initially I was directed to meet Jim Schuster, who is now the chairperson of Te Maru o Hinemihi and has been working on Hinemihi since the mid-1980s. He is one of the whakapapa whānau who has been supporting conservation work and renovations alongside the National Trust. While I knew his parents, Uncle Bob and Auntie Emily, my mother's cousins, I had not been able to connect with Jim until I found myself seated next to him at a cultural centre conference lunch in Rotorua. I mention this here as while it seems a natural occurrence to network at such times, it is not generally a way where you meet and seek approval for a Māori-based research project. Nevertheless, I did introduce myself and present my ideas for the doctoral research. During those 20 minutes, he simply said, "The more people working on our *kuia* (female elders) the better; go ahead and if I can help let me know" – and with that he passed on his business card and I contacted my supervisor to let him know that I could begin!

Whakapapa kōrero

Edwards (2009), with reference to whakapapa kōrero, found that:

Whakapapa, in the view of the elders, is most commonly used to highlight an individual's ancestry as a tool for making and enhancing collective relationships. ... whakapapa can be used as a schema for describing order. (p. 163)

While ancestry is determined here as a tool for enhancing collective relationships, Edwards and others relate these forms of whakapapa in a kin or genealogical sense to the spiritual essence of whakapapa that links the present with the past and allows for the development of relationships based on the discourses unique to Māori – in this case, Ngāti Hinemihi and wider whānau of Hinemihi. Jackson (2007) stated that "the very notion of our whakapapa

implies generations of different stories layered on top of one another” (p. 172); this method of narrative, he asserted, is a way to inform and explain a multiplicity of interpretations and meanings. This knowledge system challenges Western forms of storytelling; for example, Crosbie (2007) asserted that indigenous forms of narrative confounds Western forms of storytelling.

The hegemonic myths of Western genre and story-telling are reinscribed as indeed universal (that is, as common property) but not perfected by Western modernity and held out of reach of the indigene; on the contrary, the indigene is the one capable of reconciling the difficult demands of past and present, self and other, revenge and forgiveness. (p. 148)

In the case of Hinemihi, whakapapa storytelling does not seek to impugn people from having a relationship with *Hinemihi* but further promotes the concept of *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship, trustee) widening the net of relationships to those who engage with and are interested in Hinemihi in England.

These relationships can be with non-kin whānau, and through the histories, narratives and other forms of *nga taonga tuku iho* (ancestral treasures) since *Hinemihi* was alive, the processes of whakapapa are maintained. The opportunity to *whakawhanaungatanga* (come together as a whānau) at Hinemihi, in the past and present, all adds to and reaffirms the generations of stories, and the mauri or essence of *Hinemihi* and her people. The concepts originating from whakapapa kōrero allow whanaungatanga or intricate relationships to be realised. Edwards (2009) explained that whanaungatanga:

...encapsulates ideas and levels of intimacy, alliance, collaboration and symbiosis. The ability to whakawhanaunga, to relate, is an expected and normal activity in both formal and informal contexts in Māori society. (p. 163)

Both just prior to and during the research I attended many hapū and iwi hui that were predominantly focused on tribal claims relating to Crown breaches of promises made to Māori in the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840. The primary concerns at these hui were related to managing land returns, tourism business and cash settlements from the Crown to different hapū groupings. These hui highlighted the need to register tribal members in order to:

1. Provide assurances that the claims were indeed ratified by the majority of tribal members, and
2. Set up appropriate tribal models that showed that governance of these processes from the tribe was mandated by the majority of tribal members.

The challenge for the hapū was how to include the majority of hapū members who reside away from the marae and do not engage with hapū activities. As a consequence, Tūhourangi developed a strategy to encourage whanaungatanga through celebratory festivals, social media sites and formal Tūhourangi wānanga.

Tūhourangi wānanga

Kia pupū Ake a Tūhourangi

Ngā Kaupapa Matua:

Tūhourangi – A Thriving and Vibrant People

To celebrate Tūhourangitanga in a positive and empowering way

To encourage positive whānau/hapū participation

As mentioned previously, these wānanga were the main source of data from the whakapapa whānau for this research and I attended Ngā Wānanga o Tūhourangi which were a series of tribal training forums of higher knowledge. These were held in 2010, 2012, 2013 and 2014. These wānanga were initiated by the Tūhourangi Tribal Authority to promote Tūhourangi identity and to ensure the continuation of tribal knowledge systems. The wānanga were gatherings that enabled iwi members to learn within a tribal environment our histories, stories and identity. The rationale for the wānanga was outlined in the 2012 programme:

“Tūhourangi Ohoho”

“Tūhourangi taku ohoho, Tūhourangi kia koke”

“Tūhourangi my inspiration, Tūhourangi moving forward:

Mission:

“Kia pupū noa ake a Tūhourangi / Tūhourangi will thrive and flourish towards a positive future”

Objectives:

The key objectives of “Tūhourangi ohohoho” are to:

- Positively strengthen relationships within Tūhourangi
- Positively strengthen cultural knowledge and identity
- Positively strengthen the relationship with tribal taonga including physical, spiritual, cultural and environmental domains
- Positively inform and empower tribal members

These objectives were reaffirmed and outlined in the 2014 Tūhourangi wānanga poster (see Appendix I).

The workshops within each wānanga included critical reflection, debate and training in tribal tikanga and kawa. In these wānanga, tribal history knowledge was shared through field trips to important ancestral places and relayed through traditional forms of knowledge transmission, through narratives in waiata tawhito, whaikōrero and pakiwaitara related to the places we visited.

As both a wānanga student as well as a researcher for this study I had declared the research to the wānanga and to the elders present and requested approval to make observations for my study. The method by which a researcher obtains approval within this context is challenging, particularly with the insider and outsider position of the researcher. Pou Temara (personal communication, March 26, 2011) explained, during a wānanga presentation on karakia, how he was often refused access to information when researching for his book on karakia. He was cautioned “Ka ako, ka mate koe” (“Learn these things, you will die”) and was directed to learn off the tohunga who are experts in karakia. Temara said he spent half his time explaining his whakapapa credentials and related stories. I, too, found that access to information required a lot of time firstly explaining who I am. In addition to time constraints, I also heeded the caution extended to Temara in recognising the sacred nature of karakia Māori. Although all karakia contain histories, have metaphors, are symbolic, tell the stories of heroes, events, places and myths, and provide a paradigm of form and authority (Temara, personal communication, March 26, 2011), karakia narratives were generally not specifically referred to in this research.

While I was considered a participant of the Tūhourangi wānanga, when we visited Hinemihi ki Ngapuna, we were welcomed as *manuhiri* or visitors to Ngāti Hinemihi. Consequently, the confirmation of my research within the Tūhourangi wānanga had to be revisited with the Ngāti Hinemihi kaumātua. Thus, within a very short time frame of a few hours, I needed to develop a relationship with the Ngāti Hinemihi kaumātua, set aside time to speak with them about my study, and gain their approval to include the Hinemihi ki Ngapuna narratives from the whaikōrero, waiata and stories. It was not enough to just assume that our

kin relationship and histories were sufficient to gain approval for using the knowledge shared that evening in the research. As part of the process of introduction I relayed my whakapapa to the marae elder, which gave him the requisite information about who I was, and how the integrity of my study was to be moderated, which gave him my credentials. The kaumātua was also able to share with me individually our whakapapa links and obligations.

There were practicalities involved in attending and participating in these wānanga, and these are outlined in the next three subsections.

Travel, Accommodation and Childcare

The Tūhourangi wānanga were generally over three days, starting on Friday evenings, and were held at Whakarewarewa village, Rotorua which is a three-hour drive from Auckland. It is inappropriate to miss certain parts of a wānanga, particularly the opening and closing karakia which protected the participants from the sacred nature of wānanga, and latecomers who missed the first part of wānanga were expected to do additional duties. Thus, time away from home, work and family was required. My cousin Alycia flew from Wellington to Auckland and along with my sister, Nari, we would pool resources and drive to Rotorua.

Most of the wānanga were held at the marae and the expectation was that people found their own overnight accommodation. This was based on cost constraints and the fact that most attendees either lived locally or had homes in the Whakarewarewa village. Our cousin Hemi offered to share his small flat, right in the middle of the pa, with us and this whānau time also contributed to the knowledge base of the research. In addition, Whakarewarewa Thermal Village Tours, one of our tribal tourism businesses, operates in the village from 8 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. 364 days a year, and thus we were able to be part of the hapū villagers' daily routines as well as be part of the living village interpretation of our culture to visitors.

While the wānanga were designed to encourage whānau engagement, it was inappropriate for children to attend most of these wānanga. This decision was based upon the tapu nature of some of the topic areas. Also, the fieldtrips included boat, helicopter and bus trips and, as such, numbers were limited. I appreciated this rule as we were able to focus fully on a very demanding programme.

Aside from these practicalities, there were also other issues that arose that influenced how the narratives were collated and interpreted in the research.

Te Reo Māori

Whakapapa kōrero, in its purest sense, is transmitted via a formal and structured form of dialogue that is predominantly communicated in te reo Māori. While much of the whakapapa kōrero was explained in English, te reo Māori is still my second language and thus translations and interpretations were requested often. Te reo Māori is profoundly metaphorical, and at times assumptions were made about meanings where some of the terminology was not easily translated. Many of the wānanga participants were also not fluent speakers and thus much of the kōrero or dialogue was in English. This predominance of English over te reo Māori is primarily a consequence of colonisation and strategic government policies to assimilate and integrate Māori into Western society. In fact, the 2013 census revealed that only 21.3% of Māori in Aotearoa could hold a conversation in Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). This paradox, in that kaupapa Māori research is principally undertaken in English, simply reflects the realities of many Māori who do not speak te reo Māori. It is also another example of how kaupapa Māori research methodology can be applied in a way that affirms the realities of Māori today.

Gendered roles

Whakapapa kōrero is most commonly recited in whaikōrero and, in the tribe of Te Arawa, whaikōrero recitation is the domain of men only. Hooper-Greenhill (2000) critiqued this form of communication, referring to the interpretation of the taonga of Hinemihi. She asserted that whaikōrero, where the historical narratives are constructed, was and continues to be patriarchal. Her interpretation of a pōwhiri held at Hinemihi in 1991 is that because the process of whaikōrero is relayed through male orators only, the historical account of Hinemihi is limited to male interpretation.

This aspect of tikanga and kawa was raised during the Tūhourangi wānanga in 2011, and is revisited constantly in response to social changes pertaining primarily to the ability and availability of male kaumātua to attend tribal hui. Another criterion for speaking rights is that it is the responsibility of the eldest male in a family (which may constitute three or more generations) and this right is generally confirmed by the respective whānau/hapū. Due to many whānau members living away from the marae, such restrictions are not always conducive to mātauranga Māori communications. The reality is that the requirement to maintain the tikanga and kawa at marae is placed on the few who can attend to marae activities around their other commitments. In the wānanga kōrero, a request to change tikanga

in order to address these practicalities and respond to social change was discussed. Mikaere (1994) in her analysis of gender roles in traditional Māori society pointed to the influence of colonisation and refuted the notion that male roles were more significant than females. In the context of traditional Māori society, she stated:

Traditionally, both men and women were essential parts in the collective whole, both formed part of the whakapapa that linked Māori people back to the beginning of the world, and women in particular played a key role in linking the past with the present and the future. The very survival of the whole was dependent upon everyone who made it up, and therefore each and every person within the group had his or her own intrinsic value. They were all a part of the collective and it was therefore a collective responsibility (Mikaere, 1994, p. 1).

There are broader issues than just communication and interpretation of taonga and history within Te Arawa tikanga and kawa. Like Mikaere, Emery (2008) related these gendered roles to colonisation. In the context of a colonised society, she posed the question “[D]oes the colonised reality in which Māori protocol (kawa) currently exists render it as a tool of domination, suppression and oppression ... the suspended and silent space created by the questions, invites critical dialogue to occur” (Emery, 2008, p. 101). These types of questions are continuously addressed, and the key to Emery’s statement is the creation of space for critical analysis of these issues – a practice which was witnessed throughout the Tūhourangi wānanga. The result of the wānanga dialogue, regarding the limitations on ensuring there were enough kaumātua available for the paepae, was to support the existing tikanga pertaining to male speaking rights through further tikanga-a-iwi (tribal practices) hui. Specifically, this meant kaumātua were committed to supporting wānanga to train men in whaikōrero and women in karanga. The rationale for gender-specific roles was endorsed by the participants after critical reflection on and discussion of the practice during the wānanga, and the issue will continue to be revisited. Hooper-Greenhill in her critique did not recognise or incorporate the full capacity of these processes of critical analysis within a complex network of relationships. For example, in a pōwhiri, the role of the *kaikaranga* (the woman or women who make the ceremonial call to visitors onto the marae at the beginning of a pōwhiri) and the supporting waiata holistically bring the whaikōrero narratives together. While the whaikōrero is patriarchal by virtue of male elders’ speaking rights, there is a richer analysis of the narratives within tikanga that reflect the essence, moral or lessons in those narratives.

The *pōkeka* is a form of whakapapa narrative peculiar to the tribe of Te Arawa (Moorfield, 2015) and is a chant of challenge that tells a story of an extreme event in tribal history. Parekōtuku Williams said:

The pōkeka is a haka-type chant used mainly in situations of confrontation...The women take a prominent role in the pōkeka. In old times the pōkeka would be performed by the women with the men taking a background role. The objective for the women was to attack and insult the offender (usually male) and one way was by attacking his manhood. (*Tuhourangi Auahi Ana E!*, 2011, p. 117)

Parekōtuku referred to a poeticised translation of a particular pōkeka, saying that “a more literal translation is needed so that the women can express their true feelings of anger, anguish and outrage” (*Tuhourangi Auahi Ana E!*, 2011, p. 117). The pōkeka is an example of a tikanga, particular to Te Arawa, where the female voice is integral to historical interpretation. Te Poroa Malcolm said that

... pōkeka are only for important occasions and the custom of chanting the pōkeka is for times when one of the visiting groups tramples upon our marae protocol, or when we as the local people are disparaged and insulted... this is the one thing we, Te Arawa, chant in defiance (*Tuhourangi Auahi Ana E!*, 2011, p. 115).

In my own experience, female subjugation is not the reality in our tikanga and kawa. The matriarchal roles in our family were and continue to be an influential factor in our own histories, identity and tikanga practices and are reinforced in that all the whare of Hinemihi are dominated by stories of *Hinemihi*, the eponymous ancestress.

Kaupapa whānau

Adopting the source-oriented approach to the research in England was conducive with time constraints and the breadth of sources as potential research contributors were positioned in many different fields. Thus a snowball style of contacting the different people that are part of the kaupapa whānau was adopted. I contacted Ngāti Rānana through Precious Clark, who is my sister-in-law and was an active member of Ngāti Rānana and also Pacific Beats. She introduced me to the then current executive of Ngāti Rānana through email, which led to the invitation to meet with the whole Ngāti Rānana whānau. A research proposal including the research question and my relationship with Ngāti Hinemihi in Aotearoa was emailed to different people and meetings were arranged. (See Appendix II for a letter from Ngāti Rānana supporting my research.)

For the most part, the information and data collection for the research was through qualitative methods of participant observation and semi-structured interviews adopting a narrative

approach. The interview questions were based on key themes that emerged from tribal hui, the literature review and archival research, and were used to initiate narratives on information specific to each interviewee's relationship with Hinemihi. This approach was chosen because semi-structured interviews are commonly used for "more intensive study of perception, attitudes, motivations" (Sampson, 1996, p. 136) that reflect the interviewees' social context, beliefs and behaviour. The interviews were initiated with a broad overview of my position and proposed research objectives. Although the interviews were semistructured they were primarily directed by the interviewee and followed a source-oriented approach. Pen-and-paper notes were taken during the interview and/or the interview was audio recorded. Whanaungatanga was important with regard to forming a relationship and leaving it up to the interviewees to tell their own story and interconnections with Hinemihi and members of her kaupapa and whakapapa whānau.

Interviews and participation in hui with key stakeholders included:

- hapū members of Tūhourangi
- hapū members of Ngāti Hinemihi
- Ngāti Rānana members and members that have returned to Aotearoa
- National Trust staff
- University College of London – Dr Dean Sully, and
- historian and Hinemihi representative in England – Alan Gallop.

Archival research

Archival research for source material included the collections of the:

Māori Land Court	The minute books of the Māori Land Court (MLC) are indexed and available online. However, to access and research the respective minute books, you must go to the relevant Court Archive, and for this research it is the Waiariki MLC in Rotorua. I attended the Waiariki MLC five times and scanned the minute books related to the Okataina, Tarawera region, which was the only information I found referring to <i>Hinemihi</i> . The catalogues are generally linked to land blocks and so it was difficult to find literature referring directly to <i>Hinemihi</i> , although recitations of whakapapa and links to land blocks in the Waiariki region were recorded.
New Zealand National Archives	The New Zealand National Archives also provide an online index. I visited the archive in Wellington three times after pre-ordering archives online. There was very little information found that was not already presented in other literature and museum displays on <i>Hinemihi</i> . I did, however, photocopy relevant information pertaining to <i>Hinemihi</i> ki Ngapuna and some pictures were also available to copy. The unrelated records of whānau and discussions with regard to tourism activity in the region did provide a context for what was happening at the time in the early 20th century and, while not directly related, provided some whānau information that supported the whanaungatanga aspects of the interviews.
Alexander Turnbull Library	The Alexander Turnbull Library uses a hard-copy index system. Library staff members were very helpful although there was not a lot of information found that was not already published. Some governmental records were found that were not directly related to <i>Hinemihi</i> but provided context and information on some of the people directly affected by the Tarawera eruption.

Rotorua Public Library	The Don Stafford collection has a vast amount of records, literature on Te Wairoa, Te Arawa and tribal literature. Again this collection has already been scanned and much of the information regarding Hinemihi has been recorded and presented in other accounts regarding Hinemihi. Some literature is available for withdrawal for Rotorua residents only, and thus all research was undertaken while visiting Rotorua.
Army Musuem at Waouru	This museum was a potential source of information regarding the Pioneer Battalion of New Zealand and identification of soldiers who stayed at the makeshift Clendon Hospital during WW1. Communications revealed that these records were not held in the museum archives. These investigations were through email and phone calls. The curator directed me to further sources which were investigated.
The British Museum	The British Museum has a computer cataloguing system on site. I was, however, introduced to the Curator for Oceania, Natasha McKinney, through the relationship between the museum and Ngāti Rānana, who opened the new Oceania exhibition in a Māori ceremony in July 2009. Natasha was very helpful in directing me to appropriate resources. I attended the Centre for Anthropology which provided items of interest that were followed up in the interviews. The records specific to Hinemihi were mostly general published accounts that were available in New Zealand. There were some objects/taonga of interest and catalogued photographs. The British Museum also provide an online free image service, which was utilised after my return to Aotearoa.
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa	Te Papa has a large collection of taonga although limited new information on Hinemihi. The museum's online image service was used as a source for some of the pictures used in the thesis.

<p>Guildford Archives, England</p>	<p>The collections in this archive are focused on the local region of Surrey, particularly the Guildford area where Clandon Park is located. There were no direct references in the indices to Hinemihi although there were more than 200 years of financial accounts of Clandon Park as well as a pictorial collection. The accounts and some photography were catalogued on microfiche, on site and available upon request. Copies of images were prohibitive to purchase, but most of the pictures were available to view in some of the published books on Hinemihi, notably Gallop's (1998) <i>The House with the Golden Eyes</i> and Dean Sully's (2007) <i>Decolonising Conservation, Caring for Meeting Houses Outside New Zealand</i>.</p>
<p>The National Trust and the Onslow family estate</p>	<p>I was able to access much of the information on Hinemihi via multimedia, online source material. The National Trust commissioned Alan Gallop to collate historical information and these are published on the National Trust website. The mansion also has a New Zealand room that holds much of the collection of the Onslow family memorabilia from their stay in New Zealand, including the document of the deed of sale of Hinemihi.</p>
<p>Hapū/whānau private collections</p>	<p>There were various private collections that are located primarily in the Rotorua area. The documentation and pictures were mostly supplementary to hui and offered when talking with different people. Sometimes these were in the form of electronic documents, pictures, videos or audios emailed to me, or located in whānau homes.</p>

Chapter Five: Whakapapa Whānau

Ka rongo te po, ka rongo te po

Tuia i te kawai tangata i heke mai i Hawaiiki nui

I Hawaiiki roa, i Hawaiiki-pāmamao

I hono ki te wairua, ki te whai ao, ki te Ao Mārama.

The night hears, the night hears

Unite the descent lines from Great Hawaiiki

From long Hawaiiki, from Hawaiiki far away

Joined to the spirit, to the daylight, to the world of light.

The whakapapa kōrero related to Hawaiiki is captured in the above whakataukī which recalls and reminds us of our spiritual homeland, ensuring Māori never lose connection with each other. Hawaiiki was the original home of Māori, the place in our ancestral memories to which our spirits return after death. Even though the physical landscape of Hawaiiki has long been lost to those who travelled to these islands of Aotearoa, its presence is still firmly ingrained in their descendants' memories. Schama (1995) stated that “landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock” (p. iii). The landscape of Hawaiiki is the starting point of our cultural landscape, a construct of our imagination, ensconced in our memories which are continuously re-established in whakapapa kōrero.

The following chapter recalls some of the tribal ‘landscapes’ overlaid from the ancestral memories of the whakapapa whānau of *Hinemihī*. The landscape, the culture and the relationships intersecting with Hinemihī affirm what McCarthy (2007) stated is an example of an ‘entangled object’, the story of which “involves a large cast of characters involved in an episode that is almost impossible to unravel” (p. 22). A phenomenological kaupapa Māori approach was applied to the research in expressing the whakapapa whānau kōrero. The historical account of the Tarawera region from whence Hinemihī was built unfolded from the whakapapa whānau perspectives primarily sourced from mātauranga Māori shared at the Tūhourangi wānanga.

The experiences and accounts presented in this chapter consider the history, significance and meaningful engagement of the whakapapa whānau of Hinemihi, Ngāti Hinemihi, Ngāti Tarawhai, Tūhourangi and the wider tribal configuration of Te Arawa – the whakapapa paradigm of Hinemihi. This framework, conceived from the interconnections of people to Hinemihi and each other, is conveyed here through a series of tribal episodes or events that highlight the interrelationships of Hinemihi with her whakapapa whānau. These episodes, however, are not exclusive to this whānau, who have many interrelationships with others. Hence, episodes from other kaupapa whānau are also presented in this chapter, and in Chapter Six.

Whakapapa kōrero is cultural knowledge; it can be found in multiple sources and transmitted in many ways. The whakapapa kōrero related to Hinemihi continues to be recounted by tribal members within the kawa/tikanga and/or knowledge transmission systems of Ngāti Hinemihi. These forms of communication provide the context or kaupapa that bring meaning to the historical account for both the people and the whare named after *Hinemihi*. *Hinemihi* is the eponymous ancestress that links Ngāti Hinemihi with the wider Te Arawa confederation of tribes; her history bestows the hapū with a structured whakapapa paradigm unique to *Hinemihi* and her tribal people. Ngāti Hinemihi kaumātua commonly recount the whakapapa of *Hinemihi*, particularly in the Hinemihi whare located in Rotorua. The whakapapa whānau kōrero is informed by the meanings presented in cultural symbols such as the whakairo and physical landscapes, and these meanings can be sourced from oral histories, waiata, Māori Land Court documentation, wānanga, narratives from written literature and multimedia sources.

The whakapapa whānau narratives for this research are not presented in a chronological historical format but rather as a collection of episodes or moments with an emphasis on the interconnections, interrelationships and intersections of *Hinemihi* to her descendents and the significance thereof to Hinemihi in England. The conversations, narratives and information are reflexively presented here to contextualise the first layers of memory – the *pou kōrero* (narrative post) from which the basis of the Māori history and identity of Hinemihi are formed.

The tribal histories are imbued with the wairua of *Hinemihi* as the metaphysical is arguably more important in whakapapa kōrero interpretation and meanings than the physical. The whare Hinemihi, in the physical form of the building and the whakairo within her, forms the

symbolic representation of the cultural identity of Hinemihi. The historical and semiotic significance of the whare is evident in the whakapapa kōrero, regardless of the physical location of the whare. Rewi Thompson, a Te Aitanga a Hauiti tribal member and university lecturer in architecture, asserted:

[T]he physical form of the whare represents the whakapapa including the mauri, wairua and mana of the ancestor, this whakapapa being the strand that brings together multiple relationships and forms the backbone of the Māori history of Hinemihi.
(R. Thompson, personal communication, March 15, 2015)

Alan Gallop (personal communication, June 7, 2009), a member of the kaupapa whānau, reflected upon the metaphysical aspect and his own connections with the whare and the whānau and hapū. He termed this aspect the ‘Hinemihi effect’, so regardless of Māori or non-Māori interpretations, the wairua of *Hinemihi*, the metaphysical, is referenced.

Hooper-Greenhill (1998) asked:

How can we assess the structures of meaning that enmesh Hinemihi today? Although it is clear that it would be impossible fully to explore all possible meanings, two broad perspectives from which meaning may be constructed can be identified. They are, first, the framework of ownership, second, that of the present day Māori community in Britain. (p. 140).

Ownership is a primary factor in what happens with Hinemihi. It is acknowledged, however, by both the current owners of the whare, the National Trust, and her communities both in England and Aotearoa that the essence of Hinemihi is principally positioned within a Māori ontology. David Wilkins, an artist and historian, who was visiting Hinemihi with me at the maintenance day in 2009, stated that having connected with some of the Māori historical aspects of Hinemihi, he has refocused his interpretation “in terms of being responsible in the actual story I’m wanting to tell – aware that much of the back story is essentially Māori” (D. Wilkins, personal communication, May 16, 2010). The reframing of the history of Hinemihi and recognition of the importance of Hinemihi to her whakapapa whānau is a common theme in the reflections of all those connected to her. As such, the meanings enmeshed in this whare tūpuna, particularly for the whakapapa whānau of Hinemihi, were, are and in the future will be framed by elements of mātauranga Māori. In addition to what Hooper-Greenhill proposed in those two broad perspectives above, the shared meanings of the Māori community of Hinemihi in England and the structures of meaning for her current owners are extended upon here to include the ‘spiritual owners’ in the ‘framework of ownership’. Accordingly, the relationships of the whakapapa whānau of *Hinemihi* are considered in this chapter.

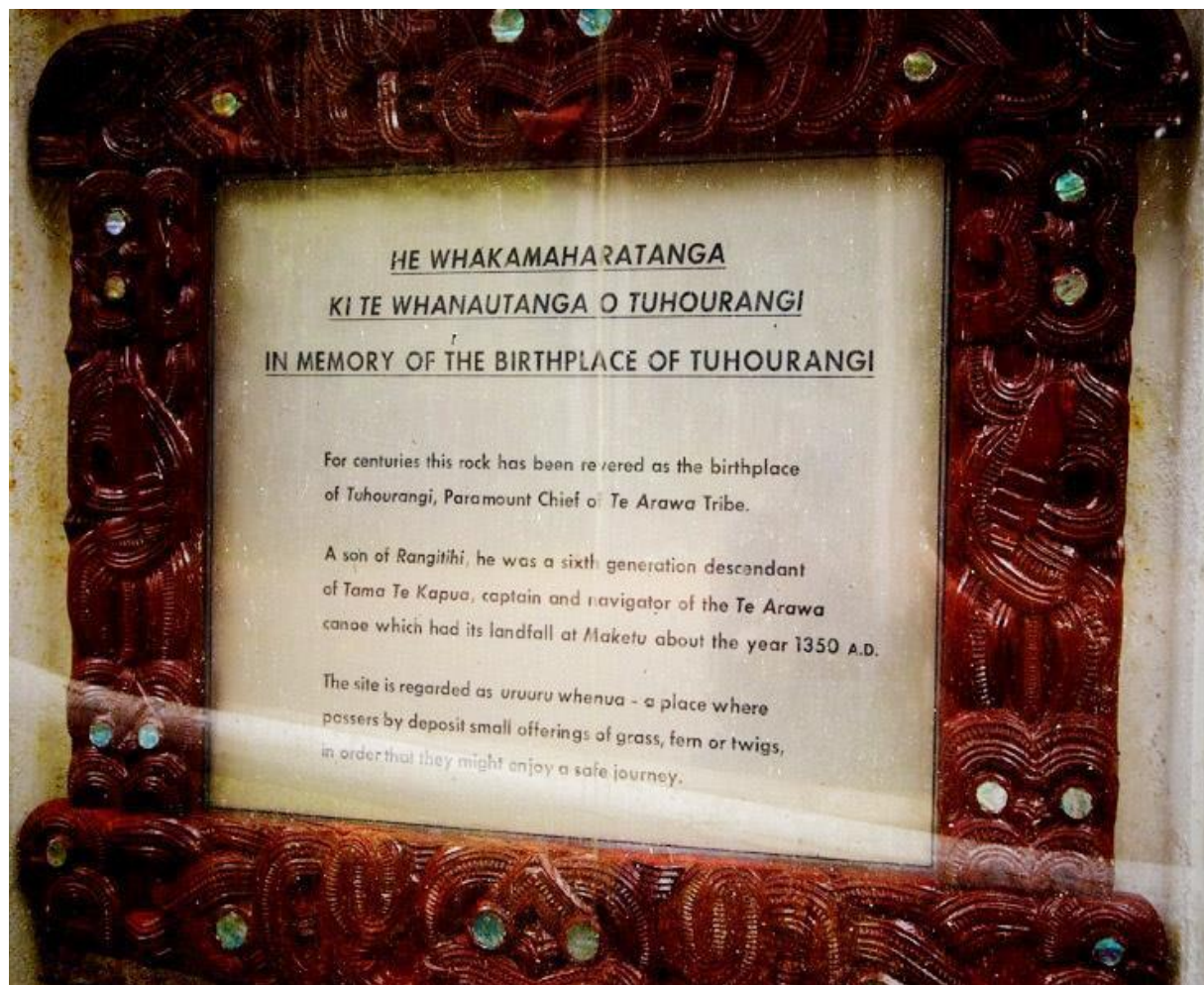
Wairuatanga

The nature of mātauranga Māori recognises the sacred aspects of reflecting upon ancestral stories. This is reaffirmed by Royal (1992) who, when referring to tribal history, stated:

Tribal history is family history and it is rooted in whakapapa. Historical traditions explain to the descendants who they are, how they came to be and why they are as they are. Therefore, anything to do with tribal history is a spiritual matter and must be treated with much respect and humility. (p. 42)

The spiritual aspect to Māori history was highlighted in 2010 when the Tūhourangi wānanga participants along with other tribal members visited Te Uruwhenua o Tūhourangi – the sacred birthplace of Tūhourangi, a rock located at Nga Tapuwae Maunga (the footsteps of the mountains) in the Tarawera region. This particular occasion was to mark the transfer of this sacred site into a Māori reserve and to pay respect to our ancestor, Tūhourangi. The occasion also began the research fieldwork of participation and engagement with the Tūhourangi wānanga. The evening wānanga began with the learning of the waiata ‘Tērā Te Auahi Ka Patua i Tarawera (Tērā Te Auahi)’ and a discussion of its meaning. This waiata laid the foundation for the Tūhourangi wānanga series, which began with the unveiling of the memorial stone at Te Uruwhenua o Tūhourangi and continued over four years. Following the evening session, at 3 a.m. our hapū set off from Whakarewarewa to attend the sacred dawn ceremony to mark this occasion.

Figure 13: Commemorative plaque unveiled 13 November 2010



Source: Māori Investments Ltd, 2013.

During the whaikōrero, after the karakia, the kaumātua explained that there are two facets to places of memorial like this. He recalled the story of Ngārararua, a lizard with two heads, “Symbolically we were there to see the first head of Ngārararua (the physical place). However, the second head cannot be faced, this is the wairua aspect”. Ngārararua was acknowledged here to caution that the spiritual realm is to be respected and that certain rules must be applied to this aspect of ancestral connection. This metaphysical and metaphorical aspect to whakapapa kōrero cannot be expressed outside of context. Waaka Vercoe, kaumātua and chairman of the Tarawera Land Company Ltd, who presided over the transfer of this place to a Māori reserve, reflected upon the spirit of genealogical relationships that can be found at this place and the historical knowledge exchange that occurs there:

As we are all aware, this Rock of Tūhourangi is where our respected ancestor Tūhourangi was born. Traditionally Māori acknowledged such sites as uruwhenua, a significant and very special place of homage and goodwill. As a child I lived at Te

Haehaenga. Every time we returned to Te Teko we stopped here to pay due homage. We would also ask our father “Why do we need to stop to greet this rock?” His brief reply was always “For he, Tūhourangi, is our ancestor”. What more needs to be said?

The following chapter presents the histories found in the waiata, taonga and landscape interpretations sourced primarily from the participants of the Tūhourangi wānanga and those we visited on our *haerenga* (journeys) throughout the Te Arawa region, the Coromandel, the Far North of Aotearoa and my visits to England.

Māori histories

Pou kōrero of Te Arawa

The history of *Hinemihi* and thus that of Hinemihi, the whare, is located within the wider knowledge system of Te Arawa. The full account of the whakapapa of Te Arawa is beyond the scope of this research and therefore the information recorded here is a selection of whānau references specifically related to Hinemihi. The following locates Hinemihi in the wider network of tribal affiliations, thus contextualising the history of Hinemihi and her tribal peoples.

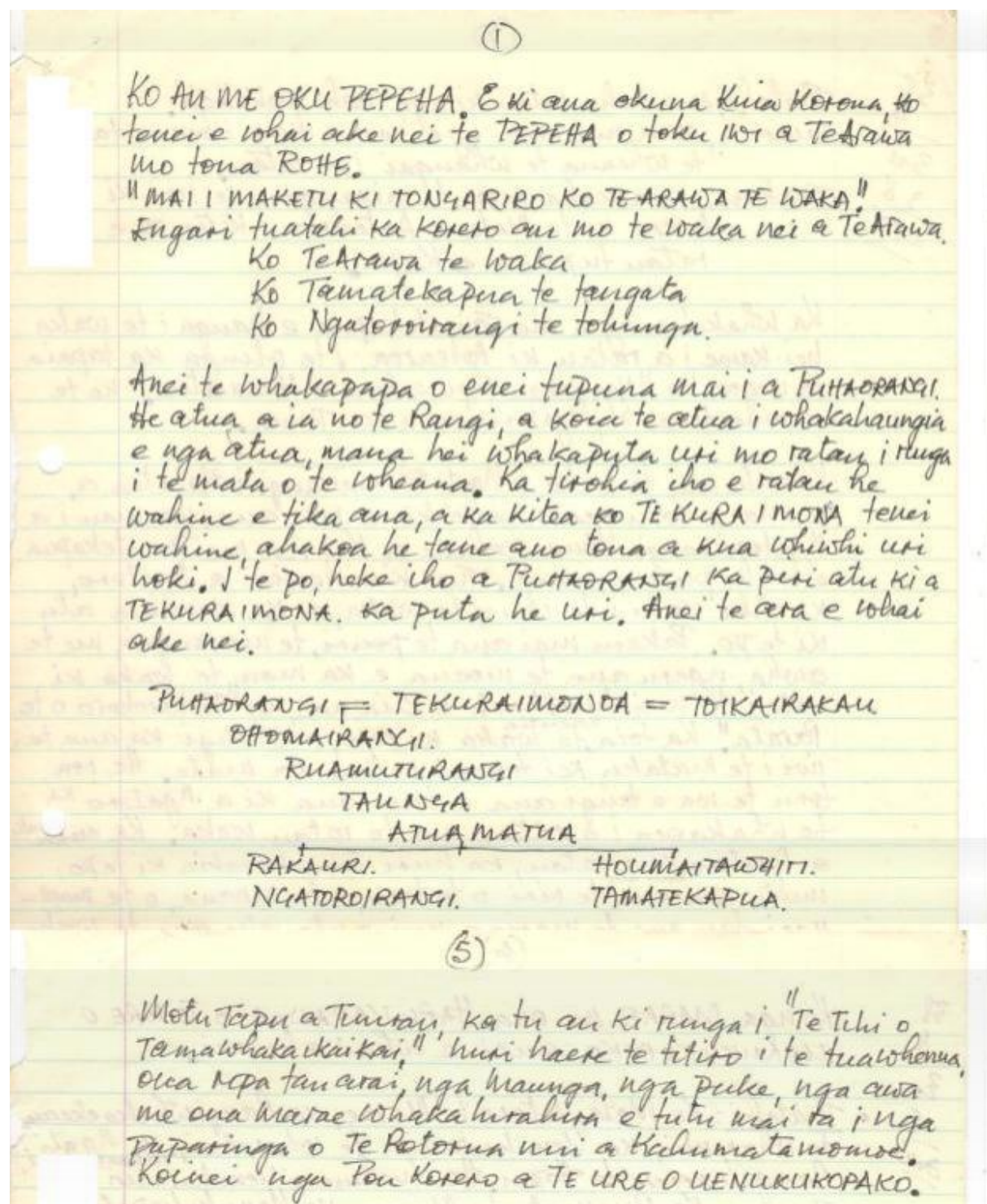
Dr Hiko o te Rangi Hohepa (Uncle Hiko), a Te Arawa kaumātua versed in tribal whakapapa, was raised by his grandparents and trained in the traditional forms of whakapapa kōrero – whaikōrero, karakia and *waiata moteatea* (traditional chants, or sung poetry).

Māori was my first language and my world was the world of whakapapa, karakia and waiata. It wasn't just my grandparents – there were old people around all the time and I sat with them and listened to their discussion. (H. Hohepa, 1986 [videorecording], “*Te Pātaka Kōrero*” private collection)

He recorded some of his whakapapa kōrero in video, written and audio recordings which have been collated by his daughter Kapua Hohepa-Watene in 2013 and archived for the whānau. This repository is named *Te Pātaka Kōrero a Te Hiko o Te Rangi Hohepa*.

The following excerpts are from Hohepa's manuscripts and provide whakapapa of Te Arawa from the departure of the waka (voyaging canoe) from ‘Raiatea’ [sic], Hawaiiki to Aotearoa. His own pepeha regarding the founding ancestors of the tribe provides the first layer of Te Arawa history. From this narrative stems the descendents who have been memorialised in the cultural geography of people, place, marae, whare tūpuna and wharekai.

Figure 14: Handwritten excerpt from archival manuscripts – Te Arawa whakapapa



Source: Te Pātaka Kōrero a Te Hiko o Te Rangi Hohepa, Whānau Archive.

The genealogical chart continues through to the ancestor Uenukukopako where Hohepa lists the geography, the marae and associated stories related to the descendents of this ancestor.

When speaking of Māori history at a hapū wānanga, Hiko Hohepa said, “Waiata moteatea, that’s where we find our true Māori history” (Hohepa, 1986). The following section reflects upon one waiata moteatea which provides another layer to the whakapapa whānau historical account.

Tērā Te Auahi Ka Patua I Tarawera (Tērā Te Auahi)

The waiata ‘Tērā Te Auahi’ is a *waiata tangi* or lament, a memorial to those who died as a result of the Mount Tarawera eruption of 10 June 1886. It recalls the people and places of significance for the iwi of Tūhourangi and other hapū during and post the Tarawera eruption. There is debate over who actually composed the waiata, whether it was Hōhepa Tāuhuroa of Ngāti Tumatawera, Kaiteriria, Rotokākahi or Te Rangiwhakaherea (*Tuhourangi Auahi Ana E!*, 2011, p. 87). This form of knowledge transfer in these compositions “graphically illustrate the experiences that have shaped Tūhourangi as we stand today” (*Tuhourangi Auahi Ana E!*, 2011, p. 7).

This single waiata framed the Tūhourangi wānanga series that I attended over the period of four years. The wānanga focused on whānau connections and how cultural landscapes, places and associated narratives, in this case waiata tangi, reinforce the connections and/or relationships we have with each other. These foundations provide for another layer upon the stratum of memories.

The waiata was taught to us and critically reflected upon during the hui at Wahiao, the tūpuna whare at Whakarewarewa, on 12 November 2010 and on 11–15 January 2012. Rangitihi Pene facilitated these sessions and broke the waiata up into four sections, each highlighting different parts of the historical landscape. Each section relates the story of whānau groupings most affected by the Tarawera eruption of 1886:

It mourns the passing of Ngāti Tāoī, Tūhourangi, Ngāti Rangitihi and the Europeans who lost their lives ... (*Tuhourangi Auahi Ana E!*, 2011, p. 87)

*Tērā te auahi ka patua i Tarawera kai
 raro iti iho
 Ko Ngāti Tāoi i moe rā i te whenua.
 Haere rā, e te iwi,
 Ki te pō uriuri, ki te pō tangotango,
 Ki te iwi i te pō
 Ārohirohi ana tāku nei titiro ki te puke i
 Te Kūmete
 Kai raro iti iho ko te tini a te kura i a
 Tūhourangi
 Whakapukepuke ai ngā ngaru o
 Tarawera ko te rite i aku kamo
 Ka whati mai te ngaru, ka oho rā te
 marino, ko te rite i te iwi
 E hora noa mai rā te rae ki Moura haere
 rā, e te iwi
 Ki wīwī, ki wāwā, ki raro ki Te Reinga,
 ko wai au ka kite?
 Kai kinikini ai te mamae i taku kiri ki te
 iwi ka wehe*

*Whakarehurehu ana tāku nei titiro ki
 Whakapaukōrero
 Kai raro iti iho ko Ngāti Rangitihi tōku
 hoa moenga
 Na Ngātoroirangi i taki mai te mana o te
 atua
 Ka hou kai te whenua
 Hurahia e ngā tohunga
 Ka maranga kai runga
 Ka rū ko te whenua
 Te riri o te atua i whiua ki te tangata
 I whiua ki te whenua
 E hora noa mai rā i te pō uriuri, i te pō
 tangotango
 Waiho nei te aroha, waiho nei te mamae
 Ka kai kino I taku kiri
 I māringi-ā-wai te roimata i
 Aku kamo ki te iwi ka wehe ī!*

Yonder is the plume of smoke that struck at
 Tarawera
 And just below lies Ngāti Tāoi asleep in the
 earth, farewell my people.
 Go to the dark night, to the intensely dark
 night, to the dead.
 I look dizzily to Te Kūmete hill.
 There below lies the precious multitude of
 Tūhourangi.
 Rising up are the waves of Tarawera like
 [the tears in] my eyes
 When the waves finally broke all went so
 still, just like my people
 [Ash] spreads out covering the point at
 Moura, farewell my people
 [As you go] here and there on the way to Te
 Reinga. Who was I to witness that
 Pain pinched my body for the people who
 perished

I can only dimly see Whakapaukōrero
 Where just below lies Ngāti Rangitihi –
 my friends in sleep
 It was Ngātoroirangi who brought the gods’
 power and
 Placed it in the ground
 But unveiled by the priests
 It rose up above
 And the earth shook
 The anger of the god was hurled at people,
 Was hurled upon the land
 As it rolled out in the dark night, in the
 intensely dark night
 And [I am] left only with pity, left only with
 pain,
 That wracks my body
 As tears spill like water from
 My eyes for the people who have gone!

The review of each line and its metaphorical significance provided for an in-depth analysis of the history of Tarawera and the communities who once lived there. In addition to the waiata narratives, the wānanga participants also visited the actual landscapes in and around Lake Tarawera. Via boat and coach, eighty hapū members traced our connections to the physical

landscape. Most places articulated in the waiata are signalled by memorial stones, laid at the time of the centennial commemorations in 1986 where villages once were (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Memorial stone at the place of Moura on Lake Tarawera



Source: Author, 12 November 2010.

Schama (1995) stated: “Before it can be a repose for the senses, landscape is the work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock” (p. 7). While the places or villages of Tarawera were destroyed and covered by mud and rock in the eruption, detailed histories of the people, their stories and relationships within the framework of whakapapa are remembered in these waiata. Continuously layering upon layer the memories, the stories and connections that people of the hapū have with these landscapes and each other.

Figure 16: Whānau – a solemn time, Lake Tarawera



Source: Nari Faiers, 12 November 2010.

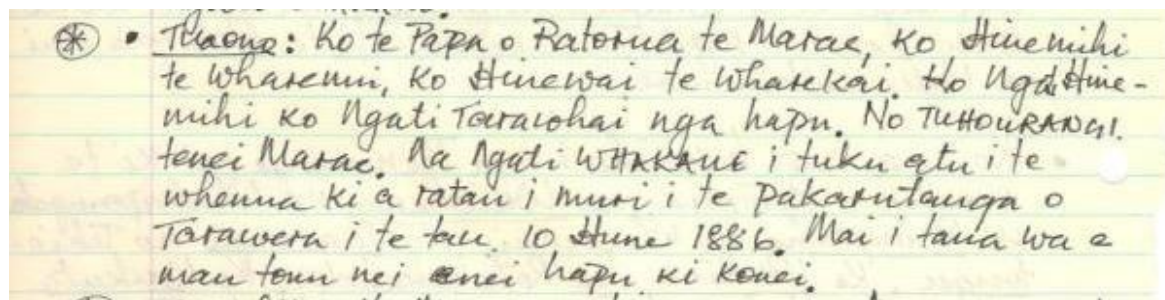
Tūhourangi visit to Te Marumaru o Tuhoto – the marae of Ngāti Hinemihi

The Tūhourangi wānanga visited Ngāti Hinemihi as part of the whakapapa within the waiata, Tērā Te Auahi – “Ārohirohi ana tāku nei titiro ki te puke i Te Kūmete, Kai raro iti iho ko te tini a te kura i a Tūhourangi” – and the whānau at Te Wairoa.

On 12 January 2012, day two of the second wānanga, participants travelled to Te Marumaru o Tuhoto, the marae of Ngāti Hinemihi and place of the whare tūpuna Hinemihi in Ngapuna. This marae and the whare tūpuna, Hinemihi ki Ngapuna, is a place that reconfirms ancestral knowledge systems and maintains the tribal identities connected to *Hinemihi*, the person, and the three whare. The bounded tribal identities based upon genealogical or kinship knowledge at Hinemihi ki Ngapuna is positioned within a Ngāti Hinemihi ontology. At their marae in Ngapuna, this knowledge is communicated through the tikanga and kawa of the marae, and while these customs are similar to those found on other tribal marae, they are specifically founded on the whakapapa of *Hinemihi*. Even then, the tikanga and kawa at Hinemihi ki Ngapuna differ from the more contemporary and generic applications of tikanga Māori at Hinemihi in England where *Hinemihi* is still recognised although the pan-tribal and international context: at the whare in England, tikanga and kawa emphasise the kaupapa or reason for the gathering rather than the kin-based relationships displayed at home in Rotorua.

Tribal whakapapa systems are important in sustaining the unique cultural landscapes of respective tribes, all with different histories, narratives, symbols, cultural standards and meanings. These cultural norms also provide the foundation for Māori histories, beginning with whakapapa and overlaid upon with an unfolding historical account supported by the interrelationships of people and their respective memories.

Figure 17: Handwritten excerpt from manuscript – Hinemihi ki Ngapuna



Source: Te Pātaka Kōrero a Te Hiko o Te Rangi Hohepa, Whānau Archive.

Figure 17 is an explanation of one of 22 marae connected to the ancestor Uenukukopako. The sixth marae listed, ‘tuaono’, is the marae ‘Ko te Papa o Ratorua’, of Hinemihi ki Ngapuna. This is an explanation of how the whare Hinemihi came to be at the actual place of Ngapuna. The land was gifted to Ngāti Hinemihi by Ngāti Whakaue as a result of the eruption. Now the marae is named Te Marumaru o Tuhoto and the story of *Hinemihi* continues.

Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi

An old net being retired and a new net cast in its place

The above whakataukī appears on the memorial plaque at the front of the marae. Described by kaumātua of the marae as a reiteration of what it means to be part of the dynamic hapū of Ngāti Hinemihi and the macro-society where the people of Ngāti Hinemihi live, “it essentially defines Ngāti Hinemihi identity” (Wikingi, 2007). The meanings within this whakataukī are presented in whaikōrero and in wānanga on Hinemihi marae as a metaphorical representation of the “the values, beliefs, customs, social structures and cultural practices that are at the very essence of ‘what it means to be Māori’ within your own whānau/hapū/iwi, Māoridom” (Wikingi, 2007).

Figure 18: Hinemihi ki Ngapuna, Rotorua



Source: Author, 2010.

Wikingi is reiterating the whakapapa-based identity criterion. The visit to this marae was unusual in that the participants of the wānanga were students learning tribal knowledge within a confined period of time and they were allowed to practise particular ritenga or rituals as part of the gathering.

The particular kaupapa for this wānanga was the processes involved in pōwhiri, the traditional ritual of encounter or welcome. During the two days, workshops were held on pōwhiri that allowed us to practise what we had learnt in a ‘live’ or real pōwhiri situation. Upon arrival at Hinemihi ki Ngapuna, we prepared ourselves for this pōwhiri. As part of the pōwhiri process, five principle rituals were upheld: the karanga, the tangi, whaikōrero, waiata and *harirū* (formal greeting).

The first part of the pōwhiri is the karanga or wailing call of the women from both the tangata whenua, as hosts, and the manuhiri. The kaikaranga or callers are afforded the privilege of being the first voices to clear the path for any given gathering. As previously discussed, Te Arawa tribal tikanga insists upon the kaikaranga being of senior female descent as these women are able to recall the shared histories of both parties and provide a level of

spiritual safety throughout this process – although not all Māori tribal tikanga abides by this rule. These rules are in place to uphold the mana of the pōwhiri participants, the marae, and of those ancestors who bring us together, as well as to maintain the level of quality in the karanga narrative.

The kaikaranga for Te Arawa marae are confirmed through a rigorous whakapapa selection process and confirmation entails agreement by not only an individual's immediate family but the hapū of the respective marae. Outside of the Te Arawa region, these rules are difficult to impose as each tribal region has variations on these criteria. For example, at Hinemihi, in the absence of Ngāti Hinemihi members, Ngāti Rānana appoints who performs the karanga. This appointment is based on ability and the individual's own personal tribal criteria (dependent on tribal affiliation to Aotearoa), as opposed to Te Arawa tribal whakapapa criteria. Such is the pragmatism of tikanga Māori.

The call from both sides on the occasion of this wānanga reflected our shared histories and brought to the marae ātea the spirit of all our ancestors who had laid down these rituals of encounter so to sustain the cultural integrity or identity of their descendants. The process reminded participants that no matter where you may be or how connected you are to the marae and hosts, you do not walk onto a marae as an individual but that you carry the memories, the tikanga, the mana and the spirit of your ancestors with you. The wairua or spiritual context was set, whereby ancestral lessons were acknowledged and the mana of those ancestors as well as ours, the visiting party's, was to be considered throughout the wānanga visit.

The next process was the whaikōrero. The male kaumātua sitting on the *paepae tapu* or sacred panel of speakers presented narratives contextualising the hui participants to the particular kaupapa or rationale for the gathering. In this case it was whakawhanaungatanga between the two hapū, the opportunity to come together as an extended family. The narrative embraced whakapapa and the genealogical schema that further consolidated our kin relationships as well as reflecting specifically on the historical significance of the Tarawera eruption to both kin groups.

The whakapapa of both groups were recounted and the significance of these respective histories to certain happenings within the hapū was debated. In particular, the speeches acknowledged the where tūpuna, Hinemihi ki Ngapuna, and the significance of Hinemihi to our combined survival from the devastation of the eruption night, in 1886, of Tarawera. The

speeches confirmed previous accounts of other kaumātua who had also asserted that while Hinemihi was not a Tūhourangi meeting house, the whare had sheltered Tūhourangi and others against the devastation of the eruption and, as a result of this association, the whare brought us together in a tangible way. *Kotahitanga* or unity was therefore another primary cultural concept reflected in the narratives.

The criteria for speaking rights (for Te Arawa) follows a patriarchal whakapapa framework whereby senior whānau members are selected based on primogeniture, seniority and knowledge of hapū tikanga. No male who is junior in the respective whānau is able to stand and speak unless the more senior members have formally passed on their rights to speaking and/or the hapū have formally confirmed his rights. This is a tribally inscribed code of conduct and follows the precept that the eldest in a whānau are those who have been brought up with their elders and so have been taught the body of knowledge (whakapapa kōrero) required to speak on behalf of the tribe. The integrity of whakapapa and the strata of memories are therefore maintained within a strict tribal code of practice. The rationale for this practice is acknowledged by Edwards (2009) when he described how tribal elders had learnt their own whakapapa kōrero through time spent with their elders who had shared and lived these ancestral practices. “[A]s they explained this served to ensure cultural continuity and that ways of knowing were shared and lived ... the ancestors were the models from which the elders developed their own teaching models” (p. 154).

While the Tūhourangi wānanga series in the form presented on this occasion emulated tribal codes and cultural practice, these forms of knowledge and communication are radically different to traditional forms where living and sharing knowledge through being in the place of tribal contexts was the norm. Now, more than 70% of Māori predominantly reside away from tribal regions and thus alternative ways of learning and applying tikanga Māori is now more common, endorsing the notion that culture is not static but is ever changing. In the absence of traditional models of tribal learning, particularly for those outside tribal regions, contemporary wānanga and lessons learnt through cultural experience outside of traditional places is more common. Hinemihi provides an example of this, where alternative forms of knowledge transmission are found that continue to be based on ancestral lessons but contextualised to the present and recreated in the spaces Hinemihi affords.

The waiata narrative that supported the speeches added to the knowledge and interconnections related directly to *Hinemihi* and the Tarawera region and further

consolidated our relationships through the memory and spiritual presence of *Hinemihī*. These relationships are continually reaffirmed and reflected in the waiata “E noho ana au i runga o Te Pākira” (“Here I sit upon my marae of Te Pākira”), composed by Rangitihī Pene and recited by the Tūhourangi kapa haka group in the Te Arawa Regional Kapa Haka festival on the 11 May 2014. An excerpt, verse two:

*Takahia atu rā ki runga o Moerangi
E titiro whakamuri ki Pukeroa!
Ko te paekura tērā o Wāhiao, o Tāoī hoki!
Ka hoki kōmuri ki tōku papatupu
Kia unu wai mai i Rotokākāhi
Kia tatū atu ki runga o Te Wairoa;
Ko Te Rangipūawhe, Ko Āporo
Ko te kuia a Hinemihī - te piranga ē...*

Tread now the path up to Mount Moerangi
There look back to Pukeroa
The lost home of Ngāti Wāhiao and Ngāti Tāoī.
I go backwards to my homelands
So I can sip the waters of Rotokākāhi
And ascend once more Te Wairoa
Where the chiefs, Te Rangipūawhe, Ko Āporo
were,
As was the meeting house of our ancestress
Hinemihī that sheltered us.

(*Tūhourangi Auahi Ana E!*, 2011, pp. 16–17).

Ngāti Hinemihī were our hosts for the overnight stay and, in addition to the tribal histories via those customary knowledge systems in the pōwhiri, we were also given a lecture-styled presentation after the *kai*, or dinner, which had concluded the traditional cultural formalities of the day; this presentation further extended upon the whakapapa kōrero from the formal context of the pōwhiri. Ngāti Hinemihī kaumātua Te Ohu Wikingi again recounted our shared whakapapa and stated that “whakapapa put me in this place”. He pointed out particular landmarks at Ngapuna that were placed to remember Tarawera and the whare tūpuna Hinemihī. He described our relationships with each other and that we all came from the Tarawera/Okataina area.

The kaumātua gave the history of the location and construction of Hinemihī ki Ngapuna in 1956, and while this marae is relatively new compared with Hinemihī, the stories are analogous as the histories of these whare are the same within whakapapa kōrero, albeit with very different locations, ownership and controls. The kaumātua explained that successive generations of *Hinemihī* carry her name and that dialogue about the naming of this whare began in 1934 and took more than 20 years of discussion to confirm. We were also told by the kaumātua that: “The *puhi* or the first person to cross the threshold in the opening ceremony in 1970 was also named Hinemihī.” This was another symbolic action that reinforced the history of *Hinemihī* in the whakapapa, hearts and minds of her people. He stated that “by coming together we will be strong”, reflecting the power of maintaining

relationships through aroha, kawa, mana, marae and whanaungatanga so as to be able to engage as Māori in the wider political and social environment. This kōrero demonstrated the aspects outlined in the Rangihau conceptual model of Māoritanga and reinforced the significance of the concepts within the model of how Māori identities are created and maintained.

The kaumātua spoke of the unique nature of Hinemihi ki Ngapuna, the whare being a *kuia*, and explained that the wharekai at that marae was named after the daughter of *Hinemihi*, *Hinewai*, and that this is the only marae that has a dining room named like that. Usually the wharekai is named after the wife of the tūpuna; however, this is not the case at Hinemihi ki Ngapuna, and such a female-dominated marae is unique. This kōrero reminded us that we should respect and honour *Hinemihi* as she is synonymous with our own kuia or nannies, a notion that encouraged participants to further engage in the care of all Hinemihi whare now.

Following the kōrero on naming was the evening presentation; this included a data show that focused on the importance to her descendants of their whānau connections to Hinemihi. Included in the discussion was the public use of the imagery of Hinemihi. For example, New Zealand's old one pound note included whakairo from Hinemihi (see Figure 20), and while perhaps it was an honour to have her carving representing New Zealand's cultural identity, it was also another form of appropriation of Hinemihi that was totally out of the control of her whānau.

Figure 19: Chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha and wife outside Hinemihi circa 1884



Source: Burton Brothers - Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki

Notes: The banknotes were issued by the Reserve Bank of New Zealand in 1934. The first legal tender following the Reserve Bank Act of 1934. The front right-hand whakairo from Hinemihi was used on the notes, taken from a photograph of Chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha and his wife at Te Wairoa (see Figure 19).

Figure 20: New Zealand's one pound note issued in 1934 included whakairo from Hinemihi



Source: Reserve Bank of New Zealand

The use of imagery from the carvings from Hinemihi initiated further discussion on the intellectual property and public appropriation and use of tribal images. The use of cultural imagery is not new to a tribe with a long history of tourism and use of cultural imagery in marketing of New Zealand as a destination. The concerns raised by those present was regarding the notion that the wairua and mana represented in the whakairo from Hinemihi, could be desecrated because the whare is outside of the tribal boundaries of Ngāti Hinemihi and hence outside of tribal care. The irony here is that if Hinemihi had not been purchased by Lord Onslow, the whare would probably have been left in the ruins along with much of the other buildings of Te Wairoa village, now part of the tourism destination The Buried Village.

The data show at that point displayed many tribal members in photos taken around the marae with which both Tūhourangi and Ngāti Hinemihi were affiliated. This engaged much discussion about with whom and how we are all related, along with lots of humour and storytelling. Many pictures were presented of people, relatives taken at special occasions in Aotearoa, and interspersed amongst these people were photos of Hinemihi while at Te Wairoa and in England. Many stories were also shared of the relationships between each of the wānanga participants and *Hinemihi*, a process that not only brought together our shared genealogies but also brought to the present our collective understandings of what it is to be connected through our kuia, *Hinemihi*. After these discussions, the kaumātua stated that

the whare is “your fellas’ whare, too”, referring to Hinemihi and that we have a shared obligation to look after her.

The notion of shared obligation reflects the strong focus on reciprocity and that the expectation is that we (as Tūhourangi) now support the hapū of Ngāti Hinemihi in their desire to bring Hinemihi home. Many aspects within this context relate to the obligatory nature of whakapapa knowledge which has sustained the concept of kaitiakitanga where future care of Hinemihi, in England, is based on the interconnections of her history. This type of lobbying for support is not unusual within marae wānanga and the obligatory nature of whakapapa cannot be discarded when placed on the marae for discussion. While time was spent discussing repatriation of the whare, there were differences within both hapū on whether Hinemihi should be repatriated. One of the biggest issues was the ability to maintain and care for the existing marae throughout the Te Arawa region already. Currently Hinemihi is being looked after and, through combined efforts with the National Trust, hapū involvement could be maximised through continued support of development efforts in England. This dialectic between tribal members continues to engender dialogue on the rationale for repatriation and on the types of support we as whānau can provide to those currently looking after Hinemihi. Those involved in the discussions also reflexively contemplated on the similar issues of iwi members who are also located outside of Te Arawa boundaries. While informal, the dialogue in this particular forum provided further consideration for the tribal elders, who spoke about how best the iwi can provide cultural support for our travelling whakapapa whānau. The issue of repatriation is discussed further in Chapter Seven.

Ngāti Hinemihi ki Te Wairoa

As part of the wānanga dialogue in 2010, it was stated that Ngāti Hinemihi ‘chose’ to join with Tūhourangi (circa 1860–70) at Te Wairoa to support tourism activity in the region. These allegiances or alliances have continued through time, and many events in the history of both *Hinemihi* the person and Hinemihi the whare provide examples of how the whakapapa schema presented has and continues to support whanaungatanga, kotahitanga and kaitiakitanga, all cultural identity concepts that bring people together.

The invitation and/or agreement of Tūhourangi for Ngāti Hinemihi to reside at Te Wairoa in the mid-1800s and their cooperation in the developing tourism trade in the region is an example of the concept of whanaungatanga in practice. Jim Schuster explained his

understanding of the tribal relationships to me, saying he wasn't sure of the whakapapa but that there were Ngāti Hinemihi tribal connections to Te Wairoa and Tūhourangi:

The whole region was Tūhourangi, Ngāti Hinemihi moved up there, they were the Tarawhai people and it was when this small faction of Tarawhai went there that Ngāti Hinemihi came into existence. This whānau of Tarawhai saw the prospects of trade and tourism and they went up to Te Wairoa. That's the connection to Tūhourangi, not too sure of whakapapa.

Not contentious, Tūhourangi gave them land and they built their wharenui there, there is a [whakapapa] connection and it goes way back. (J. Schuster, personal communication, May 17, 2009)

Hinemihi married a Tūhourangi man named Te Karere and thus the hapū have a shared whakapapa (referring here to the genealogical or kin links). As *Hinemihi* was a grandchild of Tarawhai, these close kin ties between Tarawhai/Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi are evident in tikanga practices today. In 2013, the tūpuna whare named Wahiao, of Tūhourangi-Ngāti Wahiao, at Whakarewarewa was closed due to *ngāwhā* or geothermal activity damage. The marae is one of the principal marae for Tūhourangi, and is the cultural centre for tribal practices and traditions and 'home' for many travelling Tūhourangi throughout the world. It was assessed that it would take six months to repair the tūpuna whare. In acknowledgement of our close whakapapa connections, Hinemihi ki Ngapuna was offered by kaumātua as an alternative for any tribal events or cultural needs, "We are grateful to our whanaunga Te Ohu Mokai Wikingi who invited any future *mate* [dead] to Hinemihi Marae whilst Wahiao is out of action" (Tūhourangi Tribal Authority, 2013).

While on the surface this may appear to be just a simple offer of venue, this offer by Ngāti Hinemihi kaumātua is not forgotten within Tūhourangi tribal forums and dialogue continues on how the hapū can continue to *whakamana* or give prestige to Ngāti Hinemihi in the spirit of reciprocity. The actualisation of *manaakitanga* is reinforced through these interactions. Also featured alongside these discussions is the reconfirmation of the whakapapa linkages in the tikanga and ritenga of most of Tūhourangi gatherings. Grateful acknowledgement by Tūhourangi to their kin relatives Ngāti Hinemihi has reinforced the linkages between the hapū and kotahitanga between tribal members continues.

Māori cultural tikanga practices encourage or imbue concepts of whanaungatanga and kotahitanga as a form of holistic wellness (Edwards, 2009; Rangihau, 1992). The call for unity is a common thread of the cultural practices displayed at Hinemihi, by all. How the whakapapa whānau have created this space for unity in England follows the same whakapapa

kōrero paradigm and processes as practised at home in Rotorua, and the ritenga practised at the whare not only embraces those kin whānau but all present at Hinemihi when Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi are presiding over ceremonial practices there.

At the centennial of Hinemihi in England in 1991, Ngāti Hinemihi kaumātua Hare Wikingi described *Hinemihi* as a ‘symbol of unity’, quoting the proverb:

Kotahi i te kohao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro ma, te miro pango, te miro whero.
Through the eye of the needle pass the white threads, black threads, and the red
threads (Hooper-Greenhill, 1998, pp. 129–130).

The metaphoric significance Wikingi was alluding to was that all those gathered at Hinemihi, on that particular occasion, are all now one at Hinemihi, no matter where one comes from. This whakataukī originated from Māori King Potatau Te Wherowhero at the first gathering of the Kingitanga movement. The Kingitanga (Māori King movement) was founded in 1858 as a political institution to bring together Māori tribes under a single sovereign (Papa & Meredith, 2012). King Potatau recited this whakataukī in his coronation speech when he referred to the spirit of unity within the first gathering of the many Māori tribes throughout the nation. Indeed, it could be argued this was the inception of Māori coming together as a kaupapa grouping.

This metaphorical reference, like many whakataukī, has multiple interpretations dependent on context. For example, the use of red, white and black is also quoted when giving meaning to the past, present and future: “...looking to the past as you progress, hold firmly to your lover, the law, and your faith” (English Language Partners New Zealand, 2013). These colours are also quoted when speaking of the story of creation with the black representing ‘te Po’, the darkness, the red representing the blood that was spilt, and the white representing ‘te Ao Mārama’, the light. All interpretations within whakataukī are interdependent on the relational contexts within which they are quoted; however, all those interpretations of this particular whakataukī can relate to Hinemihi in some form. University College of London conservationists have been able to uncover the many layers of paint to the original layers and indeed, those three colours are the colours of the original paint on the kōwhaiwhai.

The 2014 wānanga took the hapū of Tūhourangi to the resting place of Tamatekapua, the captain of the original Te Arawa waka (circa AD 600). He is buried on Moehau Mountain in the Coromandel, a two-hour drive from Rotorua. This interaction between the hapū and the people of the Coromandel is part of the ongoing relationship that was reaffirmed due to the eruption and relocation of people and taonga away from the Tarawera region.

The eruption of Mount Tarawera in 1886 caused the peoples of that area, like Hinemihi, to relocate. The movements of the whakapapa whānau after the eruption and the concept of recreating spaces is therefore not new to Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi. Many of those dislocated from Tarawera remained within the Te Arawa regions of the Bay of Plenty. Many, however, travelled to Harataunga in the Coromandel and further afield. This presents another example of the travelling Māori concept and resultant change of tribal tikanga to suit the context and/or environment. The tikanga and kawa of the Harataunga marae where we were hosted in the Coromandel incorporated and respected our protocols (Te Arawa tribe) in acknowledgement of the close links between the hosts at Coromandel and us as the visitors. The karanga, whaikōrero and waiata were all similar to the wānanga experience at Hinemihi ki Ngapuna where the hapū histories were recounted in the context of Tarawera and the eruption and the past relationships of our peoples who resided together in the Coromandel area.

Those Tūhourangi/Ngāti Hinemihi peoples who settled in the Coromandel were linked to the region via ancestral connection through the chief Tamatekapua, who had originally acquired mana whenua status over different tracts of land there. In addition Ngāti Maru, the tangata whenua of the Coromandel area, had gifted land to Tūhourangi after the eruption, for settlement in the region. Throughout the years since the resettlement of Tūhourangi in the Coromandel, Te Arawa had repeatedly asked for those tribal members who had moved away to return, and thus the majority of descendant's of the whānau that relocated after the eruption have moved home. In addition to the living descendents of those that relocated to the Coromandel are the many tribal members interred 'away from home' after the eruption. Many of those whānau members have been exhumed and reinterred in Rotorua. Associated with the tikanga of returning the living and the dead back to their ancestral homes is the desire of Ngāti Hinemihi to have Hinemihi repatriated and returned home.

After retracing the history of Tamatekapua and climbing or flying to the top of Moehau, the wānanga participants described their experiences, relationships and the historical significance of returning to this place. As well as being our captain's burial place, the people of Coromandel gifted Tūhourangi and Ngāti Hinemihi people land to help the evacuees of the Tarawera eruption who, in 1886, found themselves landless. The term 'evacuees' has been used deliberately here, rather than the term 'refugees' which has been part of historical text with regard to Tarawera people's evacuation of the region (Stafford, 1967), to reflect the sentiment of the whānau members:

I don't know why we are referred to as 'refugees'. We have a whakapapa here, our tūpuna [Tama Te Kapua] is here. We will continue to be linked to this whenua, a big mihi to the tangata whenua for having us... (whānau member, 2014)

To the participants of the January 2014 Tūhourangi wānanga, the term refugees portrayed the perception that there were no previous relationships between the different tribal groupings who were brought together post the eruption. The Coromandel connection was and is strong and people of Ngāti Maru recognise the whakapapa relationships. Thus another strand or layer of the whakapapa network was reaffirmed and added to the historical account.

In 1985, after many Tūhourangi had returned to Whakarewarewa, it was decided to return the gifted land back to the people of the Coromandel area (Piatarihi Makiha Whānau Trust, private collection). The relationships that were fostered between our ancestors are maintained by the descendents as a way of reinforcing histories and reciprocating those initial *koha o te aroha* (gifts of love) that were extended to our ancestors. This tikanga sustains the mana and mauri of our ancestral connections and provides for the engagement of other tribal peoples in our histories. The values of koha, utu and kotahitanga sustain those intimate relationships fostered from a whakapapa kōrero that reinforces cultural identity, cultural landscapes and the obligatory nature of exchange or engagement.

The Taonga of Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito

Many years ago while attending an award ceremony at a hui with Tūhourangi kaumātua Wihapi Winiata (Uncle Wihapi), another speaker in his whaikōrero congratulated one of the award recipients and referred to him as a precious taonga. Wihapi stood and diplomatically corrected the speaker. He explained that the term taonga, while precious, refers to items of an inanimate nature that still contain a mauri but are not living among us. The taonga referred to in this section form what Edwards (2009) said is part of the multiple components of whakapapa kōrero, where taonga tuku iho bring with them lessons passed down from the ancestors. These narratives are therefore contextual and interpretations are based on discourses developed through relationships of people to particular taonga, thus forming temporal and spatial identities. The types of taonga in whare whakairo along with the respective narratives were and continue to be used “to invoke a set of shared understandings and histories” (Smith, 1999, p. 145). The tūpuna whare Wahiao at Whakarewarewa, for example, is the ancestral house of Tūhourangi/Ngāti Wahiao. Each carving within the building has a name, and each name is an ancestor with a unique whakapapa, each interrelated with the other, with their own histories and myriad of stories

which are invoked in whakapapa kōrero – whaikōrero, waiata and wānanga. Likewise, the physical structures within Hinemihi have and continue to reaffirm cultural identities overlaid by the context, memories and relationships with people from Aotearoa to England.

The ancestral lessons found in the Hinemihi whānau histories, with regard to taonga, continue to sustain the mauri of *Hinemihi* despite much of the original meanings of the taonga in the whare no longer being known. Instead, it is in the present narratives about the taonga that maintain and sustain her mauri. These treasures and the importance of them in the hearts and minds of Ngāti Hinemihi, for example, continue to support the demands for repatriation of Hinemihi. The following section considers the taonga of Hinemihi with regard to the art forms. The taonga are significant because, whilst these inanimate items or structures are not living amongst us, they imbue the mauri and the mana of *Hinemihi* in the past, present and future communities associated with the whare. In this regard, the taonga are considered within the whakapapa kōrero of the hapū of Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi and applied to and reflect the historical significance of the whakairo. Hooper-Greenhill (2000) stated that “Hinemihi is still susceptible to a reading based on some aspects of the traditional Māori cosmos and, although much of the significance has been lost, is still capable of acting as a genealogical model for Ngāti Hinemihi” (p. 65).

Sissons (1998) stated that:

... stories about the construction, ownership, location and relocation of these buildings [whare tūpuna] feature frequently in the oral histories of Māori communities. ... successive periods of social integration and social division were represented through narratives describing the construction and relocation of the oldest meeting house. (p. 36)

Embedded in the oral histories of Hinemihi are successive periods of change, particularly with regard to changes in the political and social contexts within Aotearoa which has been largely influenced by colonisation, changes in political power, and depletion and changes in tribal resources. The following commentary therefore explores these changes related to the physical taonga of Hinemihi by looking at the present, while also unpacking points of socio-historic change and constants in the time span since the construction of Hinemihi. Interpretations and meanings represented in the taonga of Hinemihi continue to reflect the many contexts and associations the whare has with multiple communities.

Although it is proposed that the carvings of the whare act as a story book and feature frequently in the oral histories of Māori communities (Sissons, 1998), most of the carvings of Hinemihi have long since lost their original story (J. Schuster, personal communication, May

17, 2009). Due to the whakapapa whānau disconnect from the whare for nearly one hundred years (1891–1986), some of the meanings of the whakairo, which are generally passed down through Māori forms of oratory, have been lost. The written notes that were sent with the carvings from Aotearoa have also been mislaid over time (A. Gallop, personal communication, June 7, 2009). Yet, despite this, the tribal narratives that reflect the physical components of Hinemihi continue to be significant to her whakapapa whānau as representations of their identity as well as that of *Hinemihi*.

The stories that now form the narrative in the whaikōrero and literature of the whakairo of Hinemihi recount the carvings' construction, ownership, location and relocation, and importantly reflect the significance of these physical manifestations of culture and their relationship with people. These forms of mātauranga Māori and systems of communication essentially sustain the mauri of these taonga and the ancestors whom they represent. The narratives are now contextualised to the current dynamic of the carvings and communities of Hinemihi. This section therefore examines the story book of Hinemihi as told by her communities from home – Aotearoa.

Many assumptions have and can be drawn from the physical aspects of the carvings and the context within which they were made. The carvings and respective interpretations that have endured are laden with symbolism, although it must be noted that all interpretations are influenced by the storyteller's world view, and reasoning for making the interpretation in the first place. Many of the carvings of Hinemihi have engraved names on them and even these have obscure or unknown stories yet to be found or revealed in the whakapapa and memories of tribal members or in the depths of repositories such as archives and government agency documentation such as the Māori Land Court minute books.

Although tikanga has continued at many of the whare in Aotearoa, many original meanings of whakairo have also been lost over time. Indeed, it was recorded in the 1940s that the whare Hinemihi located at Whakarewarewa, Rotorua also has unknown meanings in her whakairo: "The house has unusually high amo with two typical figures on each; unfortunately, the names of the ancestors depicted have been forgotten" (W. J. Phillips & McEwen, 1946–48, page not evident). This is extraordinary as Hinemihi ki Whakarewarewa was only completed and opened in 1928, less than 20 years before W. J. Phillips and McEwen had made those observations. The nature of oral histories and the cultural aspects of concepts such as tapu

and sometimes the reluctance of orators to share certain stories may have been the reason those particular narratives were not shared.

Hinemihi was built and used as the whare for the marae at Te Wairoa, and her ancestral connections, as a whare tūpuna, are meaningful for those Te Arawa hapū connected to her. While other similar whare that were carved and built during the same period of time as Hinemihi reflect similar physical attributes, the systems of communication vary according to the respective association of people with those whare or the different whakapapa connections. For example, the two wharenui Rauru and Te Whare Puni a Māui, both also Te Arawa built whare and now located in Europe, are also important taonga in their own right, but they have different histories. The central purpose for building these two whare and their subsequent usage was not for Māori traditional protocols and processes but for the tourism industry. The names of the whare are not ancestrally derived and/or were not named by Māori and many of the carvings within are strongly influenced by non-Māori ethnocentric positions. In the early 20th century, non-Māori ethnographers such as A. Hamilton, C. Nelson and T. E. Donne determined what ‘traditional’ Māori carving should look like based on their own ontological positions as well as the demand for souvenir-type pieces for tourists. It seemed that the dialectic that existed between carvers and those commissioning carvings for the tourism industry was reconciled through the initiation of European trade in those items. The carvings within these whare depict generic Māori legends not associated to a particular kin group and reflect the beginnings of the commercial production of Māori carving in the late nineteenth to mid-20th century (Neich, 2001).

There were 23 whakairo with Hinemihi when she was shipped to England. Since then there has been a few additions, including the ‘embracing couple’ that was found in the Onslow’s collection and replacement carvings for ones that had deteriorated or were missing from the original whare. The evidence that some carvings are missing from the original whare at Te Wairoa is suggested in the stories of the looting that occurred after the eruption, prior to her being shipped to England. Indeed, whakairo were evidently appreciated for their monetary value. One year after the Tarawera eruption, while Hinemihi was still located in the ruined Te Wairoa village, a theft was reported in the NZ Press Association papers:

At the Police Court today at Rotorua James Pettengell, the well-known Wellington pugilist, pleaded guilty to stealing a number of valuable wood carvings from the old Runanga house Hinemihi, of the ruined village of Te Wairoa, and sentenced to one month hard labour (NZ Press Association, 1887).

In addition to this reported theft was the looting of other Te Wairoa buildings directly after the eruption; accommodation houses, hotels and stores were targeted as well as cultural artefacts from Hinemihi. Mika Aporo (the son of Chief Aporo), after returning to Te Wairoa days after the eruption, noted “that already some Pākehā s [sic] had taken away parts of Hinemihi as souvenirs” (Dominion Post, 1935). This eyewitness account supports the notion that the carvings sent to England were not the complete set within Hinemihi before the eruption.

The carvings of the house

Whilst the identity of most of the individual carvings are unknown, it is the sum of the parts that is most important, likened to the identity of a whānau, hapū or iwi, collectively the carvings embody the spirit of Hinemihi. These cultural references are usually kept alive by people reciting and utilising the carvings as a schema for their history in marae narrative. Regardless of the lack of specific knowledge of those carvings, metaphysical interpretations that contribute to the historical account since the eruption destroyed Te Wairoa in 1886 are reflected and sustained by her descendents. For example, in 1986 the first group of Te Arawa to visit Hinemihi since the whare was transported to England arrived at Clandon Park. Emily Schuster was in that group and she recalled her experience:

We could feel the presence of our ancestors, including those who sheltered inside Hinemihi during the eruption, as well as those who didn’t make it to safety. By touching the carvings we could hear their screams and feel their pain (National Trust, 2008a, p. 3).

This sense of grief for the victims from an eruption that had occurred one hundred years prior was manifested in those who reconnected with Hinemihi that day, most of whom were descendents of people who had perished at Tarawera. Similarly, many other whānau members reflected on their visit to Hinemihi:

The tears just kept flowing when arriving at our kuia...

It felt like our grandmother was calling us on, a beautiful and lonely moment...

We immediately felt homesick and wanted to bring her home with us...

We are so grateful she looked after our great grandparents that night; their spirits were with us when we visited...

I felt she was *mokemoke* (lonely) and I cried for her...

The events that happened after the whare had been crafted in 1881 through to today are now captured by the carvings new stories at Hinemihi and continue to reaffirm *Hinemihi*, the

cultural identity of the whare and that of her people, both whakapapa and kaupapa whānau. While the physical structures of the carvings have aged, they have not dramatically changed, and the histories embedded in the carvings continue to be reinterpreted throughout time. This relates to a critical reflexive approach where history must be re-inscribed with the present to make meaning or how, as Munslow (2006) suggested, history is an endless process of interpretation.

While whare are recorded as being “nineteenth-century innovations” (Sissons, 1998, p. 37), the architecture, carvings and symbolism in whare tūpuna represent the interrelationships between concepts of Māori philosophy, principles and descendants of those represented therein (Royal, 2008). Waitere and Taroi carved Hinemihi portraying the whakapapa and stories of Ngāti Tarawhai, Ngāti Hinemihi and Te Arawa. Melbourne (1991) stated that whare whakairo represent ancient Māori and the context of their daily lives. This aligns to Sissons’ (1998) view that Māori meeting houses are “structures that underlie the invention of tradition [and] are laid down through the routines of everyday life” (p. 37). They continue to provide “timeless anchor points [that] have a living connection, relevance, and significance to the descendants of their original owners” (Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d., para 2).

Hinemihi, as do her descendants, is no longer within the determinate boundaries of Te Wairoa or the tribal control of Ngāti Hinemihi and must be considered in relation to wider social processes. Far from being historical accomplishments, whare like Hinemihi continue to be reinterpreted or re-historicised within multiple contexts and as a consequence of their continued existence. For Ngāti Hinemihi, the meanings of Hinemihi and the whakapapa kōrero about the whare embody the mana of their ancestress and, as such, the goal is not just to preserve or conserve the carvings or indeed the memory of the whare but to ensure the mana of *Hinemihi* is upheld.

The complex network of relationships Hinemihi has and continues to build with Māori and non-Māori endorses the notion that the whare is a conduit of cultural identity. The cultural landscape of Hinemihi continues to be re-inscribed by the relationships of people connected to her. As part of the story of *Hinemihi*, this section considers the physical taonga of Hinemihi, the context of the carvings now, and how they have and continue to provide signposts for her communities into the future.

The first whakairo that one sees when approaching Hinemihi is the *tekoteko* or *koruru* (carved figure on the gable of a meeting house) (see Figure 21). These whakairo are usually representative of the ancestor whom the whare represents or an *atua* (god) related to the local community of the marae. This isn't the case for Hinemihi, however, as the tekoteko is obviously representative of a male. The unique naming of the whare by Aporo Te Wharekaniwha after a female ancestor rather than a male was made after the whare had been carved, and hence the ancestor's representation had already been carved into a male form. This whakairo is adorned with a bowler hat. It is not specified in historical accounts as to why these carvings had European elements although Wero Taroi, the chief carver, was renowned for adding Western touches to his carving. The rationale for the inclusion of European concepts in the carving is unknown, although contextualising the whare to 1881 when it was built, the tribe was wealthy due to tourism and these embellishments are thought to be related to status. Tarewa Rota (personal communication, December 3, 2013) contended that the "European inclusions in the carving reflect the perspective of the time whereby there was an element of distinction or status attached to European society". Likewise the inclusion of the sovereign coins in the eyes of the whakairo at Te Wairoa was indicative of status and wealth. "The iwi lived well during this period and were considered the most affluent tribe in the country" (R. Pene, personal communication, January 12, 2012).

Figure 21: Tekoteko, kōruru adorned with bowler hat



Source: Jim Schuster, 2007.

Another perspective shared by whānau members was that Wero and Tene's intent may have been to promote the engagement of the potential European visitors, by embracing and creating relationships through representing them in the carvings. In other words, a form of manaakitanga is represented in the whakairo. "Wero and Tene were innovative, introducing Pākehā elements to the carving showed their willingness to embrace new technologies as well as to engage the increasing tourist numbers to the area" (R. Pene, personal communication, January 12, 2012). The paradox here is that non-Māori ethnographers, such as Donne and Hamilton, who started directing carving designs in souvenir-type works a few years later,

insisted that new carvings represented ‘old time and traditional’ carving styles that excluded any indication of European influence.

As European contact was established at Te Wairoa prior to the house being carved, it may have been that the carvers were simply adding new aspects and representations of social change, new histories as they were made, which included European influences and ideologies. Contrary to the idea of the colonial power asserting colonial ideology into symbols of our culture, the carvers may have been embracing them. Whatever the reasons, these unusual elements were incorporated into the *whare whakairo*, and these non-Māori concepts continue to be represented in *whakairo* today both as a form of contemporary representations as well as a way of including more recent histories or contexts into the carvers’ work. These ambiguities in the *whakairo* endorses Bhabha’s (1994) view that the principal factors in cultural production are found in the hybrid nature or views of social difference for most populations.

Figure 22: Pou whakairo



Source: Author, June 2009.

Crossing the threshold of the porch, there are six *pou whakairo* (carved posts) lining both walls (see Figure 22). The ancestors represented in these pou are unknown although they may be discussed by virtue of other whare readings and ancestral representations. Some of these whakairo have names inscribed into them and while the carvers were illiterate, they chose to carve names into these pou. One of the pou has the name Ariki carved onto its tongue. An *ariki* generally refers to a paramount chief, a person of high ranking, who imbues qualities of a leader in cultural treasures such as oratory. Thus this pou is said to represent a high-ranked chief who was expert in oral history, but again the story is yet to be rediscovered. In more recent times the word ariki has come to commonly refer to God, so this carving may be representative of the early Christian missionaries to the area of Tarawera, spreading the word

of God at the time. This is unlikely, however, as Christian missionaries during that period were indifferent to and rejected much of Māori carving (Neich, 2001). Indeed during the period when the whakairo were being carved, the carvers may have been taking a political stance against the doctrines of the increasing European population. Again, outside of context and outside of tribal tikanga, there can be many alternative explanations of the individual carvings. However, those whānau members who visit the whare all acknowledge these illustrations of ancestral connections that provide us with our cultural identities today.

Figure 23: The whakairo on the ridge pole shows a couple embracing



Source: Jim Schuster, 2007.

Above the *mahau* (porch) along the *tāhuhu* (ridge pole) is a whakairo that shows a couple, a male and female. This whakairo, according to Hooper-Greenhill (1998), in general terms depict the creation of the universe through Ranginui and Papatuanuku, celestial

parents of the world and all things within it. The story of Ranginui and Papatuanuku provides genealogical ties to the world and particular tribal landscapes. According to Ngāti Hinemihi, however, it is unknown who these figures are, although the whakairo positioned on the tāhuhu are said to usually be representative of eponymous ancestors to the hapū.

This carving also has European features in that the figures are wearing Victorian-styled boots. Again this could reflect several different interpretations. Neich (2001) found that Wero was the carver responsible for “occasionally depicting European boots on otherwise traditional figures” (p. 270). Whether the carvers were simply influenced by the new influx of European settlers, or boots was just an accepted part of everyday attire, these small idiosyncrasies were redefining Māori identity representations within what Rangihau (1992) called ‘Pākehā-tanga’ (things non-Māori).

The irony here is that the English iconography in the form of Victorian attire is considered the Other when looking at the context of the whare being built in Aotearoa, but now Hinemihi is located overseas, it is the Māori iconography of the whakairo that is considered the Other within the context of an English estate. The inclusion of European symbolism, or in this case the act of placing European boots on these two carvings, could endorse what Neich (2001, p. 290) asserted, that it was the expression of a people changing value systems, or what Sissons (1998) suggested are processes of traditionalisation where “aspects of contemporary culture come to be regarded as valued survivals from an earlier time” (p. 37). For whatever reason, European concepts were included in these whakairo. These aspects of the whakairo, while intriguing, are not considered in whakapapa kōrero and therefore the analysis of the use of hats and boots represented therein is contextualised against multiple sources outside of Māori cultural discourses.

Many whare tūpuna throughout Aotearoa represent the current context in which they were created. A contemporary example of this is the Auckland University of Technology’s wharenuī, Te Pūrengi, which has kōwhaiwhai painted in both traditional and contemporary patterns. The kōwhaiwhai have Pacific and Celtic designs reflecting the multicultural context of Auckland, embracing the student and staff demographic within the university.

Figure 24: Kōwhaiwhai in Te Purengi, AUT University



Source: AUT University, 2014.

Entering Hinemihi, you are first faced with a lizard-like whakairo on the *poutokomanawa* which is the central post that supports the ridge pole, and is the symbolic heart of the whare. This whakairo is named Kataore and is written on the carving itself. The symbolic representation of Kataore as a lizard is featured in the whakairo of all three whare of Hinemihi. In Hinemihi, Kataore is on the *poutokomanawa*. *Poutokomanawa* symbolise various key cultural representations. For example, the *manawa*, literally translated as the heart, refers to this post being likened to the heart of the whare and consequently to that of the ancestor. This central post represents ancestral connections to the present day, thus incorporating the relationships

that whare have with their respective communities (Tūhoe Te Uru Taumata, 2013). The symbolism of Kataore on the central post, in itself, indicates the significance of Kataore to the life story of *Hinemihī*.

Figure 25: Kataore on the poutokomanawa, Hinemihi



Source: Jim Schuster, 2008.

These lizard-like representations can be found in an array of Māori art symbolising different stories appropriate to the individual taonga. For example, the legend of Māui attempting to immortalise himself by reversing the process of birth often depicts Māui as a lizard-like figure.

This particular whakairo is a prominent character within both the historic and the contemporary world of Te Arawa. A Te Arawa *kapa haka* group (Māori performing arts team) from Rotorua is named Kataore. The values highlighted in the group's cultural performance reflect Kataore to be their *kaitiaki* or guide. They, too, refer to Kataore as a taniwha or serpent-lizard, although the group leader, Riki Bishop, noted in 2015:

Even though the name Kataore derives from a taniwha, a serpent-lizard, that doesn't depict the atmosphere of the group. It enables the audience to hear, to feel, to be immersed in the messages not only about Te Arawa but throughout New Zealand.

The whānau kōrero relating to Kataore is that there were three different beings with the same name, all with variations of interpretation dependent on context, and immortalised in whakapapa kōrero, whaikōrero and waiata (T. Rota, personal communication, December 3, 2013).

This carving alone portrays many of the stories of Kataore and the interrelationships that existed during the lifetime of *Hinemihi*, in the seventeenth century (Schuster, 2007). Whānau kōrero refers to Kataore as a tohunga, a human who was respected for his spiritual expertise. A Ngāti Hinemihi kuia also stated that Kataore was a tohunga (high priest), and he had a taste for human flesh. Jim Schuster shared his grandmother's kōrero:

I tell you this when I spoke with my grandmother, Ngatai; she was pretty straight up, pretty black and white, was there really a lizard like this, Nan? She told me this is Kataore, *Hinemihi* wasn't afraid of him. Did he look like this? She said no not really, she said to me he was a man, a man who lived up there who liked the taste of human flesh. He lived in this cave and that's where he'd come down and kill people. He was like an old tohunga that people feared but *Hinemihi* didn't fear, and because she could go and talk with him, people feared her or didn't fear her but because of this relationship would pay her respect as they feared Kataore would come and eat them. (Personal communication, May 17, 2009)

It is recounted that people often went missing from the Tikitapu/Rotokākahi region where Kataore lived. *Hinemihi* was the only person who spent time with him at his place in a cave on Moerangi mountain, the peak between Rotokākahi and Tikitapu, the Green and Blue Lakes. Later on this was to become the main thoroughfare for travellers to Te Wairoa, as described by a tourist traveller in May 1886: "the coach ride to Wairoa ascends Moerangi hill..." ("Rambles through the lake country on horseback", 1886).

Kataore had a soft spot for *Hinemihi*. Apart from the physical fear this man engendered, he was also versed in spiritual expertise and thus was both feared and respected by the people of the region. This account aligns with Te Awekotuku (1981) who said that "the mana of a tohunga commanded enormous respect, even fear, because those adept in the priestly arts

were often attributed with praeternatural abilities” (p. 12). Te Awekotuku went on to explain that the trampling of mana was considered “an act of hostile intention”, the ultimate insult, and the expected response was utu – essentially the settling of old scores. Usually utu was enforced on the battlefield, and “for this reason, warfare was an important dynamic in Māori society. It affected economic distribution, settlement patterns, political intermarriage, and village planning” (Te Awekotuku, 1981, p. 21). The recollection and subsequent interpretation of stories such as that of Kataore and the battles are integral to the historical account of both the settlement of Te Wairoa and the lakes district around it (Bremner, 2004).

Another account by a tourist visiting Rotorua in March 1902 stated that “Kataore was considered a lizard type figure, an “Atoua” [Atua] and a prophet who was skilled at foreseeing the weather” (as quoted in E. Massey, 2009, p. 41), while Guide Sophia Hinerangi (a famous tourist guide of both Te Wairoa and Whakarewarewa) said that “the Tūhourangi people loved and thought a great deal of him ... and were so proud of possessing such a friend, that the talk of Kataore’s cleverness went over all the land” (E. Massey, 2009, p. 41).

Certainly stories of Kataore and *Hinemihi* show evidence of utu through warfare. For example, the story of the death of Kataore is recounted as a significant event in the history of *Hinemihi*. This story is well recorded and tells of many battles as a result of the killing of Kataore by a hapū of Te Arawa, Ngāti Tama (Stafford, 1967). While the rationale for the slaying was an act of utu in retribution for the members of Ngāti Tama who had been killed by Kataore, there also appeared to be intent to provoke war to extend the boundaries of Ngāti Tama. Furthermore, accounts of the death of Kataore show a level of jealousy by Ngāti Tama to the Tūhourangi people, who were kin to Tangaroamihi, the hapū of *Hinemihi*. (E. Massey, 2009). Whakapapa kōrero from the waiata ‘Tērā Te Auahi’, discussed in the 2013 Tūhourangi wānanga, highlighted four battles. In the first two battles Ngāti Tama overwhelmed two settlements of Tangaroamihi, namely Te Tokorangi pā and Taumaha pā. Tangaroamihi then called on the assistance of other groups who also had scores to settle with Ngāti Tama (descendents of Apumoana, Rangiaowho and Kawatapuarangi). The third and fourth battles saw the defeat of Ngāti Tama and reaffirmed the mana and control of Apumoana in the region (*Tuhourangi Auahi Ana E!*, 2011). A kuia at the 2013 Tūhourangi wānanga told the story relating to the final battle:

That place called Waiwhiti Inanga used to be all swamp but now there are all factories and everything on top of it. It got that name because there were so many dead bodies lying there, looked like inanga just strewn on the beach.

Waiwhiti Inanga, literally translated as ‘whitebait crossing’, was used to emphasise the scene which looked like many whitebait fish lying on the shore. This battle resulted in great losses for Ngāti Tama, who were forced out of the region. Some of the survivors went to the Waikato and others to the Taupō region. Some stayed due to intermarriage and relationships with the chief, Uenukukopako (Stafford, 1967). This is an example of a cultural landscape where the narrative is linked to an actual place. Like many place names, the name Waiwhiti Inanga immortalised this historic event.

Many sites like this in the Te Arawa area have continued, through time, to be tapu due to the histories of battle. Another example is Motutawa Island in Lake Rotokākahi, historically the home of Tūhourangi. This lake and island is now considered a *wāhi tapu*, or a sacred place, with restrictions on who may go on the lake and other rules associated with sacred prohibitions. These restrictions are said to be the result of fierce warfare and carnage on the island, the story of which is also outlined in the waiata ‘Tērā Te Auahi’; now the island is solely used as an *urupā*, or family burial site. However, an analysis of the hapū narratives as told through waiata indicate that by the 1880s the island had been depleted of fertile ground and so Tūhourangi were moving throughout the region between Rotokākahi and Te Wairoa. The ancestry outlined during the waiata analysis by Rangitihi Pene reflected upon the accounts of Chief Mita Taupopoki:

Mita Taupopoki considered the mana over the island and its environs derived from Wāhiao, passed to Tūohonoa, from him to Pakakī, from him to others; in the late 1800s, the heir of these chiefs was Wi Keepa Te Rangipuāwhe. (R. Pene, personal communication, January 12, 2012)

Wi Keepa Te Rangipuāwhe was considered to be the representative of the mana of all who preceded him; hence, Mita Taupopoki stated that Wi Keepa Te Rangipuāwhe’s “voice must be obeyed by the people and whose influence protects the land” (R. Pene, personal communication, January 12, 2012). This highlights the ancestral influence on social control and chieftainship, not a form of land ownership per se but rather recognition of the mana bestowed on the chief through ancestral lineage. Wi Keepa Te Rangipuawhe was the Tūhourangi chief at Te Wairoa when Hinemihi was built. As the aforementioned battles that happened in 1848 predated the departure of people who were still residing on Motutawa until the 1880s, the underlying principle behind the island’s tapu must include the pragmatic rationale that it was not a good place to source food, and thus the hapū travelled to more fertile ground. It is also likely the island was made an urupā because of its inability to produce food. In 1948 the lake was closed off to the public by the hapū because of

unauthorised digging at the urupā, and from 1950 the island has been only open to members of Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera hapū (Rotokakahi Board of Control archive, private collection). Regardless of the differing rationale for the tikanga and the continued tapu of the lake and its island, Motutawa, the whakapapa kōrero is re-contextualised here and the whānau continue to respect the tapu of the lake and island. The island is an urupā where generations of the hapū are interred, many in unmarked graves. The lake and the island continue to have these sanctions applied, particularly now as the lakes district is a popular trout fishing and tourism destination.

Figure 26: Lakes Rotokākahi (foreground) and Tikitapu, and Moerangi mountain



Source: Archived picture from whānau collection.

This lake area is where Kataore lived in a cave on Moerangi mountain. There is a hill to the right of Lake Tikitapu, the Blue Lake, and the mountain goes up and around to Lake Rotokākahi, the Green Lake. Information obtained from a participant at the 2013 Tūhourangi wānanga indicated that this area was the main crossing place from lake to lake: “Most of the

transport back in those days was by foot and crossing the waterways by waka (boat); paddling the Blue and Green lakes and walking over the ridge was the main transport route.”

Kataore is said to have roamed all over this place and it was there that he is said to have undertaken a lot of his capturing and killing, although he lived further up the hill in a cave. Tourist commentary refers to his kainga as a ‘den or lair’ (A. Gallop, personal communication, June 7, 2009). The Kataore interpretations within a tourism context illustrates what Metro-Roland (2009) termed the “vagaries of interpretation” (p. 275). Jim Schuster said:

When I talk to tourists or people visitors up home, they question “What did the taniwha look like?” This is the way the carver has depicted him, no different to what St George slayed [sic] in England? You talk about St George, this patron saint of England, you pay him all this honour in slaying his dragon, was there a real dragon? What did he really slay? Similar to our Kataore. (Personal communication, May 17, 2009)

These interpretations of Kataore, and parallels drawn from other cultural references such as the fable of King George’s dragon, form part of our rich tapestry of identity and provide another example of the multiplicity of cultural interpretation. Alan Gallop, in describing Kataore to visitors to Hinemihi, said that “this figure is said to be a giant monster that consumed whole waka [canoes] along with many people and other things”. Gallop also mentioned that Kataore was a protector:

The Māori people believed that the taniwha was a protector and if you met one of these in the forest, and it was gigantic, OK, the size of a dinosaur. If you met something like that and you were from the Hinemihi family, Ngāti Hinemihi, you would have nothing to be afraid of (A. Gallop, personal communication, June 7, 2009).

While Kataore has been described in whaikōrero as a protector or *kaitiaki* (at a Ngāti Rānana pōwhiri, 5 June 2009), whānau conversations reveal that Ngāti Hinemihi were just as likely to perish as anyone else during the lifetime of the tohunga (J. Schuster, personal communication, May 17, 2009). Although another potential meaning to the story of Kataore is said to be related to taniwha as a cautionary method of care. Carter (2010) postulates that stories of this nature are commonly related to areas of danger.

Kataore has been called a giant pet lizard (Paine, 2004); large lizard, prophet and atua (E. Massey, 2009); a taniwha (Gallop, 1998; National Trust, 2008b); pet harmless taniwha (Gudgeon, 1893); he mokai me te ngarara (Tarakawa, 1909); of Komodo-like origin (Pomare & Cowan, 1987); and “a huge serpent-lizard with four legs, greenstone eyes, and huge

spines” (McCormick, 2009). The different interpretations are dependent on the position of those telling the stories and the respective contexts within which they are told.

Phillips (1981) questioned why the lizard is so revered in many whakairo throughout the country and stated that “the small green lizard was feared beyond all animals in the forest” (p. 26). He suggested that it was “probably remembrance of the crocodile in a far-off tropical home and the dread which it inspired was transferred to the smaller lizards”. His theory, though, is questionable given that the whakairo examined were from the mid-19th century, many years after Māori had left their ‘tropical home’ and there is no record or whakapapa kōrero of crocodiles there either. The theory does, however, align to early writings of Kelly (1902) who said that the taniwha has been “described as being as large as a sperm whale, but shaped like a lizard and covered with scales, while its back was studded with spines” (p. 278). While this interpretation may be correct, the symbolism imbued in lizard representations in whakairo and other media often exist as a sanction, or warning that the area is dangerous or treacherous. Tarewa Rota (personal communication, December 5, 2013) stated that the meaning of lizards or *mokomoko* in Māori knowledge relates to our ancestors’ ability to create and invoke entities to serve as protectors of tapu places. Predominantly these beings are represented as taniwha or as mokomoko. For Te Arawa, it is common to see mokomoko represented in whakairo and these lizards are commonly referred to as being Kataore.

Carter (2010) said that while the meanings of ancient taniwha representations may be long forgotten, we can surmise that “...perhaps they were ways of locating the pathways, the dangers and the areas where various resources were to be located and also to give people easy access so that a way of recognising their way along those pathways” (7 minutes, 49 seconds). This suggestion fits with the whānau narrative of Kataore and adds another perspective, namely that a Māori view of the interpretation of mokomoko or taniwha is that these creatures were a way of transmitting potential dangers, and pathways to resources, which linked people to the landscape. So how does this form of sanction relate to Kataore? The pathways traversed by many travellers at the time that *Hinemihi* lived in and around the lake region may well have been treacherous and this interpretation sees Kataore as more of a warning than a ‘dragon’ to those who were planning to traverse the area. Indeed, the dangers in that area were noted by a tourist travelling on the road from Rotorua to Te Wairoa in May 1886, when they described that “Moerangi has dark precipitous sides, with deep dividing gorges” (“Rambles through the lake country on horseback”, 1886).

The connection of *Hinemihī* to Kataore is strongly linked to the political context of the time. Her hapū, Ngāti Hinemihī, uphold the mana of her 'pet' and as a result maintained mana whenua of the Okataina-Tikitere region. The whakairo of Kataore is on the poutokomanawa of the whare. Kataore is therefore symbolised here as an integral part of the status of *Hinemihī* in the whakapapa and he continues to be an important figure in the history of Ngāti Hinemihī – not as a man-eating dragon but rather a figure that represents the protection of mana through battle, tribal resource distribution, migratory patterns and intermarriage.

It is therefore not surprising that the representation of Kataore is a predominant symbol in all the Hinemihī whare. Kataore represents the story of Ngāti Hinemihī, encompassing territorial boundaries, political action, social interaction and how these things were represented in taonga form. Indeed, taonga of the chiefs are sometimes referred to as 'nga taniwha o te paepae' and this whakairo is a representation of the treasures and ancestors who have passed on and so form nga taonga tuku iho. These taonga also act as a means to control or protect the flow of knowledge and information presented to the public, particularly within a tourism context (Te Awēkotuku, 1981). For the whānau, it is simply accepted that the whakairo is of a taniwha. Taniwha represent many facets and the carver of Kataore chose to depict him as such.

As the story of Kataore unfolds, this one small but significant character in the life of *Hinemihī*, and hence her iwi and hapū, provides an example of how taonga, in this case a whakairo, are socially created representations of place, space and time. Speculating on the agents' own ends in unraveling the Kataore stories is challenging because much of the oral, physical and written history must then be placed into the context of those historical moments with which they were developed. Through a kaupapa Māori approach, however, the emphasis must be placed on the interrelationships and cultural well-being and intent of those involved, primarily modulated through whakapapa. The many accounts of Kataore highlight how interpretation changes according to shared values, who is telling the story, the ontological context of the interpreter and for what purpose the story is told.

Tūhourangi and Ngāti Hinemihī are linked inextricably to Moerangi mountain where Kataore resided, placing further importance in sustaining Kataore as a prominent figure in tribal history. The tribe of Te Arawa continue to be the hunga tiaki, those who have responsibility for the spiritual care of the region, and most recently have had the land and lake beds in the region returned to tribal ownership (Te Arawa Lakes Settlement Act, 2006). The story of

Kataore makes multiple linkages between the landscape and tribal affiliations. The place is memorialised in whakapapa kōrero and affirms the whakapapa relationships between the hapū that resided in the region. The history of Kataore as found in the whakapapa kōrero adds yet another layer and network of people to the cultural and physical landscapes of *Hinemihi*.

Another carving that is on the back wall of the whare is that of an embracing couple (Figure 27).

Figure 27: A small detached whakairo on the back wall of Hinemihi



Source: Jim Schuster, 2007.

Upon first seeing this small carving in Hinemihi, it appears to be a recent addition, gifted by visiting Māori to Hinemihi perhaps. It is different stylistically to the other whakairo and is not built into a pou but is hung separately. It seems an obvious addition to the whare as it doesn't 'fit' with the other carvings. However, Neich (1977) claimed this panel was also carved by Wero Taroī. Neich (2001) recorded that a:

... carved panel (75.5 cm high x 35 cm wide) of two embracing figures was located separately in Clandon House in 1990. Such carvings of embracing figures were usually placed below the window, either inside or facing the porch, on Ngāti Tarawhai houses. This carving was probably originally attached to the interior front wall below the window, as it does not appear on the exterior porch wall in any early photographs of the house at Te Wairoa. (p. 355)

Neich (2001) said that male and female couples represent “high-ranking ancestors, symbolizing the beginning of important new descent lines and at the same time the joining of two antecedent descent lines” (p. 281). He asserted that these types of figures were only found in Te Arawa carvings, and in the second half of the 19th century were distinctly developed by Ngāti Tarawhai carvers.

Because of the variety of embracing figures carved during the 19th century by the Ngāti Tarawhai carvers, it is unclear who or what this whakairo represents. Tribal stories of high-ranking couples abound and the meaning of this particular whakairo could relate to many – or any – of these because the cultural reading of whakairo is dependent on context and within which kaupapa the story or history relates. As an example, Hinemoa and Tutanekai feature frequently in the oral history of Te Arawa. Tribal knowledge of this couple alone provides an abundance of history of much of the Rotorua region. Related to *Hinemihi* through kin ties, these two ancestors also resided in and around the Tarawera lakes region. Hinemoa lived and is buried on Motutawa Island, close to where Kataore lived. Again the interpretations of this whakairo and subsequent links to *Hinemihi* are contextualised to provide meaning and endorse current relationships of people to *Hinemihi* and her story.

Māori re-connect with the whakairo

One of the first occasions when Ngāti Hinemihi reconnected with Hinemihi was when the cultural ambassadors from the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute (NZMACI) in Rotorua visited the whare in 1986. It was after this visit that Emily Schuster encouraged more whānau to visit their kuia. Following that initial visit, in 1992 the National Trust invited tribal members to the centennial celebrations of Hinemihi in England. Members of Ngāti Hinemihi, including John Marsh, attended, along with Tūhourangi members. Upon his return Marsh negotiated with his hapū regarding restoring the missing carvings from Hinemihi. In his role as director of the NZMACI, a carving school in Rotorua, he was able to appoint two young descendents of Tene Waitere and Aporo Te Wharekaniwha from the school to carve some replacement pieces. Utilising pictures taken of Hinemihi at Te Wairoa, Robert Rika and Colin Tihi carved new whakairo in their own time and for aroha (i.e. working for love).

Figure 28: Robert Rika and Colin Tihi, descendants of the original carvers, were appointed to restore the missing carvings from Hinemihi



Source: Alan Gallop, 1993.

At the same time Jim Schuster, great-great-grandson of Tene Waitere, was on the last leg of a European holiday with his wife, Cathy, and family. Just before they arrived in England to travel home, his mother, Emily, called Jim and asked if he could extend his holiday a few more days and go to Hinemihi to measure up for the new carvings. Jim said that he was ready to come home but agreed to his mother's request. Upon arriving at Clandon he said his family was overwhelmed by emotion and that connection through whakapapa was strong. Since that time Jim has worked on the care of Hinemihi alongside the National Trust and many of the whakapapa and kaupapa whānau (J. Schuster, personal communication, May 17, 2009).

The carvings that were made to replace missing carvings and also those that Jim Schuster had found in the attic in the Clandon mansion were officially given to and accepted by the National Trust on the 9 June 1995. The National Trust website states "The arrival of new carvings and the ceremony to accept them created a new profile for Hinemihi both in the UK and New Zealand, particularly between the National Trust and British-based Māori community" (National Trust, 2009). This act allowed for a more consolidated relationship with Ngāti Rānana of London to begin. Jim Schuster said that the relationship with Hinemihi was important to UK-based Māori.

For British-based Māori visitors to Clandon Park, Hinemihi is more than just a reminder of home ... She has become their adopted meeting house, a place to visit either as individuals, with families or in large groups to remember and celebrate their

ancestors, family and culture. (“Trust eyes restoration of NZ meeting house”, 2009, para. 9)

Another form of celebration and reconnection with the whare is presented by Ngāti Hinemihi woman Victoria Hunt. After first going to England and visiting Hinemihi in 2008, she, too, felt the wairua of Hinemihi. After her visit, Victoria embarked on a journey of discovery and found that she was a direct descendent of Chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha. Victoria has created a unique representation of her relationship with Hinemihi through a dance production named ‘Copper Promises – Hinemihi Haka’. Through her dance, and through presenting Hinemihi, the whare, Victoria presents her own cultural history as a travelling Māori and how the whare is integral to her cultural identity. Victoria stated: “I am the house and the house is me. I dance the history of the house and the house reveals my history” (Hunt, 2013). The production review explained that “Hinemihi’s story is interwoven with Hunt’s own journey of finding her family, reconnecting with her culture and learning from land, ancestors and peers. Copper Promises is a lament, a pilgrimage, and a protest for ancestral treasures – Taonga” (“Origins – Festival of First Nations”, 2013). Victoria is also concerned that the wairua of Hinemihi be cared for appropriately away from ‘home’, although her own experience is also one of being away from home as she resides in Australia. *The Sydney Herald* reported, “A stunning production ... It is as if she is channeling the spirits of her ancestors and the very land they come from” (Cotton, 2012). This last comment is not dissimilar to accounts of Hinemihi herself, and is yet another representation of whakapapa connections, albeit initiated from Victoria’s visit to Hinemihi rather than through her whakapapa whānau at home.

Travelling Māori intersect with Hinemihi

Another layer on the landscape of memories or strands of the whakapapa kōrero of Hinemihi are the histories and interactions of other Māori travellers who were connected to Hinemihi through the whakapapa whānau and through the kaupapa of tourism. Two prominent figures who mirror the tourism involvement and travels of Hinemihi are Mary Sophia Te Paea Gray, also known as Guide Sophia, and Margaret Papakura Staples-Brown (née Thom), also known as Guide Maggie or Makereti. Both women were tourism guides at Whakarewarewa after the eruption and integrally involved in New Zealand’s tourism development. Guide Sophia is also famous for her involvement in tourism at Te Wairoa, her whare being one of the other main shelters for those who survived the eruption. The picture below (Figure 29) is of both Guide Sophia and Guide Maggie at Whakarewarewa.

Figure 29: Guide Sophia Hinerangi and Guide Makereti Papakura circa 1920 Whakarewarewa.



Source: Photography by Edward Le Grice (1881–1959). Rotorua Museum (GP-162)

Guide Sophia

Na Ngātoroirangi i taki mai te mana o te atua, Ka hou kai te whenua, Hurahia e ngā tohunga, Ka maranga kai runga, Ka rū ko te whenua, Te riri o te atua i whiua ki te tangata, I whiua ki te whenua...

It was Ngatoroirangi who brought the gods' power and placed it in the ground. But unveiled by the priests, it rose up above and the earth shook. The anger of the god was hurled at people, was hurled upon the land...

The above excerpt from the waiata 'Tērā Te Auahi' was part of the Tūhourangi wānanga that instigated dialogue about the story of Guide Sophia. Guide Sophia's involvement in the eruption and tourism at Te Wairoa created yet another layer of memories and broadened the whakapapa network of relationships between the hapū and her many descendants, many not kin of Ngāti Hinemihi/Tūhourangi, as they travelled the country in 2011 as part of the 100th-year memorial of her passing.

The history of Ngatoroirangi, who was the tohunga that brought the Te Arawa waka to Aotearoa (see Figure 14), is recalled in the waiata as is his connection to the eruption of Tarawera. In the narratives regarding Ngatoroirangi, he is said to be the one who invoked the power of the gods to bring geothermal powers to Aotearoa. The kōrero makes direct links to Tarawera when it recalls how Ngatoroirangi imprisoned his foe, Tamaohoi, deep in a chasm on the mountain. Five hundred years later, Tuhoto-Ariki, the tohunga at Te Wairoa in the

1880s, had become increasingly hostile towards the social changes of the region, particularly those related to tourism development. He demanded that the Māori of the area return to the old ways, lest there be disaster. Tuhoto warned the people of impending doom and both Tūhourangi and Ngāti Hinemihi were afraid of the premonitions of Tuhoto. He threatened to raise the spirit of Tamaohoi, who also has a whakapapa connected to Ngāti Hinemihi. There were several omens that supported these fears and these omens have been recorded in much of the tourism literature and written as folk tales, due primarily to the European involvement in the supernatural events that preceded the eruption (Cowan, 1925).

The community at Te Wairoa had endured a series of deaths from tuberculosis over a long period of time, and Chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha blamed Tuhoto for cursing the people. The story goes that, not long before the eruption, a young girl died, probably succumbing to tuberculosis, and in his anger Aporo is said to have manhandled Tuhoto. This event led to Tuhoto publicly cursing Aporo, who then died soon after, 18 days prior to the eruption, also of tuberculosis.

Another indicator to the impending eruption was the unusual geothermal activity in the area. Guide Sophia reported that the Wairoa creek had dried up and then, while standing there, the water had come up and retreated again (Cowan, 1925). One of the most famous omens, which is recalled in much of the tourism literature and presented in interactive, multimedia displays at various museums and tourism destinations in the region, is that of the sighting of a phantom canoe. This sighting of a supernatural war canoe paddled by men with dog heads became one of the central storylines framing the narratives of experiences prior to the eruption. Cowan (1925) told the story in his book *Fairy folk tales of the Māori*, and this story may have remained just a folk tale if it wasn't for the eruption that occurred a few days later and the sighting of this canoe by both the Māori tourist operators, including Guide Sophia, and some of the European tourists going to visit the terraces. Guide Sophia was said to be so disturbed by the vision she went to visit the tohunga Tuhoto. Tuhoto warned her that there was to be devastation in the area as a result of the new tourism economy.

Whilst this story is a non-Māori folk tale, the Māori historical interpretation, reflected upon in the Tūhourangi wānanga, is quite different. The emphasis in the Māori historical account is on the relationships within the whakapapa of the different characters, how these are represented now, and their potential for the future identity of the respective hapū. The historical significance of the story, particularly the parts relating to the people of Te Wairoa

and those characters involved in the interactions with Tuhoto, is in the context of the relationships that continue to be fostered from that time. As an example, Guide Sophia's experiences were reflexively considered in the context of her whakapapa, which was not Te Arawa. Like *Hinemihi*, Sophia married a Tūhourangi man, Hori Taiawhio, with whom she had three children. She had previously married a man from her home in the far north named Koroneho Tehakiroe with whom she had had 14 children.

Following the 2010 Tūhourangi wānanga, an invitation was extended to the whānau to participate in Guide Sophia's 100th-year memorial celebrations. This involved a series of three hui in 2011 that connected Sophia's whakapapa whānau and her descendants. The reunions encompassed her network of whakapapa from Taranaki, on the west coast of the North Island, to Waima in the Far North District. The final reunion was held at Whakarewarewa where a memorial plinth was unveiled. Many people were involved in the large scale planning and co-ordination of the three hui, which connected people, places, marae and ancestral histories from across *Te-Ika-a-Māui* (the North Island). The network of whakapapa, interrelationships and engagement with landscapes through just this one person connected to Hinemihi is an example of the complexities and context-based nature of whakapapa, and is yet another complex network of relationships and/or layer of memories to the Māori history of Hinemihi.

On 4 December 2011, Guide Sophia's descendents and the people of Whakarewarewa came together to honour and recognise her contribution to their tribal history. The picture in Figure 30 is the unveiling of the memorial plinth to her at Whakarewarewa.

Figure 30: The memorial for Mary Sophia Gray (Guide Sophia), 4 December, 2011



Source: Author.

Guide Maggie

Another acclaimed tourist guide who worked alongside Sophia at Whakarewarewa was Makereti Papakura or Guide Maggie Papakura of Tūhourangi, Whakarewarewa (1872–1930). While Guide Maggie was not part of the activities at Te Wairoa and thus did not have direct contact with Hinemihi there, she is of the hapū Tūhourangi and has a similar story to that of Hinemihi. Her connection to Hinemihi is through her whakapapa and her life reflects the travels of Hinemihi from Aotearoa to England. Makereti was also a traveller, and by 1917 was living in a large country manor house at Oddington Grange, close to Oxford in England. Named Margaret Thom at birth, she was a descendent of the chiefly lines of seven of the eight ‘beating hearts’ of the tribe of Te Arawa and, as such, a special woman by whakapapa. Makereti’s father was an Englishman named William Arthur Thom, her mother Pia Ngarotu Te Rihi, although she was raised by her maternal aunt and uncle (Papakura, 1938). She grew up between Parekarangi (six kilometres from Whakarewarewa) and

Whakarewarewa; depending on seasonal changes, her family moved according to cultivation and lifestyle. During the recovery of Tūhourangi/Ngāti Hinemihi of Te Wairoa, Margaret was living at Whakarewarewa and an integral person in tourism development there.

Makereti Papakura was linked through whakapapa to *Hinemihi* and also had contact with Hinemihi while in England. Her life in England intersected with Hinemihi through both her work within the tourism industry as well as her relationship with Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi of Te Wairoa. Makereti continues to imbue a similar cultural reference point as Hinemihi for her many descendents who commonly visit her grave while visiting England. Similar themes to those that surround Hinemihi also present for Makereti's whakapapa whānau, who continue to maintain and sustain her cultural identity and memory even though she and her taonga remain in Oxfordshire

Figure 31: Keri Wikitera at the grave of Makereti Papakura (Guide Maggie), Oxfordshire, 2007



Source: Nari Faiers.

Makereti's name tells a story that is not related to whakapapa but rather was a response to the expectations of tourists, adding further to her identity as a traveller in that her identity was shaped through her interactions with her Victorian visitors. While guiding tourists through Whakarewarewa, she was asked what her Māori name was by English visitors – but she didn't have a Māori name, so while gazing at the Papakura hotspring, she self-named herself

Guide Maggie Papakura. This name became what she was known as from that time forth. This is an example of another form of naming that relates to cultural identity, albeit outside of whakapapa naming.

By 1910 Maggie Papakura was a well-known personality in tourism. She had brought together a full cultural entertainment group from her relatives in the village and negotiated cultural exchanges throughout the globe. Managing the cultural performance group from Whakarewarewa, she organised a tour to an exhibition in Sydney, Australia. A model Māori village was set up there, where an appropriated tūpuna-whare was erected named Mataatua; this whare has since been repatriated back to the East Coast of Aotearoa. The exhibition was a great success and the cultural group was invited to many other cultural exhibitions. Following the Sydney exhibition, the troupe was invited to England for the Festival of Empire celebrations and the coronation of the King and Queen, whom Makereti had already met while the royal couple was on tour in New Zealand. Forty performers including the Tūhourangi chief Mita Taupopoki set off in October 1910 for England. Along with the troupe, they took many taonga including a whare and *pātaka* (storehouse) as part of their set to be exhibited. This whare was part of the carved house, Tuhoromatakaka, commissioned and owned by Makareti, which still remains and is occupied by her grandson at Whakarewarewa today. While on tour she met her husband, Richard Staples-Browne, a wealthy Oxford landowner in London. During the Great War, Makereti hosted Māori Pioneer Battalion soldiers at her three residences in Oxfordshire (at Bampton, Brashfield and Oddington). She also commissioned an altar for the church she attended in Oddington. This intricately carved altar is dedicated to those soldiers who had lost their lives in battle and is still located inside the church today, along with *piupiu* (a skirt made of flax) and other taonga Māori. Other taonga from her whare at Whakarewarewa were found in a farmhouse in Oxfordshire and taken down to Hinemihi, where they remain; yet another connection to Hinemihi.

Makereti was a trailblazer in the tourism industry in New Zealand. She portrayed her life in the village in such a way that early travellers took great interest in Māori culture, in the performing arts, artefacts and lifestyles of Māori in a geothermal landscape. Although she divorced Richard in 1924, she chose to remain in England, travelling back to Whakarewarewa in 1930 for a visit with her people. She was home for four months seeking approval for her intended study at Oxford University. Her study, 'The Old-Time Māori'

offers an anthropological history of her people of Whakarewarewa. Te Awekotuku, in her introduction to the book *Makereti*, said that it was obvious from her personal papers that:

... the old people – her kuia and koroua – agreed to help her...It is highly probable that they advised her closely on what to divulge, and what to withhold, for certain knowledge was considered dangerous, or at least debatable (cited in Papakura, 1938, p. viii).

This selective sharing of knowledge reinforces the controls that exist within a kaupapa Māori paradigm, where tribal elders who hold and share whakapapa kōrero place responsibility upon the researcher to uphold the ethical and cultural sensitivities of such information.

Sadly Maggie Papakura died of a heart attack in April 1930 just before she was to present her degree thesis for examination by the Anthropology Committee. Much to the sorrow of her whānau in New Zealand, she chose to be buried in the English village where she lived, Oddington, Oxfordshire. At the time of her death her iwi, at home in Aotearoa, indicated their desire for her to be returned and interred at Whakarewarewa; however, the practicalities of repatriating her were significant and so the wishes of her whānau in England were accepted. While her remains are buried in England, her wairua was returned symbolically to Aotearoa in a *kawe mate* or mourning ceremony whereby her spirit was brought back to Whakarewarewa and a memorial plinth is placed near her whare, Tuhoromatakaka, in the Whakarewarewa village.

Many Māori now embark on a pilgrimage to Makereti's grave and the chapel altar when visiting England. She is also visited regularly by Māori resident in England. Upon visiting the grave myself in 2006 and 2009 and reading the chapel's visitors book, I saw that many Māori travellers come to pay homage to one of our great *wahine toa* (female leaders). Indeed Maina Tapiata (Ngāti Hinemihi and member of Ngāti Rānana) said that Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito is one of the "three easily accessible, iconic Māori symbols in England – the others the Pouihi in New Zealand House and Maggie Papakura's grave" (Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana, 2007, p. 7).

While the thesis written by Makereti was not examined, a friend and academic counsellor of Makereti, T. K. Penniman of Oxford University, published her work in 1938. Te Awekotuku commented in the Introduction to Makereti's thesis (added in 1986), that compared with non-Māori ethnographers' work at the time, this ethnographic account was obscured and not recognised:

The Old-Time Māori emerged not from the erudite ponderings of an amateur historian writing within the kauri walls of his villa on raupatu [stolen] land; rather, this work came, quizzically, from the faraway cloisters of prestigious Oxford – and the pen of a Māori woman who ‘should have known her place’. The jump from Royal Tour guide to English county matron to illustrious Oxbridge academic may well have been beyond the comprehension of many of Makereti’s critics and contemporaries, who probably chose to ignore, if not actively repress, her work. ... Post-colonial New Zealand was eager to absorb only those Māori ideas and customs that most conveniently fitted the latter-day Victorian ideal of how a Māori should be, or ‘as he was’ (Papakura, 1938, pp. x–xi).

This comment provides some context as to the value of cultural identity at the time and how the work of Makereti both promoted Māori culture from a Māori world view and also highlighted where the politics of cultural production was positioned. Indeed, not only was she a Māori indigène in England but she was also a female from a male dominated Māori society studying in a male-dominated institution. The achievements of Makereti are remarkable when you consider she was taking Māori to the world without even the most basic of today’s communication technology. She was a great advocate for Māori culture and identity; she treasured her people and remains in tribal knowledge systems, a great role model, particularly for those Māori who live away from their tribal regions. Her final resting place is now also a gathering place for Māori in England and she continues to facilitate her culture through the taonga she left and her story that lives on in the hearts and minds of her extended tribal family.

Despite spending her later years overseas, this pioneering woman is no stranger to our tribe: She is survived by her direct descendants and remains a role model for many Māori who immigrated to England, those who have undertaken tertiary studies or chosen tourism careers. One of her carvings is now in Hinemihi, and while there is no record of her visiting Clandon, her link to Hinemihi and Tūhourangi through whakapapa as well as her experiences as a guide and connections to the other whare carved by Tene Waitere, Nuku Te Apiapi, Rauru and Te Wharepuni a Māui all provide linkages and context to Hinemihi during that period.

Figure 32: Makereti Papakura at the carved window of Te Rauru, Whakarewarewa



Source: Alexander Turnbull Library Collection (572. Māori. Art. Carving ; PFP-014232)

Summary

The tribal histories of *Hinemihi* engender for her descendents and tribal associations a unity, a shared identity and pride. The layers of the cultural landscape of *Hinemihi* are founded upon the tribal histories and interrelationships of a vast network of people who continue to intersect, mediated through different forms of whakapapa kōrero. This chapter represented the views of some Ngāti *Hinemihi* and Tūhourangi members, views the researcher has obtained through participating in and reflecting upon the whakapapa kōrero, primarily in the Tūhourangi wānanga held over four years. The wānanga utilised one principal waiata tawhito, ‘Tērā Te Auahi’, to contextualise the whakapapa or the tribal histories from a Tūhourangi ontological position. Whilst the waiata provided a wide scope of hapū historical information, this chapter only considered those parts of the wānanga that related to *Hinemihi*.

The narratives support the notion that regardless of temporal or spatial conditions, it is in the relationships of people with *Hinemihi* that sustains her mauri and maintains her ability to connect to people. Due to the reflexive nature of whakapapa kōrero, whereby the value of knowledge is dependent on context and the relative importance of respective information to

particular people (Edwards, 2009), the whakapapa of *Hinemihi* and related narratives provide a unique resource based upon the landscape of memories of those related to her.

The whakapapa whānau continue to embrace the histories of *Hinemihi* in their narratives, tikanga and philosophies of identity. *Hinemihi*, the whare, as a physical representation of this ancestress continues to feature strongly in the identity of Ngāti Hinemihi. As such, the whare in England continues to be revered and the continued obligation of her care by Ngāti Hinemihi is presented in a number of different ways. With regard to the physical aspects of the whare, the taonga of *Hinemihi*, the carvings provide symbolic points of reference to enable cultural readings of the whare and an historical framework of meanings of *Hinemihi* to her descendents. While many of the carvings' stories are no longer recounted in tribal narrative, they continue to provide a metaphysical connection that promotes more meaningful engagement for her people and those who visit her.

As part of the role of kaitiaki, many hapū members indicate their desire for the repatriation of the whare. Repatriation is considered by some kaumātua to be the only option for the required spiritual care of the whare. Arguably, however, this may be due to the current discourse of museums' repatriation of taonga from overseas and/or the recent repatriation of the Mataatua whare to the hapū on the East Coast of Aotearoa. This notion is considered further in Chapter Seven.

Kotahitanga is reflected by all who share their relationship with the whare, including her current community in England. This unity furthers the net that Ngāti Hinemihi kaumātua say is requisite for bringing the past, present and future together for the health of Ngāti Hinemihi and their connections with the macro-society within which they live. This concept is not unexpected within cultural discourses as Māori cultural practices are based upon whakawhanaungatanga which promotes relationships and alliances. Through the different forums and tikanga enacted at all three of the *Hinemihi* whare, alliances are sought to meet the needs of the hapū to continue their role as kaitiaki, particularly in the hapū's physical absence from *Hinemihi* in England.

Chapter Six: Kaupapa Whānau

This chapter considers the different relationships and engagement of those connected to Hinemihi outside of kin-based relationships and the whakapapa kōrero in its purest tribally or ancestrally derived sense. For the purposes of this research this community of interest has been called the ‘kaupapa whānau’ of Hinemihi. This part of the network of relationships is not necessarily kin related and while linked to Hinemihi, are connected via different relationships or purposes than that of the whakapapa whānau or kin communities. There is currently one Ngāti Hinemihi whānau who are also members of Ngāti Rānana. This whānau were not present at Hinemihi during the fieldwork in England however some of them were present at the Tūhourangi tribal wānanga held in Rotorua. Feedback was also sought from this whānau, both while in Rotorua and England, via electronic communications throughout the study period.

The interrelationships between the kaupapa whānau to Hinemihi and the whakapapa whānau and with each other add to the layers of the ongoing Māori socio-historic experience or strata of memories of Hinemihi. The connections developed through Hinemihi by the kaupapa whānau overlay the whakapapa paradigm in that the historical account of Hinemihi in England begins upon her arrival in 1892. Regardless of time, location and a different whānau grouping, the cultural foundation of Hinemihi in England continues to reflect the spirit of *Hinemihi* which is manifested in the waiata, whakataukī, tikanga and whaikōrero that are recited by the kaupapa whānau today. The differences and congruences between the diverse communities of Hinemihi and their respective engagement with the whare highlight the scope of meaning that Hinemihi brings forth for many people and how Māori cultural identity is nurtured and sustained outside of what many determine as traditional Māori places.

As Māori continue to navigate, travel and relocate, our diasporic nature is continuously changing our cultural landscapes, both at home in Aotearoa as well as overseas where there are fewer opportunities to come together as Māori. Hinemihi offers these opportunities for Māori travellers who have been disconnected from their respective marae and/or have limited ability to connect via whakapapa kōrero with their own whānau and taonga at home, within their tribal regions. Critically reflecting upon the kaupapa whānau experiences, this chapter considers Māori identity and how this kaupapa whānau articulates identity for Māori travellers within the context of Hinemihi.

While the meeting house was and is still considered a *whare tūpuna*, much of her identity changed when she was shipped to England. The distance from her *whakapapa whānau*, Ngāti Hinemihi, created a very different context for Hinemihi at Clandon Park. In 1978 a visiting New Zealand historian, W. T. Parham, described Hinemihi as “this little building wearing the rather forlorn air of a friendless expatriate cast upon a foreign shore” (Parham, (1978, p. 30). While from a different perspective, a similar reflection was shared by Victoria Hunt of Ngāti Hinemihi, who upon visiting Hinemihi alone in 2007 felt that Hinemihi was *mokemoke* and so wishes for Hinemihi to come home to Aotearoa to have her *wairua* cared for by her people (V. Hunt, personal communication, July 25, 2008).

For many years the *whare* had been separated from any Māori context and was a garden folly for the Onslow family. Utilised as a boat shed, a playhouse, a storage unit and a curiosity for those visiting the estate for some eighty years, this part of the history of the *whare* does not feature in the *kōrero* of either the *whakapapa whānau* or *kaupapa whānau*. Neich (2003) stated that the “Māori counter-response to the European ‘Māori house down in the garden’ response has mostly been to ignore this period of a house’s biography” (p. 365). This counter-response is evident in the Māori historical account of Hinemihi, although the minimal engagement of people with the *whare* at all during that period led to an overall paucity of information (Gallop, 1998).

Although the engagement over that period was minimal, there were nevertheless several different occasions when the *whare* was reconnected with Aotearoa, both Māori and non-Māori; for example, in 1917 when some of the Pioneer Battalion of New Zealand were recuperating at Clandon Park (Gallop, 1998). In 1956 when the National Trust took over ownership of the estate and started the first renovation on the *whare*, there were no communications between the Trust and Māori until the mid-1980s when Ngāti Hinemihi/Tūhourangi visited the estate. That visit was the beginning of a reconnection or what Sully (2014, p. 210) termed the ‘re-appropriation’ of Hinemihi with Māori.

The physical presence of Hinemihi has endured from her construction in 1881, through a major volcanic eruption in 1886, deconstruction, journey to England, and reconstruction and several renovations at Clandon Park (Sully, Raymond, & Hoete, 2014). While her history and that of the person *Hinemihi* endures within the *whakapapa kōrero* in Aotearoa, her historical account since arriving in England also contributes to her cultural identity, albeit outside of tribal or indeed Māori places.

Carter asked the question of how travellers identify with their culture when located away from their tūrangawaewae. She looked at the rock art of Ngāi Tahu and questioned identity:

When we have people who are becoming globally relocated ... how does this affect the notion of identity with landscapes that maintain and sustain our tribal identity? (Carter, 2010)

She stated that whakapapa travels with people, and hence when people are relocating, they take their respective whakapapa with them. Carter (2013) maintained that Māori symbols of identity reconnect people who are now globally located with the landscapes that maintain and sustain their tribal identity. Through the application of the whakapapa paradigm coupled with Māori concepts of identity, this chapter considers the cultural landscapes of Hinemihi in England with particular regard to the interconnections between the kaupapa whānau, Hinemihi and the whakapapa whānau.

The kaupapa whānau – whanaungatanga, kotahitanga and bringing together of peoples

This section presents a multidimensional view of Hinemihi from the perspectives of her kaupapa whānau. Findings were drawn from multiple sources including historical written accounts of Hinemihi by tourists, multimedia sources, the Onslow family accounts, historians, academics and those who are connected to Hinemihi via a broad network of stakeholders interested in her future and unfolding history. In addition to written historical information, interpretations were sourced from narratives through dialogue with current kaupapa whānau members, tikanga observations at Hinemihi, and the HinemihiNOW project teleconference calls. (For details about this project, go to the section later in the chapter titled The WhareNOW projects.) The tikanga observations were undertaken predominantly at the major annual event at Hinemihi, the Ngāti Rānana Te Kōhanga Reo hāngī fundraiser.

A number of projects have been initiated by the National Trust, emerging initially from the renewed connection of the whakapapa whānau of Hinemihi in the 1980s. These projects exist primarily within the context of conserving the whare (Sully et al., 2014). The group working on the different projects has been named ‘Hinemihi’s People’ and these people represent a diverse community that was conceived by a number of key stakeholders of Hinemihi, including the National Trust, University College of London and some members of Ngāti Rānana. There are many individuals who are engaged with the care of Hinemihi. As well as those listed above, others supporting the care of Hinemihi include:

- Te Arawa – Ngāti Hinemihi, Ngāti Tūhourangi, Ngāti Tararua
- the British-based New Zealand community – Ngāti Rānana, Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana, Beats of Polynesia (a Pacific Cultural Group), and the New Zealand High Commission
- the British public – National Trust visitors, volunteers and staff, the Onslow family and local residents of Clandon (Sully et al., 2014).

Dr Dean Sully, who has been a National Trust’s conservation advisor since 2001, said that the more Hinemihi ‘got him’, the greater his responsibility to maintain her integrity became (D. Sully, personal communication, June 4, 2009). Alan Gallop became involved with Hinemihi at the same time the whakapapa whānau reconnected with Hinemihi in 1986. He says that her story is now his passion as he proceeds to write a second book on Hinemihi (A. Gallop, personal communication, June 7, 2009).

Alan Gallop (1998) introduced Hinemihi in his book as an old lady from Te Wairoa who “sits alone under a giant oak tree ... dreaming of home” (p. 8). This may be a romanticised representation of the whare, but the words do reflect the views of many of the whakapapa whānau of Hinemihi who also show concern of how lonely or mokemoke she seems to be. Gallop’s book *The House with the Golden Eyes* is one of the first collections of information, outside of the whakapapa kōrero, about the whare and gives her history from the perspective of an Englishman who started his relationship with Hinemihi after touring the United Kingdom with a concert party made up of descendants of *Hinemihi* herself.

Gallop (1998, p. 131) presented an example of the metaphysical influence this whare has had on both Māori and non-Māori in his acknowledgement that Hinemihi is not just a building but has a wairua or spirit that is felt by those who visit her. He termed this phenomenon the ‘Hinemihi effect’. While this Hinemihi effect is recorded by many in their relationship with the whare, there are others who have formed a different perspective, largely reflecting upon the context of their individual experiences. During her years at Te Wairoa, for example, Victorian tourists described their experience at Hinemihi as one where “many a wild scene was enacted once again for the entertainment of men only being admitted” (Gallop, 1998, p. 42). These different perspectives describing Hinemihi highlight the dialectic nature of her interpretation as well as the varied roles she plays for many people connected to her.

Alan is an example of just one of those members of the kaupapa whānau who has also been embraced by the whakapapa whānau of Hinemihi. This was largely due to his initial introduction to Hinemihi with the whakapapa whānau in 1986. He was, some years later, invited to Aotearoa by Ngāti Hinemihi and was so taken by her people that he renewed his wedding vows in Hinemihi at Whakarewarewa. Alan said that:

... [for] London's Māori community, Hinemihi is more than just a reminder of home. She has become their adopted meeting house, a place to visit either as individuals, with families or in large groups to remember and celebrate ancestors, family and culture back home (National Trust, 2008a, 'Clandon Park and the British Māori community').

Alan became engaged with the whare because of the Hinemihi effect he described and also through getting to know the haka party from the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua. In 1986 he was employed as a public relations consultant by the New Zealand Tourism Board. He arranged the travel, accommodation and programme for a forty-strong haka group to England as a global tourism-promotion tour. After travelling with the group for a month, the group was scheduled to perform for three days in London. Emily Schuster, who was leading the group, asked if Alan could find out if they could visit the whare tūpuna Hinemihi at Clandon Park. Even though he lived close by, Alan was unaware of this building; indeed, he doubted even that it existed. Nevertheless, Alan rang the head office of the National Trust and inquired about the Māori house at Clandon. Upon further investigation, the response was affirmative and Alan was advised to go and talk to the property manager, which he did. He arranged for the group to visit on their coach. At the time, Alan didn't realise the significance of this visit.

Emily asked that he arrive before them and unlock the door to Hinemihi. When he approached he thought, "Oh, this is a quaint little building." The tour bus arrived and, out of character to what he was used to with this jovial, humorous group, they were all very solemn and dressed in black. He knew then that this was special and felt that he must withdraw from the group. As Emily and the group approached Hinemihi she started a karanga, calling to Hinemihi in a spiritual reconnection of those descendants of *Hinemihi* with the physical manifestation of their tūpuna. He recounted that Emily explained later that they were remembering and greeting those who had sheltered in Hinemihi and those who had died at Te Wairoa, and they were also thanking Hinemihi for sheltering those survivors for, without Hinemihi, their descendents today would not be alive.

He wasn't sure but felt that this was a time the group should have privacy and wondered off to the cafe for a cup of tea. A while later he returned and was reprimanded as Emily explained he was now part of them and was supposed to go on to the marae too. He witnessed both physical and metaphysical, or what he referred to as 'supernatural', exchanges that day and said that was the beginning of his life with Hinemihi, her owners (the National Trust) and her people in New Zealand.

Both Dean Sully and Alan Gallop have visited Aotearoa, interacting and participating in cultural protocols at the original home of Hinemihi. These relationships further endorse the cultural significance Hinemihi plays in their lives and supports the cultural concepts of koha and utu, the notion of reciprocity in the interactions they have had with the many different people associated with Hinemihi.

Clandon Park's property manager, Julie Lawlor, works closely with the whānau of Hinemihi (mainly those connected to Te Maru o Hinemihi). As opposed to the National Trust's original consideration that Hinemihi was an object to be looked after as a display piece on the estate, Julie said that the National Trust now considers Hinemihi to be a "symbol of unity for future generations. The significance of the whare is on equal status to the mansion, just different" ("Meeting house in London", 2010). Julie is part of the wider kaupapa whānau and works closely with Jim Schuster and others in the care of the physical as well as cultural aspects of the whare. She is a keen advocate for whānau visiting Hinemihi and provided special permission for me to visit Clandon Park on the days I chose to visit, outside of set events and of opening hours.

Julie's personal experience with Hinemihi is similar to many who are part of the kaupapa whānau. She reflected in the 10th-anniversary publication of the kōhanga:

When I was officially welcomed to Hinemihi by members of Ngāti Rānana and Kōhanga Reo in November 2003, I was immediately struck by the warmth of both my official and unofficial welcomes on that day. Complete strangers welcomed me like an old friend, and helped me to feel that I was part of a larger community.

As I have become familiar with the annual Hāngī held at Clandon, and in getting to know Hinemihi better, this warm feeling of being part of something larger is one that I have carried with me. As a result, I hope I can be a worthy spokesperson for Hinemihi within the National Trust, continuing to work with stakeholders like Kōhanga Reo (Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana, 2007, p. 10).

Julie has said that her role as property manager is enriched by the presence of Hinemihi. Her sense of obligation to represent Hinemihi as a worthy spokesperson endorses the concept of

reciprocity, koha and utu found throughout Māori cultural processes. She says that the Trust is committed to conserving and respecting the cultural heritage and the wants of her current community. In addition to the value of Hinemihi as a cultural conduit which is bringing a range of people together, the whare requires regular maintenance to ensure her survival in the sometimes harsh English climate. The future development of Hinemihi, Julie stated, is framed within a programme “so she can be used as a meeting house with people coming to learn things, to talk to her and stay overnight and those sorts of things” (“Meeting house in London”, 2010). Again, the intent for the future care and purpose of the whare is framed around promoting cultural learning, keeping her company, and being able to utilise the whare in a way that encourages Māori tikanga and ritenga.

Anthony Hoete is another member of the kaupapa whānau. He has been working as an architect and brings a Māori perspective to the National Trust’s planning. Anthony is the first cultural consultant ever employed by the National Trust and has been contracted to scope conceptual plans for the future of Hinemihi. In his presentation at the Hinemihi hāngī in 2009, he made a point of explaining how this project was different to any other he has worked on as Hinemihi requires a whānau approach to his work. Anthony’s father travelled from Aotearoa to provide support by way of child care and advice while he worked on the project. All three generations of the Hoete family presented the proposed concept plans to the manuhiri at the hāngī day, emphasising that Hinemihi was a living example of how existing traditional architecture can be framed by kaupapa Māori. Anthony explained how the whare has changed the concept of conservation as she is not just a building; rather, Hinemihi is alive and thus he refers to her as a living person.

Figure 33: Anthony Hoete, his father and son stand at the 2009 hāngi at Hinemihi



Source: Author.

Anthony shared his perspective on Hinemihi, saying:

It's that heart that makes her a living building not just an artefact... Elements that have been discussed is whare manaaki, a kind of services building which will allow, for example, Kōhanga to come in and possibly stay overnight... The preservation of the whare herself has also been guided by James Schuster of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust and that's about identifying what her original status was in Te Wairoa, New Zealand ("Meeting house in London", 2010).

Anthony also recognised that the essence of the future of Hinemihi can only be established by acknowledging and respecting Ngāti Hinemihi as an integral part of her past and, therefore, the hapū must also be part of her future. For example, if there is to be a wharekai, respect must be paid to Ngāti Hinemihi with regard to such aspects as naming and other significant factors found in the historical account of the whakapapa kōrero.

The National Trust's vision for Hinemihi is that, when all work is done, "Hinemihi becomes a symbol of unity in England for those generations yet to come" (Hinerangi Goodman in "Meeting house in London", 2010) – a vision that is paralleled to the aspirations of Ngāti

Hinemihi to their marae in Rotorua. How Hinemihi and her surroundings is and will be viewed by visitors to Clandon Park is varied dependent on the relationship those visitors have to the estate or more specifically to Hinemihi. Essentially, however, the National Trust, alongside several other stakeholders, aspires to present Hinemihi to visitors in a way that will provide cultural understanding and knowledge. In addition to looking at the physical considerations for her development, much work has already been undertaken to create a knowledge base for visitors to Hinemihi (“Te Maru o Hinemihi”, 2012a; National Trust, 2008b). Much of the background and history on the National Trust’s website was sourced from Alan Gallop, who has spent many years searching the archives and writing about Hinemihi (Gallop, 1998).

Dean Sully has stated that the collaborative approach the National Trust has adopted for the care of Hinemihi is unusual and that the Trust is stepping outside of its traditional development processes by including extensive collaboration, consultation and advice from many stakeholders. The National Trust’s relationship with Māori encourages a more inclusive process of care for Hinemihi. This was particularly so after the 1995 dedication of new carvings from Aotearoa and Alan Gallop’s contributions to her history, as well as the pressure of an increase in visitation by Māori (D. Sully, personal communication, June 4, 2009). Now, Māori feedback is important to the Trust in enhancing the cultural and touristic value of the whare.

All the Māori groups who regularly perform at Hinemihi also act as New Zealand ambassadors and are regularly invited to be New Zealand representatives at many venues throughout Europe. Ngāti Rānana members feel that being able to meet in these forums allows them to be part of their culture and, through having a common purpose and the social aspects of the groups, they feel more at home in England. Precious Clark, a member of Ngāti Rānana for three and a half years, said she doesn’t get homesick: “...maybe for the whenua and whānau but the people here are enough; I love my Ngāti Ra whānau.” Precious also said that they are out at Clandon all the time – “The National Trust get Ngāti Rānana to officiate out there a lot” (P. Clark, personal communication, June 1, 2009). Through this involvement, and in communication with Ngāti Hinemihi, she considers their visits to Hinemihi to be partially fulfilling a kaitiaki role in that they are all committed to the care of Hinemihi and that the marae out there is like their marae away from home.

Another Ngāti Rānana member and also of the hapū of Ngāti Hinemihi, Maina Tapiata-Thompson has been in England with her husband and family since 1997. Soon after she arrived in England they travelled out to Hinemihi. She said that her mother, who was visiting from Ngapuna, did “lots of karakia and took lots of photos”, so as to be able to “show whānau [sic] Hinemihi and us are doing well” (Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana, 2007, p. 7). She is grateful to the National Trust for their generosity in allowing the kōhanga to host the hāngī day and was particularly grateful to the National Trust and Dean Sully who, she said, allowed them to be “involved in the cleaning and conservation prior to Hāngī. These are opportunities we doubt we’d come across at home, or appreciate as much” (Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana, 2007, p. 7). A paradox then exists, given that Hinemihi in England provides more opportunities for whānau to be involved in the conservation and cleaning of the whare than for those who are ahi kaa, people who keep the home fires burning at the marae in the respective tribal regions in Aotearoa. This comment also reflects an interesting sense of gratitude of being ‘allowed’ to be part of caring for Hinemihi, appearing to acknowledge that while the spiritual guardianship of Hinemihi is considered essential to her future development, having tribal connections with the whare is not considered a given right of access. This situation exposes what Bhabha (1994) identified as a dialectical dilemma of representation where, in this case, the Māori cultural identity of Hinemihi is dependent on the political environment in that the processes of articulating identity is tempered against the backdrop of society.

Rosanna Raymond is also involved in the future planning and development of Hinemihi, and says that Hinemihi is the beacon for Māori in London. Rosanna first became involved with Hinemihi when she was asked in 2001 to sit on a debate team. The topic was “Should Hinemihi stay in England or be returned?” Rosanna was put on the ‘be returned’ side, which went totally against what she believed. While Ngāti Hinemihi lobby for Hinemihi to be returned to Aotearoa, those who are caring for her in England respectfully want her to remain where she is. Rosanna reflects the general thinking of the expatriate kaupapa whānau community, when she said that:

Hinemihi is important to me... She has taken me on a journey beyond my imagination. She is the platform for Māori in London. Sometimes gets left alone but also provides for dedicated time and place for us in England (R. Raymond, personal communication, May 15, 2009).

Rosanna said Hinemihi “grabbed me and got me into all this”. She is now teaching Te Kōhanga Reo children, is active in Ngāti Rānana and Polynesian Beats, and in the past has

also run workshops and been an active member of the whereNOW project. She speaks of Hinemihi and other cultural taonga as a representation of her own whānau, and has related these cultural taonga to her relationships with people while she is away:

Without my people [referring to being in England] my kuias, my mamas, in the absence of that I went looking for my people in the form of taonga, cultural treasures because ‘our taonga is a representation of our people’, it is our people, it talks to us, it sings us songs and it tells us stories. It taught me all the things that I was hungry for (Pasifikastyles, 2006).

The feeling of all those of Ngāti Rānana and Te Kōhanga Reo is they want Hinemihi to stay but there are mixed feelings about her care. It is difficult to find people to commit to a kaitiaki type role especially as they don’t whakapapa to her. The kōhanga have more of a vested interest in Hinemihi as they consider her to be the touchstone of Māori in London.

Rosanna is a renowned Samoan artisan, who displays her identity through her art. Described as a ‘Tusitala’ (a teller of tales), her art practice utilises many artistic endeavours including installation works, storytelling, poetry and performance. Her cultural identity is reflected in her art as she presents a fusion of Pacific cultures alongside the cultural landscapes of her upbringing in Auckland, New Zealand. Her works are held in many museums throughout the world and she supports Hinemihi in several capacities. She has facilitated many workshops to encourage engagement of several communities in the care of Hinemihi. Already there are three generations of kaupapa whānau visiting Hinemihi and she is purported to be a link with not only home, Aotearoa, but with each other while they are away.

Ngāti Rānana

Ngāti Rānana was initiated in 1959 by a small group of Māori living in London who formed the London Māori Club. This group promoted Māori culture through performance of traditional waiata and haka. In 1971, the membership had grown and the group was renamed the Ngāti Rānana London Māori Club (“Ngāti Rānana – London Māori Club”, 2015). The group members are predominantly Māori expatriates from New Zealand although there are several non-Māori of different nationalities who also choose to be involved.

The club meets every Wednesday at New Zealand House in Central London. Approximately sixty people gather to practice kapa haka, pōwhiri visitors (mainly New Zealanders visiting England) and whanaungatanga during and afterwards, informally, at a local pub. I visited to meet and inform Ngāti Rānana about my research on 13 May 2009.

I was able to do the karanga for the guest group within the pōwhiri ceremony that evening and announced my intended research as part of the karanga or call to our hosts. Inside, the *kaikōrero* (male speaker of Ngāti Rānana) spoke of the importance they place on Hinemihi as their marae away from home and he explained that Ngāti Rānana also feel connected in wairua to Hinemihi, which they recognise as being their spiritual marae in England. He also recognised the significance of the *pouhaki* (carved post) located in the New Zealand House building, which was carved by Inia Te Wiata, as a link to Aotearoa.

During the pōwhiri and after the formal speeches, I was invited to speak to the sixty people of Ngāti Rānana in attendance about my research and intentions. As the ceremony progressed and during the *hongi* (form of Maori greeting) and *harirū* with each individual there, I was given blessings, *tautoko* or support for my research, information and confirmation from each and every person present, including those guests who had come on with me. While a consent form was required if I was speaking to and interviewing participants at the hāngī, the consent process undertaken during the Ngāti Rānana pōwhiri prior to the hāngī encapsulated the values-based criteria as required through tikanga. This resulted in a culturally robust consent process that gave me as the researcher cultural safety in my engagement with the communities of Hinemihi in England. It also informed the community of Ngāti Rānana that I not only represent AUT University and myself as a researcher but am bound by my tribal knowledge systems, tikanga and requisite responsibilities to ensure the mana of participants is upheld. The process at the Ngāti Rānana pōwhiri was not unlike the one I had gone through to share my credentials with Ngāti Hinemihi during the Tūhourangi wānanga.

One of the groupings that is closely affiliated to and comes under the umbrella of Ngāti Rānana is Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana, a language nest for te reo Māori. In Aotearoa the kōhanga movement was initiated in the 1980s in response to the decline in the use of the Māori language with community groups developing total-immersion Māori language/culture pre-schools. The kōhanga movement has been a major part of the Māori renaissance in Aotearoa and was adopted as a kaupapa by Ngāti Rānana in 1997.

Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana

One of the main events that brings people together at Hinemihi now is the Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana annual Hāngī Day. This was the central day of this research's fieldwork in England in June 2009.

Figure 34: Montage of Ngāti Rānana Te Kōhanga Reo



Source: Cover page of *TEKAU Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana 10th Anniversary 1997–2007*.

While the kōhanga itself was created to bring Māori expatriate whānau together, Hinemihi plays a significant role in the whānau desire to ensure their children's Māori cultural identity is maintained and sustained in a foreign place. The tenth-year kōhanga celebrations in London included a picture of a pou whakairo from Hinemihi as the centre piece (see Figure 34) on the anniversary booklet cover. While the kōhanga only meets at Hinemihi once or twice per year, Hinemihi is included in much of the kōhanga reo media.

Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana was set up by Māori parents residing in London. In their website introduction and kōhanga brief, they say that they started the kōhanga there as they were:

... fighting to give their *tamariki* (children) what they considered a vital but missing part of their children's upbringing; their reo (Māori language), their tikanga (customs) – their identity. Being so far away from whānau (family) and home, these parents wanted to be able to give this to their tamariki no matter how small the input was or might be (Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana website, 2007).

The kōhanga is open to all every Saturday morning at 10.30 a.m. in New Zealand House. The sessions usually go for four hours and they are mostly attended by London-based whānau.

Two years after the inception of Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana in 1997, the group began the Hāngī-hui-a-tau, the annual hāngī fundraiser at Hinemihi. Since the beginning, the hāngī day has been the catalyst for a number of activities undertaken by a range of groups and people, including many involved in the planning hui, pre-hāngī maintenance days at Hinemihi, workshops, kapa haka practices, costume making, ticket sales and logistics meetings. The build-up to the day includes preparation for the kōhanga, Ngāti Rānana and Polynesian Beats

performances. Polynesian Beats are a group of Pacific peoples who meet at members' homes to practise and be together as expatriate Pacific peoples in England, many having been born and raised in New Zealand. The overriding theme is to whanaungatanga through cultural practice.

In 2009, the kōhanga met for final preparations on the 7 June (1 p.m. to 5 p.m.) at New Zealand House for the upcoming hāngī. Costumes were being created, waiata was being taught, and there was a buzz of kōhanga whānau and friends. While it was a Māori gathering, the venue created an odd environment. New Zealand house has been on-leased to non-New Zealand business investors, and since the reconfiguration of New Zealand House in 2005, neither the kōhanga nor Ngāti Rānana have an allocated room for their sessions. In the absence of a dedicated space, they had been allowed to continue the kōhanga operations in a foyer between four elevators. This still is obviously an issue to be addressed; however, in the absence of an environment conducive to Māori cultural practice, the relationships and rationale for being together won over the physical environment they were operating within. The pragmatic reasoning of the whānau supports Durie's (2008) notion of kaupapa whānau, whereby when Māori come together for a particular kaupapa or reason, whanaungatanga is commonly the principal focus and the physical environment or landscape is inconsequential to the actual relationships and activities of Māori in a given space. While this cultural space is still being used for kōhanga activities, discussions have taken place as to a future venue for Ngāti Rānana and kōhanga gatherings; Hinemihi was discussed as an option during a 'Sharing with Hinemihi' teleconference in 2010, but excluded due to the physical distance from central London. Even though the venue, between the elevators, for practices was not optimal, the kōhanga whānau were not inhibited by the venue and the atmosphere was no different to the buzz of any other Māori group preparing for a major performance.

Rosanna Raymond was leading the children in their kapa haka practice. The performance included an action poem named 'Ko au te whare'. Rosanna had composed this item, developed from five activity sessions, held in January to July of 2009, called 'Being with Hinemihi'. These sessions were the first part of the wider whareNOW project initiated by the UCL and others interested in Hinemihi (Sully et al., 2014). 'Ko au te whare', translated as 'I am the house', refers to how Hinemihi welcomes whānau and becomes part of those who visit. During the practice there were whānau members making and organising the *kākahu* (uniforms) for the children, and elders were there participating in and observing the practice.

During the hāngī day on the 21 June 2009, Clandon Park was open to visitors (free of charge) and the National Trust, Ngāti Rānana and Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana were the hosts. The tikanga and ritenga enacted at Hinemihi at events such as the annual kōhanga reo hāngī day are negotiated dependent on the environment, context and visiting groups. At the hāngī and maintenance days, apart from myself, there were no whakapapa whānau present. In the absence of Ngāti Hinemihi, Ngāti Rānana members enacted the whole pōwhiri process and members of the group acted as both tangata whenua and manuhiri for the official pōwhiri ceremony. In this instance, the National Trust could be considered the tangata whenua, being an organisation of the people of the land of Clandon Park, and Ngāti Rānana the ahi kaa as they literally keep the fires burning there – in the form of the hāngī – and undertake the rituals of encounter in hosting visitors. Now, at most events at Hinemihi, Ngāti Rānana usually assume the role of tangata whenua as representatives for the National Trust.

While the pōwhiri did not follow Ngāti Hinemihi tikanga or kawa, the hosts, Ngāti Rānana, enacted the tikanga as determined by Ngāti Rānana kaumātua. This was undertaken respectfully with the same intention as tribally based pōwhiri, whereby the manuhiri were held in high esteem, to whakamana those present. The tikanga in the whaikōrero was also not the same as tikanga at home; however, in this forum, younger members of the group were able to ‘have a go’ at formal speech making and the kaikaranga. The visitors to Clandon were provided a full information session on the tikanga, the ritual of encounter and its meaning with particular regard to the non-Māori guests attending the hāngī. Thus, while this pōwhiri was different to the tribal wānanga and communication systems found in Te Arawa, the intent of the tikanga within the pōwhiri remained the same, namely to welcome and to uphold the mana of the manuhiri, Hinemihi and those hosting the event, Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana.

The newly formed protocols enacted on the hāngī day are not the first to be negotiated at Hinemihi, either in England or Aotearoa. When Hinemihi was at Te Wairoa, the tikanga and ritenga played out on the marae were integral in maintaining the mana of the whare as well as that of Chief Aporo Wharekaniwha, the owner, and the hapū of Ngāti Hinemihi. However, Hinemihi was also used as a commercial tourism facility for cultural performances and, as such, the tikanga was adapted accordingly. So, too, was the negotiation of Tūhourangi and Ngāti Hinemihi at the centennial celebrations: neither hapū officiated as tangata whenua, instead considering their rightful position was to attend the marae as guests (A. Wihapi, personal communication, December 20, 2007).

As part of the festivities on the day, there were cultural concerts by Ngāti Rānana, Polynesian Beats and Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana children. There was also a performance by an English group of youth who have incorporated Māori cultural performance as part of their community-based activities; much of their performance was learnt from the internet although a couple of Ngāti Rānana members had spent two sessions helping them prepare. The social cohesion of marae as a Māori institution is not premised upon being the Other, or the ability to sing a Māori song but rather the association or relationships of people with the respective marae and each other. This group of English youth were not local and had very little to do with the community of Hinemihi. Nevertheless, an aim of the whareNOW marae development project is to provide a place “where people can come together to meet and explore the dignity of difference, a safe space to experience another’s cultural world, whilst reflecting on one’s own cultural identity” (Sully et al., 2014, p. 15).

The Kōhanga Reo o Rānana children performed the poem ‘Ko au te whare’ with actions led by Rosanna and the children’s parents (see Figure 35). The performance was a way for the children to reflect upon their own culture, a form of whakapapa kōrero, with the content reflecting a similar discourse as the whakapapa whānau where narratives are performed as a tool for the development of collective relationships with each other and the whare (Edwards, 2009). This composition adds yet another layer of memories and meanings to the history or the whakapapa of the whare.

Figure 35: Performance of Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana, June 2009



Source: Author.

The waiata presents the context and history of the whare, incorporating *Hinemihi* the ancestress, Kataore the pet taniwha, Ngāti Hinemihi, manaakitanga and the relationships of the kōhanga and those connected to Hinemihi now.

Ko Au te Whare

Ko au te whare
Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito, Hinemihi of the old world
Hinemihi Te Tapairu, Hinemihi of the high ranking
Three husbands and a pet taniwha
Hinemihi o Te Ao Hurihuri, Hinemihi of the ever-changing world
Once nestled at the feet of Tarawera
Uri of Ngāti Hinemihi, Te Arawa, Ngapuna
I feel warmed by your presence
Rekindled by our visits and the smell of food cooked in the earth
Ko au te whare
Haere mai, haere mai, haere mai...

Ko au te whare (their arms outstretched like the whare)
Amo...tino pai... (legs in horse riding stance)
Maihi (kneeling down)
Raparapa (moving their fingers)
Matapihi (small pūkana – facial expression)
Tekoteko (big pūkana)
Whare – e tu (standing proud)
Poutokomanawa (hands to heart)
Tahūhū (arms stretched over backs)
Heke (hands on ribs)
Ko au te whare... (I AM THE WHARE)

This poem and performance further illustrated the connection of people to the whare. The performers enacted Hinemihi as a physical and cultural representation of themselves, and presented their likeness to Hinemihi by utilising their own bodies, in action song, as representations of the parts of the whare. Such events at Hinemihi also provide the tamariki with the opportunity to spend time with the extended kaupapa whānau of Hinemihi. Findings from the whareNOW research project that culminated in this poem, found that:

Even though Kōhanga children are not necessarily genealogically connected to Hinemihi, she is a fundamental part of their lives. Their homeland marae may be geographically distant, but it becomes familiar though through their engagement with Hinemihi (Sully et al., 2014, p. 219).

The identity of the kōhanga children is connected to Hinemihi and all that the whare represents. Many of the children performing were Māori born in the United Kingdom and who participate in the kōhanga reo as a way of connecting to their cultural roots. There are also a number of New Zealand non-Māori expatriates who are involved in the kōhanga. One Pākehā mother who had two small children, born in England, had been living in England for eight years and is married to an Englishman. She said both her and her husband were especially compelled to be part of the kōhanga reo activities as it was the only opportunity she had to give her children something of herself as a Kiwi (a term that refers to being a New Zealander). They were so committed to the kōhanga that they braved the weather in the Surrey winter to attend the kōhanga outdoor hāngī at Hinemihi in January 2009 (Anonymous, personal communication, June 2, 2009). Indeed it seems being away from home sometimes supports the ability to connect with one's cultural identity.

While in London, I spoke to a new member of Ngāti Rānana, who said that she had never been part of a Māori cultural group while growing up in South Auckland. South Auckland has the greatest Polynesian population in the world and a large population of urban Māori.

She was scared people would question where she was from and what right did she have to join a group as she didn't closely affiliate to any particular tribe. She went on to say that being in London lead her to Ngāti Rānana and she felt comfortable with the group as tribal affiliation wasn't a criterion for membership. She had just performed her first concert in Belgium and said she has a new-found confidence. She also stated that her "Māoriness is easier to mediate away from home" (Anonymous, personal communication, May 13, 2009). It is ironic that being away makes it easier to articulate one's Māoriness and/or one's ability to relate to your own cultural identities.

Esther Jessop, co-founder of Ngāti Rānana in 1959, stated that:

For some people, we're so busy growing up in New Zealand, we haven't really got time to learn to do things Māori, and when you get over here, suddenly you think, 'Gosh, I've got another chance to learn.' We get a lot of people who've never held a poi, who've never done the haka, which in this day and age I think surprises people. (cited in Lusk, 2009, p. 37)

In addition to the hāngī day performance, the tamariki of the kōhanga demonstrated in 2008 how they reconcile their lives in London with their Māori cultural identity and Hinemihi. In a children's television broadcast the "Ceebeebies", the tamariki related Hinemihi as their Māori meeting house. In a clip of the children engaging with Hinemihi as they stood outside her, they said:

This is a special place for us as this is where our Māori meeting house lives. She's called Hinemihi; isn't she lovely? [touching and counting the carvings]. She travelled here all the way from New Zealand like us. That's funny a house travelling. Someone liked her so much they packed her up moved her all the way over here then put her up again. We're going to sing some waiata – that means songs – for Hinemihi and for you (BBC, 2008, 40 secs–1 min 12 secs).

The tamariki consider Hinemihi to be their marae in the absence of whakapapa connections. The tamariki of Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana have a similar relationship with Hinemihi as the whakapapa whānau have with the whare at home in Aotearoa. Hinemihi acts as a cultural touchstone, or what Murchie (1984) called the 'pounamu of Māoridom', for the kōhanga whānau in London – but the relationship is even more than that with the tamariki feeling a sense of identity with her as both they and the whare are travellers. The tamariki relate their own identities with Hinemihi in a physical sense as they touch and count the carvings but also in a metaphysical sense in their relationship with her and definition of how they are part of her.

The kōhanga whānau are no longer only transient expatriates visiting England for a short time – many are now second and third generation Māori and non-Māori born in England and who feel a special connection to Hinemihi as their marae. They have a vested interest in keeping Hinemihi warm, for their children’s connection to their Māori identity or their parents’ home country. However, the reality is that the majority of the Māori diaspora in London are young people on short-term visas to work. This poses challenges to the sustainability of Hinemihi as marae are usually supported by a socially cohesive community based upon multigenerational shared histories. Nevertheless, this challenge is being negotiated through the complex network of individuals and different communities of Hinemihi, such as Ngāti Rānana and Ngāti Hinemihi, who have a shared focus of care for the whare, even though they may have different perspectives.

Karl Burrows (2007) asserted that a function of Ngāti Rānana is to provide a pan-tribal, inclusive space that is attractive to mostly young people. Ngāti Rānana is a community who connects the Māori diaspora to home, reinforces cultural identity, and provides the opportunities to gather together at events such as those at Hinemihi. Thus, Hinemihi has also become their marae away from home, a situation not unlike what McCarthy (2007) illustrated when referring to a marae in the Te Papa museum in Wellington:

Response to taonga took the form of affirming group identity and mana, often through the act of performing whakapapa connections... A homesick young woman from the Tainui tribe in the Waikato told the interviewer the museum was good, ‘cos I’m away from home but home’s right here’. (p. 193)

The multigenerational connection to tribal marae through whakapapa defines the interaction and relationships of the respective hapū. The travelling nature of many of the Māori diaspora in London changes those forms of interaction and hence their connection with Hinemihi as a marae. Although the kaupapa whānau clearly support, as a strategic preference, the restoration and redevelopment of Hinemihi and “the provision of services enabling Hinemihi to be used all year round as a functioning marae” (Sully et al., 2014, p. 223), the reality is there are limits to individuals’ or whānau contribution to the ongoing or long-term care and sustainability of Hinemihi as a marae. During a *noho marae* (overnight stay) as part of the ‘Sharing with Hinemihi’ project at Hinemihi, in August, 2010, Ngāti Rānana members were reluctant to take part “as they saw their contribution to Hinemihi being delivered primarily through their established social groupings, rather than as individual participants” (Sully et al., 2014, p. 222). The same authors asserted that the disinterest in the *noho marae* at Hinemihi reflected a limited ability of the Māori diaspora to commit to Hinemihi – although reflecting

upon my desire to stay at Hinemihi, the prospects of sleeping on a dirt floor with no nearby facilities may have been a factor in the Ngāti Rānana member's lack of interest. (Most marae are now built to comfortably accommodate visitors.) Nevertheless, the Sharing with Hinemihi project, inspired to examine the viability of Hinemihi as a functioning marae, found that other events at Hinemihi such as the annual maintenance days promoted individual engagement and participation through a shared kaupapa.

Thus, in addition to the kōhanga practices, I also attended the annual maintenance day at Hinemihi on 2 June 2009. The build-up to the kōhanga annual hāngī fundraiser is substantial. Each year, about two weeks prior, a team of volunteers go out to Clandon Park for the Hinemihi maintenance day. Dr Dean Sully of UCL invites a wide range of people to attend the maintenance day via an email communication network he has developed over the years. The June 2009 email read:

You are all invited (along with friends and family) to attend this relaxed and enjoyable event.

This is likely to be of interest to those interested in engaging with indigenous peoples, Māori issues, intercultural practice, conservation of cultural heritage, community based projects, or just an enjoyable day in the sunshine.

For the past nine years the UK-based Māori community (Ngāti Rānana, Kōhanga Reo, and Maramara Totara) have come together with students and staff from UCL Institute of Archaeology and National Trust to clean and care for Hinemihi. We hope to do the same this year and that volunteers from the Māori Diaspora, UCL and NT [National Trust] will join us in the maintenance activities and help in keeping Hinemihi warm.

No previous conservation experience is needed to participate in this event, all are welcome.

Please contact Dean Sully for further details about this event and/or if you are interested in becoming one of Hinemihi's People... (D. Sully, 2 June 2012, email correspondence).

All attendees are required to register as National Trust volunteers and abide by the Trust's policies including all health and safety rules. A signed contract is required of all those who attend maintenance days, which stipulates the generic rules of the National Trust for all its volunteers and in addition includes an acknowledgement of the cultural implications involved when working in the sacred spaces at the whare.

Dean Sully said that when he started working with the National Trust, they "considered Hinemihi to be a significant ethnographic material that needed to be conserved". This

description of the whare as “material” suggests that Hinemihi was considered an ‘object’ rather than what many consider her to be, namely a taonga or living cultural icon. Dean added that the “National Trust can be forgiven for calling it such as they are not used to dealing with the community” (D. Sully, personal communication, June 4, 2009). This perception is also concurrent with much museum ideology where artefacts are considered objects removed from context or meaning and open to multiple interpretations dependent on the world view of the person looking (Garbutt, 2007; McCarthy, 2005, 2007; Sully, 2007).

Hinemihi along with much cultural art “instantiate social relationships through time” and, as such, must be viewed within a “culture of display” whereby a critical historical investigation explores the “field of social production” by which Hinemihi has been influenced (McCarthy, 2007, p. 11). Since the maintenance days at Hinemihi began in 2001, the National Trust have moved outside their ‘normal’ processes and have started to include the community in the care and future developments of the whare (“Meeting house in London”, 2010). Something totally new to Trust business, the maintenance days are another opportunity for the volunteers, the Māori diaspora, UCL and the National Trust to join together in what Dean Sully describes as undertaking maintenance activities and, at the same time, to “help in keeping Hinemihi warm” (D. Sully, personal communication, May 27, 2011). Both the metaphysical and physical elements of Hinemihi are considered here.

While the actual maintenance day on the 2nd of June was cancelled due to a bad weather forecast, 14 people still turned up and those attendees reflected the diversity of people who gather together at Hinemihi. Those who met at the maintenance day all had differing reasons to be there: Alan Gallop, as a historian and history commentator; Dean Sully as the conservator and co-ordinator of the day; Dean’s wife and children, to be part of the Hinemihi experience and picnic; Julie Lawlor, in her role as the National Trust property manager; David Wilkins, a non-Māori artist and film producer from Kapiti Island, New Zealand, who was investigating ideas for a media production; three UCL anthropology students who were studying different aspects of Māori culture on the estate; two Te Kōhanga Reo whānau, attending to say goodbye to Hinemihi as they were returning home to Aotearoa; one whānau to support the clean-up day; and myself, as a doctoral student and whānau member wishing to contribute to the ongoing survival of Hinemihi.

Jim Schuster, while not at the 2009 maintenance day, reflected on his first experience attending one such day. Jim said that when he arrived to prepare the whare for the new

carvings, a maintenance day was arranged by the National Trust. He expected to arrive and use a water blaster to clean off lichen and mould on the existing structure, which is a practice still used in Aotearoa. He was surprised to see volunteers in white overalls with what looked like toothbrushes gently removing the residue. He quickly realised that the context of this work is different to his work in Aotearoa where he regularly maintains tūpuna whare as a conservation manager for the New Zealand Historic Places Trust as well as because of his whānau obligations (J. Schuster, personal communication, May 17, 2009). Jim recognised that while there are differing approaches to the physical maintenance of whare tūpuna throughout the world, the intent remains the same. Both Māori and non-Māori working on Hinemihi strive to maintain the mana of the whare including that of the tūpuna after whom it is named. Furthermore, the diversity of the communities who Hinemihi brings together is bridged by the commonalities in supporting future developments, and which provide for a shared vision and kaupapa.

The intent of the maintenance day is not just to clean the whare and maintain the physical structure of Hinemihi, this organised event also offers yet another opportunity for the community to gather, connect and share stories of the whare. UCL maintenance days encourage conservationist practice that requires exceptional care in cleaning the carvings. For the whānau, the cleaning of carvings at the maintenance days, at Hinemihi as well as on marae at home, are supplementary to the more significant task of ensuring manaakitanga is extended to visitors or for ensuring the manuhiri will be welcomed and comfortable when their whare is used. The dual intent of physical maintenance of the whare as well as whakawhanaungatanga yet again reinforces the relationship focus repeatedly alluded to in this thesis. The two-fold value of maintenance days lends to further validation that Hinemihi continues to be a cultural conduit that, according to the Rangihau Māoritanga model, validates a relationship focus or whanaungatanga as a central concept of Māori cultural identity (Rangihau, 1992).

This intent is reflected in the archival records of the Hinemihi whare here in Aotearoa and shows that no matter where, when or which Hinemihi whare it is, the space created by *Hinemihi* was and continues to be a place to nurture the spiritual and physical aspects of the respective whare and more importantly that of their communities. In an application to the Council for Māori and South Pacific Arts in 1980, the Hinemihi Marae Komiti in Rotorua applied for funds to upgrade Hinemihi ki Ngapuna, Rotorua:

To replace Amo and Maihi [carvings in the front of the meeting house], carver in charge Rotohiko Heretaunga who tutored four others during stages.

The Komiti (i.e. Hinemihi marae committee) is responsible for the benefit of the Ngāti Tararawai hapū of Te Arawa, secondly to be used as a place where they may meet to learn those things Māori for the spiritual and physical betterment, thirdly as a place where our Manuhiri may be accommodated and cared for (Hinemihi marae committee, 1980–81).

This project's purpose is not unlike the overall whareNOW project where the English-based Hinemihi communities seek to undertake a development project towards the physical and spiritual betterment of the marae of Hinemihi. While the communities of Hinemihi ki Ngapuna in the 1980s and Hinemihi in Clandon in 2013 are very different, the intent for marae development is the same with the exception of the difference in who benefits: the whakapapa whānau (in Rotorua) and the kaupapa whānau (in England).

The WhareNOW project

Alongside the maintenance days that are held at Hinemihi are a number of joint academic and community projects that are part of a project called WhareNOW (also named HinemihiNOW). The WhareNOW project began in 2004, designed as a partnership between the different communities of the kaupapa whānau that sought to “develop shared community-research objectives that investigate and document the developing relationships between Hinemihi and her people” (Sully et al., 2014, p. 211). The initial project activities were held at UCL and at Hinemihi, underpinned by the view that this whare is the catalyst for a wider set of interactions, within both her physical and metaphysical presence; thus, community input is required into both the maintenance of Hinemihi and her future development (D. Sully, personal communication, June 4, 2009). All those working on the project have expressed a desire to “modify her to become a symbol of uniting Māori and others who live and travel to this part of the world” (Hinerangi Goodman, “Meeting house in London”, 2010). The principal goal of the future development for Hinemihi is centred on reinforcing the relational nature of Hinemihi with those connected to her; thus encouraging kotahitanga is seen as a necessary concept of development.

Julie Lawlor, the National Trust's Clandon Park property manager, said that the HinemihiNOW project determines the regular maintenance timetable and provided for community involvement so as to “bring her into the 21st century in a sensitive way” (“Meeting house in London”, 2010). The repairs from the tree collapsing on the roof in a

storm were delayed until the wider HinemihiNOW restoration project had begun. To date these types of repairs have not proceeded.

‘Being with Hinemihi’ was the first phase of the whareNOW project. It was designed by Rosanna Raymond and the kōhanga whānau and involved participation in a series of workshops hosted at UCL and at Hinemihi. These sessions included waiata, whakataukī and visual art to interpret and explore the meanings, feelings and relationships the whānau has with Hinemihi. There is no doubt the whānau have strong affiliations with Hinemihi as a representation of their marae away from home. There are, however, limitations to the commitment of the whānau to Hinemihi, primarily due to the constant changing demographics of the whānau as travellers and also the geographic spread of the those associated with Hinemihi as Clandon is fifty kilometers from London (Sully et al., 2014).

‘Sharing with Hinemihi’ was the next phase, and this was undertaken in May to September of 2010 by Rosanna Raymond and Dean Sully. This project involved a series of wānanga at Hinemihi and the UCL’s Institute of Archaeology. These wānanga, while premised upon a different philosophical basis to the Tūhourangi whakapapa-based wānanga, were developed with a similar theme, namely to bring together all those interested in understanding Hinemihi and her people. The wānanga were also developed to learn aspects of mātauranga Māori such as marae tikanga, pōwhiri, relationships with the taonga, whakairo, tukutuku and kōwhaiwhai, and the history of Hinemihi including *Hinemihi* and her history (Raymond & Sully, 2010). This series of wānanga or workshops included the noho marae, which was not well attended by Māori. The weaving workshops, however, were well attended; perhaps this was because the weaving or tukutuku workshops captured both intrinsic and extrinsic values where the whānau were able to come together with members of Ngāti Hinemihi to build capacity in skills that were directly related to the maintenance and care of Hinemihi.

At the same time, in Aotearoa, Jim Schuster was mobilising tribal members to assist with gathering *raupō*, a material used for the latticework for the whare. These bulrushes grow in specific locations and gathering and preparation work is seasonal and specialised, and so those involved were learning specific tribal methods of working with the material. In addition, Jim and his wife, Cathy, undertook to teach those interested how to make the latticework panels, called turapa or tukutuku, at workshops in Rotorua, and in Auckland (in collaboration with the Auckland museum); the couple also lead the England-based workshops at Hinemihi. Through these workshops, Jim and Cathy have been able to share their

knowledge as well as meet and develop relationships with those who have a connection with the whare. Thus these workshops were a form of reciprocity, engaged the participants in the unfolding historical account of Hinemihi in practical ways, and maintained and sustained knowledge systems through the tikanga of creating the new art that will eventually be erected inside the whare.

The whareNOW project brought together the kaupapa whānau of Hinemihi in a number of different ways. It also identified challenges in bringing together such a diverse group based around a Māori whare tūpuna that is both physically and philosophically located outside of the cultural norms of tribal marae in Te Arawa. The project, however, facilitated a focused examination of how Hinemihi provides for an ‘object-centred social network’, and a group of ‘Hinemihi’s People’ called Te Maru o Hinemihi ki te Ao has been formed as a result of whareNOW.

Te Maru o Hinemihi ki te Ao – In the embrace of Hinemihi within the world

Te Maru o Hinemihi is a focused group of people who are working together as part of the Hinemihi development projects. Many different individuals, institutions and communities have come together and are working as one under this kaupapa whānau. Te Maru members are supporting the National Trust to further the project which seeks to create ‘a Māori space in a British place’. The intent of Te Maru is to provide both a consolidated space for all those interested in her future developments to come together as well as a space where a variety of different people can engage in the ‘virtual and physical’ marae. The group’s website refers to this network as ‘the virtual marae for the Māori meeting house Hinemihi from Te Wairoa, Aotearoa (New Zealand) and now at Clandon Park in Surrey, England’ (“Te Maru o Hinemihi”, 2012a). Jim Schuster of Ngāti Hinemihi has been appointed president of this ‘people of Hinemihi’ group.

The whare of marae typically embody the mana of the ancestor represented. The whare are generally connected to local iwi and hapū and, through whakapapa, feature frequently in the oral histories of the respective local communities (Sissons, 1998). This notion continues at Hinemihi, although the local iwi and hapū are no longer only Ngāti Hinemihi but also an extended community of whānau in England. Like many examples of whare Māori that are used in models of well-being and identity, Te Maru o Hinemihi seeks to present a holistic

view of Hinemihi, and the group is bringing together people who wish to be part of the enhancement and utilisation of Hinemihi as a marae, be that in person or in a virtual sense (Sully et al., 2014). This poses challenges in that *Hinemihi* is not the ancestress of most of the current Te Maru community and thus the whakapapa for the kaupapa whānau is associated to the relationships developed with Ngāti Hinemihi and/or the relatively recent Māori histories created since the kaupapa whānau became active in care of the whare, rather than being genealogically and historically based. While there are three or four generations of kaupapa Māori whānau who have a strong affiliation to Hinemihi, primarily through the Kōhanga Reo hui-a-tau (the annual hāngī fundraiser of the kōhanga at Hinemihi), the majority of the diasporic Māori community in London are also transient, young and not local to Clandon Park.

The virtual marae developed by Te Maru utilises Hinemihi as a model for future development and is represented on the group's website as a stylised version of the whare (refer Figure 36). Within the whare are links to repositories of knowledge including a brief history and pictures, and information about events, who is part of this group and how to become involved. Te Maru o Hinemihi has a sole purpose of “setting the agenda for the restoration and ongoing use of the Māori whare/meeting house” (“Te Maru o Hinemihi”, 2012b).

Figure 36: The logo of Te Maru o Hinemihi on its website



Source: <http://www.hinemihi.co.uk>

The ‘fact-based’ commentary in much of the website information provides very generic information about Māori that does not reflect the mātauranga involved in the whakapapa whānau dialogue. For example, in the Māori World section is a brief history of Māori migration, societal change and basic demographics which, although providing a general background to Māori, does not reflect how Māori define their world through whakapapa, through tikanga and the subsequent relationships that are fostered within those encounters. Likewise, the Māori Art section provides generic information about different art forms and some examples of contemporary art production today, but there is little information about the taonga of Hinemihi or the relationships, narratives and historical connection of the taonga with Ngāti Hinemihi.

The values that underpin the Te Maru whānau and how they function are detailed on the website as:

1. Kaitiakitanga (Guardianship)
2. Manaakitanga (Hospitality)
3. Mātauranga (Knowledge)

These values are respectfully conceptualised within the narratives of Te Maru and relate strongly to their objectives in the current context, which is, pursuing Hinemihi to be a functioning marae. The different meanings and interpretations of these values are dependent on context and ontology of the many Te Maru members, particularly highlighted between the whakapapa and kaupapa whānau. For example, Ngāti Hinemihi continue to strongly maintain that they are and will always be the *hunga tiaki* of Hinemihi, a role that is founded upon their spiritual obligation to the mana of their ancestress. The Te Maru concept of kaitiakitanga, however, is reflected in a different context, namely the physical care of the whare; indeed, this term is used by Te Maru when referring to ‘Kaitiakitanga Hinemihi maintenance days’ in the events section of their website (“Te Maru o Hinemihi”, 2012c).

The Web-based communications this community utilises allows global access for different people working on the care of Hinemihi. The updates allow for many people to engage in what is happening with her, from weaving workshops to hui about the project and other updates regarding events. The members of Te Maru represent a truly kaupapa-driven group. They have a common goal to support the development and use of Hinemihi. This forum provides a co-ordinated approach to funding, gathering of resources, business and architectural design and is also committed to respecting the whakapapa whānau of *Hinemihi*. It is not designed, however, to engage Ngāti Hinemihi and, as such, is future focused upon the kaupapa whānau activities. The Te Maru constitution states that it is a “process of institutionalisation of individuals to provide an enduring organizational structure” (Sully et al., 2014, p. 223).

Summary

Hinemihi as a symbol of a Māori traveller reflects the lives of many Māori who have travelled and settled outside of their tribal regions while still maintaining their identities as Māori. There are many different communities and individuals involved with the continued care of Hinemihi and those that have been ‘captured’ by her wairua. These renewed relationships have reinvested the whare with a “new spiritual energy” (Neich, 2003, p. 365) which is now nurtured by the involvement of the kaupapa whānau.

Since her beginnings, Hinemihi has offered the opportunity for people to be engaged with Māori culture. Much of the kaupapa whānau engagement with Hinemihi reflects the whakapapa whānau engagement with respect to affirming Māori identity and associated cultural concepts. The elements of kaupapa Māori such as kotahitanga, aroha, and manaakitanga mediated through tikanga are evidenced in the different events held at Hinemihi. The relationships and engagement of the kaupapa whānau add another complex network of people. Extending upon the whakapapa kōrero, the kaupapa whānau continue to uphold the wairua and mana of the ancestress *Hinemihi* in adding another layer to her history. This bringing together of Māori and European cultures adds yet another perspective on what Bhahba (1994) refers to as a Third Space, a cultural hybrid or amalgamation of different cultural concepts that provides for a critical reflection of cultural knowledge and translation of the different whānau and their relationships with Hinemihi.

The importance of Hinemihi as a place to connect to Aotearoa is not lost on the expatriate members of the new community of Hinemihi, and thus the annual hāngī and other events have further consolidated the relationship between the National Trust, Ngāti Rānana and others who are part of the New Zealand community in London, as well as the relationship between Ngāti Hinemihi/Tūhourangi and the global community of Hinemihi. These connections to cultural heritage, whakapapa and being Māori are the basis of marae wherever that may be. The physical and spiritual components of Hinemihi continue to be enriched and revived as ancestral as well as contemporary histories unfold.

Chapter Seven: The Third Space

Marae are considered by many to be the place where the essence of being Māori is located, the cultural centre of Māori where customs, histories, values and whakapapa knowledge is interpreted and communicated in a distinct Māori specific way. A great Māori leader, Te Rangi Hiroa, in 1930 once proclaimed:

*Kia mau ki te pupuri i ngā marae o ō koutou kāinga. Ko tēnā te mauri
hei paihere i tō koutou Māoritanga kei ngaro ki te kore.*

Strive to hold on to the marae of our villages. That is the vital essence
to bind your Māoriness lest it be lost.

Source: Moorfield, 2015.

How marae are now configured, utilised and ‘serviced’ by their respective tribes throughout Aotearoa varies according to tribal norms or marae operations. While the marae often refers to the whole complex of buildings and sacred land that whānau utilise, it is in fact formally the courtyard in front of the meeting house. At Hinemihi in Clandon, the whare stands alone; there are no other buildings that surround it and it is not located in a Māori village. It is, however, referred to by both kaupapa and whakapapa whānau as a marae – an example of a ‘travelling marae’ perhaps, that brings together people and sustains a cultural identity uniquely Māori.

The notion that the marae is the essence of being Māori is now being challenged, particularly on tribal marae in Aotearoa, because the reality is that much of the social relationships of Māori are formed outside of tribal regions. For example, Emery (2008) said, “[O]ur marae are empty except at tangi or birthdays and we must therefore find ways to regroup and ‘collectivise’” (p. 17). While Tepora Emery was reflecting upon a whanaunga, Annette Sykes who asserted that marae are no longer the epicentre of Māori cultural identities and that there is a necessity to recognise that many travelling Māori, who may return to their marae on special occasions, no longer practice tikanga and ritenga on their own marae as do the haukāinga or home dwellers do. These new forms of Māori cultural identities are now found within vastly different contexts and yet, as this research has found, reflect a similar intent to marae and iwi and hapū practices at home. Regrouping and collectivising is evident at Hinemihi and, while the whare is not considered a marae in the sense of location or place

at the tūrangawaewae of the respective iwi, the cultural spaces offered by Hinemihi reflect the central intent of bringing people together, of drawing on shared histories, of practising tikanga and ritenga, of recognition of ancestral lessons, and of reconfirmation of what it is to be Māori. These approaches are the way Māori map out the future, taking important ancestral or historical lessons and critically reflecting upon them.

The perspectives, connections and meanings derived from the relationships of the different communities of interest associated with Hinemihi, while sometimes oppositional, offer what Bhabha (1994) termed the Third Space, a space whereby the value of cultural analysis is found, a space and time for kōrero, Te Wa – Te Ao Mārama. Cultural landscapes and how cultural reference points have influenced the whakapapa of Hinemihi, the whare, provide the space for cultural analysis, both with respect to the whānau relationships as well as the Māori histories.

Several key themes emerged from the reflection on the different perspectives of Hinemihi (see Table 1). The different perspectives are presented here in a cross-referential approach as not only are there differing relationships of people with the whare, the social history of Hinemihi embraces meanings that span more than 130 years and thus presents an evolution of cultural meanings since 1881.

This chapter outlines how the space of Hinemihi brings people together, how her cultural identity is perceived by Māori and non-Māori, the common themes that have maintained key elements of this identity, the tensions that have been or continue to be negotiated, and the implications of her location to cultural notions of place. Furthermore, the analysis considers how the stakeholder reflections in the history of Hinemihi align to Māori who have also been disconnected through physical distance from their cultural landscapes and travelling Māori who are simply seeking cultural references to reaffirm and connect with their culture or home.

Hinemihi is entrenched in both the complex tribal systems of Te Arawa, which set the cultural co-ordinates for her identity as a Te Arawa whare tūpuna, and the systems or structures of meaning based upon aspects of her current context, including the framework of ownership and the relationship she has with her communities outside of the physical tribal boundary of Te Arawa. Whakapapa kōrero based upon Te Arawa tikanga, interpretation and subsequent meanings provides for a reflexive analysis of both these perspectives. This kōrero, according to Edwards (2009), sets down “co-ordinates for the analysis of our individual and

collective rightful place in the universe whilst also informing kinship ties, social organisation and economic systems” (p. 255). The following discussion, therefore, considers the whakapapa kōrero as a foundation of analysis and extends upon this genealogical framework of kin-based relationships as a method to critically reflect upon the current context and social organisation of those people who have been part of and continue to negotiate the cultural space Hinemihi offers.

The research considered the different contexts in which Hinemihi has been located and how her cultural identity as Māori has not diminished through time. Indeed, her identity has thrived in the most extreme conditions. The table below presents the dual nature of Hinemihi, divided between her context at Te Wairoa, Aotearoa and her context in Clandon Park, England.

Table 1: Contextualising history	
HINEMIHI – 1880s	HINEMIHI – 1980s and beyond
The ‘Old World’ Social life dominated by ‘presence’ (geographic place)	The ‘New World’ Social life shaped by distant global forces (cultural space)
Place of cultural identity through enactment of hapū tikanga (tribal codes of behaviour)	Place of cultural identity through the creation of Māori space (e.g. Ngāti Rānana gathering)
Hinemihi built for tourists travelling to the Pink and White Terraces; located at Te Wairoa She was built for Māori and tourism contexts – not a traditional whare	Hinemihi renovated for tourists and Māori (mainly those resident in England) visiting Clandon Park
Owned by Ngāti Hinemihi – rangātiratanga	Owned by the National Trust, England
1886: Tarawera eruption – devastation of area Whānau link fractured by dislocation and tapu applied to the Tarawera region	1995: Celebrations of 100 years in England Whānau link re-established; engagement of whānau in renovations and partnership confirmed between the National Trust and Ngāti Hinemihi/Tūhourangi
1891 sale and shipping of Hinemihi to England	Dialogue continues for her return to Aotearoa

The history of Hinemihi features both the dramatic changes in Māori societies since her construction, as well as the many constants. Parallels were drawn between the history of the whare and the changes that took place in Māori society throughout this period. Many significant points in the history of Hinemihi align to changes in Māori society and subsequent social issues facing Māori today. An example is her move to England in 1892 and transition from a Māori-centred environment to the English estate at Clandon Park. In many respects this change of context mirrors the hapū of Tūhourangi and their move after the eruption of Tarawera to Whakarewarewa and other non-tribal lands or the Māori urban drift that occurred in the 1950s in Aotearoa (Meredith, 2015).

The way in which changes to the context of Hinemihi have shaped her identity as Māori offers insight into how her identity has been negotiated through time. The context of social life in 19th-century Māori communities, for example, was dominated by presence or place. Now those contexts are predominantly shaped by distant global forces with a focus on the creation of purposely designated cultural spaces.

The Māori cultural landscape of Hinemihi was founded primarily upon whakapapa, the kin relationships, through the continued enactment of hapū tikanga and connections to tūrangawaewae. Now, located in England, her cultural identity builds upon her ancestral connections but also embraces new forms of identity through relationships through particular kaupapa and the creation of Māori cultural spaces.

The emergent tourism trade at Te Wairoa formed the basis for the utilisation of Hinemihi as a cultural centre, a facility for cultural performance. This was in response to the Victorian tourists' desire to gaze upon the Other, the exotic, as a way of affirming their own respective identities. Paradoxically, Hinemihi continues to be a cultural conduit as she now attracts Māori as tourists who are reaffirming their cultural identities as Māori.

The framework of ownership also highlights different perspectives on ancestral taonga. While the National Trust owns Hinemihi, the whakapapa whānau continue to place significant value on their capacity to care for Hinemihi in respect of her spiritual or metaphysical care. These considerations have led to changes in how the National Trust engage with their community, how conservation proceeds and, in a very practical application, how future developments at Hinemihi can reflect and enhance the cultural capital of the whare. The commissioning of a Māori architect and cultural advisor in the project planning and design was a first for the

National Trust and considered a major step forward in providing new ways of care of their cultural heritage programme (D. Sully, personal communication, June 4, 2009).

The tragic events of the Tarawera eruption devastated the region in 1886 and displaced Hinemihi from her hapū. Conversely, current events at Clandon such as the renovation projects and celebrations held there are now reconnecting and reaffirming Māori identities for both the whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau. The dialectical tension between the respective whānau and how Hinemihi is cared for, utilised and perceived continues to be a point of negotiation. For example, the whareNOW project highlights some issues of whānau engagement with the whare such as the ongoing and sustainability of Hinemihi as a marae with a stable and socially cohesive marae community.

Whakapapa paradigm - Negotiating distance

The construction, ownership, location and relocation, and reconstruction of Hinemihi is framed here as a reflective account of individual and whānau histories within specific events in her history. These histories include, for example, the role she has played in interacting with people since her construction in 1881 through to today, where a multiple stakeholder audience continues to highlight a complex network of social relationships that has endured in present social interactions. Examination of how these interactions between objects and people are mediated throughout time and different places or spaces revealed complex historical systems.

The two primary Te Arawa hapū of Te Wairoa before the eruption, Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi, continue to maintain and sustain their cultural connection, albeit outside of Te Wairoa. Both hapū relocated after the eruption; Ngāti Hinemihi is now primarily based in Ngapuna, Rotorua and Tūhourangi at Whakarewarewa. With the two hapū located only two kilometres away from each other, the relationship fostered at Te Wairoa in the 1880s persists, centred upon the shared tragedy of the eruption of Mt Tarawera in 1886. Hinemihi is a significant symbol in this relationship, and while she is absent from the physical landscapes of both hapū, she continues to be referred to in all whakapapa kōrero between these two hapū as a cultural reference point for dialogue, negotiations and whakawhanaungatanga.

While Māori have a tradition of being travellers, tribal boundaries and tribal markers or place within Aotearoa continue to be affirmed as an intrinsic part of one's identity as Māori (Walker, 1989). The concept of tūrangawaewae or place invokes a sense of connection for

Māori to their cultural and tribally inscribed physical landscapes. Tūrangawaewae embraces traditional Māori knowledge systems in that it contextualises place-based knowledge. Such a view is confirmed by Escobar (2001), who stated that “[l]ocal knowledge is a mode of place-based consciousness, a place specific way of endowing the world with meaning. Yet the fact remains that in our concern with globalization place often drops out of sight” (p. 46).

Cultural landscapes are determined by connections to place as well as what Schama (1995) called ‘landscapes of memories’. It is not surprising, then, that at a local level, Māori modes of well-being reflect the defence of institutions that reconcile and sustain tribal cultural capital in the form of mātauranga Māori, tikanga and kawa and what it is to be Māori. These constructs are often linked to place such as tribal marae.

Sully (2007) stated that Hinemihi, the whare or object, can be studied as a representation or representations of the historical processes of colonialism and “as a continuous network of social relationships [that] connects the use of objects and people in different circumstances of time and place” (p. 38). An examination of how objects interact with people, mediating relationships between peoples, places and times, revealed complex historical processes in which social relationships of the past can endure in present social interactions.

References to tribal boundaries and interrelationships are associated with Māori identity because such references lay the framework to the connection of a complex network of people to other cultural landscapes. At the time when Hinemihi was built, Māori identity was based on whānau and hapū connections and cultural practices which emanated from the land or place “where self awareness, mana and importance originate” (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 3). Tikanga and ritenga were also part of everyday life and mātauranga Māori was transferred through its presence in daily life at Te Wairoa and surrounds.

Despite the National Trust being a large British institution, the evidence from this research suggests that the intention of the Trust is to embrace the Māori identity of Hinemihi, with future development that encourages cultural exchange and enables Māori to utilise Hinemihi as a functioning marae (Sully et al., 2014). While the tikanga at Hinemihi does not reflect the tribal tikanga of Ngāti Hinemihi, the common intent of all those caring for Hinemihi is for the enhancement of tikanga Māori and engagement with all those who feel a connection with her. This wish is particularly so for the expatriate Māori community of Ngāti Rānana, who see the whare as their marae away from home, and Ngāti Hinemihi, who wish to maintain their renewed relationship with the whare.

Whakapapa kōrero shows that Hinemihi has never been forgotten in the tribal histories of Te Arawa in Aotearoa despite decades where Hinemihi was physically disconnected from Māori and considered as purely an object by her English owners. While Lord Onslow first purchased the whare as a memento of his time in Aotearoa, it soon became a utility building on the estate. The reconnection of Ngāti Hinemihi with the whare and the relationships that have been created with communities such as Te Maru o Hinemihi are now creating a new wave of connections and another layer upon the cultural landscape, albeit outside of tribal bounds.

The communication systems of old, such as those knowledge systems embedded in tribal narratives and through waiata, whakairo and whakataukī, have been adapted to respond to the kaupapa whānau who now keep her warm. Her communities are now taking advantage of advances in technology, which has made it easier to maintain and create linkages. Tribal wānanga are now including multimedia presentations on the current state of Hinemihi and her carers. Her mauri continues to foster relationships amongst the whānau of Hinemihi, Hinemihi's People, and imbues a wairua or what Gallop terms the 'Hinemihi effect' – the metaphysical considered important in her future care and within the interrelationships that have developed over time.

At Hinemihi, Ngāti Hinemihi are not resident at the whare and thus tikanga and tribal practices are not enacted in the same way as the tribal knowledge systems are maintained at the marae at home. Nevertheless, the ability to link with those who are with Hinemihi, the kaupapa whānau, via new technologies provides an innovative way for Ngāti Hinemihi to engage, and to continue to care for and maintain the mana and mauri of Hinemihi from Aotearoa.

There are also factions of Ngāti Hinemihi who desire the return of Hinemihi to Aotearoa. While these discussions of repatriation are common place in Te Arawa with regard to taonga, there is also dialogue on the return of the living, of people who have been disconnected from their tūrangawaewae. Whether through adoption, relocation or other reasons of distance from their tūrangawaewae, there are now many options being developed to encourage whānau members to return home as a method of strengthening family bonds, cultural identity and thus tribal identities. Te Papa Tākaro o Te Arawa, a tribal Te Arawa sports tournament, is an example of the desire to strengthen tribal relationships through sports. Another example is Te Ahurei, a tribal kapa haka competition that encourages members of all ages to engage in tribal waiata and meet each other in contexts that, while informal, are also steeped in tribal

knowledge transfer. Hinemihi continues to be a conduit or vehicle by which communities connect, albeit not necessarily via traditional whakapapa or genealogical connections but through kaupapa or other forms of connection, such as sports clubs or kapa haka groups.

Hinemihi and the different interpretants

He kokonga whare e kitea, he kokonga ngākau e kore e kitea

You can see the corners of a house, but you cannot see the corners of a heart

Many accounts of Hinemihi are reflected in the above whakataukī. Where you can see the physical structure of Hinemihi when visiting her, the representation of her ‘heart’ or wairua is only evident when one hears her story or becomes part of the Hinemihi effect that is repeatedly mentioned when talking to the many stakeholders associated with her. These two levels of interpretation – the physical and metaphysical – can be better understood by Barthes’ (cited in N. Stevenson & Inskip, 2008) explanation of two levels of meaning:

...denotative and connotative, which are present in all forms of texts ... while it seems easy to determine the denotative meaning, or the obvious or common sense meaning of an image ... evaluation and analysis of the connotation requires an understanding of the codes that inform this connotation. (p. 4)

Kaupapa Māori analysis informed both the denotative and connotative interpretations of the historical accounts of Hinemihi. The history of Hinemihi through this form of analysis provides for a conceptual whakapapa paradigm in which to analyse tenets of Māori cultural identity, utilising whare tūpuna, cultural icons, narrative and histories. Both the physical and metaphysical aspects of Hinemihi and Māori history are important.

While most of the communities of Hinemihi consider her to be a significant cultural icon, a taonga to be treasured, their respective relationships with Hinemihi are sometimes contradictory. The contested nature of representation portrayed in the stories of Hinemihi by Ngāti Hinemihi, Tūhourangi and, more broadly, the iwi of Te Arawa as well as those other communities who have a relationship with Hinemihi, such as those brought together through Te Maru o Hinemihi, reflect the influence of one’s position in interpretation. Meanings are dependent on the positioning of those telling the stories and the context in which a particular historical account is presented. This is highlighted by Hooper-Greenhill (1999) who used

Hinemihi as an example of differences in interpretation dependent on the position of the researcher in history and culture from which she is viewed.

To the National Trust in England, the house is a ‘work of art in our care’; a collection of carved posts which they own and have a custodial duty towards. To the Māori community in England – she is someone who you should come and see when you are sick and unhappy and who will restore your sense of Māori identity. (p. 7)

This simple example of the two perspectives of Hinemihi shows how different historical and cultural approaches can influence the meaning and understandings of this whare. They highlight the importance of representation or perspective, and the necessity of positioning the researcher. The acknowledgement of the perspective and position of the researcher is particularly important in the quest for what Pihama (Pipi et al., 2004) stated is what kaupapa Māori research strives to achieve, namely “the creation of spaces for Māori realities within wider society” (p. 144). This, too, links to critical history theory in that pieces of history are said to be ‘recreated’ and often changed dependent on the context or rationale for which the information is to be used (Munslow, 2006).

The application of kaupapa Māori research provided a benchmark from which to consider and critically examine alternative views or research approaches currently being applied to Hinemihi. Much of the current research on her is positioned within post-modern theoretical approaches considering her ambassadorial role, conservation work, historical relevance and cultural connections. For example, Hooper-Greenhill’s (2000) ‘post-museum’ cultural approach to studying Hinemihi considered dichotomous perspectives of attitude whereby the National Trust considered Hinemihi an object whereas Māori perceptions were of her being “a homely and nurturing elderly female relative” (p. 129) – two very different perspectives on the whare.

Another example is Sully’s (2007) research of Hinemihi utilising *participatory conservation*, which has a dual focus on Māori material culture as understood by Māori and the assumptions and practices of non-Māori museum professionals. Sully (2007) presented the history of Hinemihi from a conservation perspective. He critiqued traditional cultural heritage theory and provided some insight into issues of representation and the influence this has on cultural heritage projects by acknowledging that the politics of recognition are “bound up in articulating new, alternative or ‘parallel’ characterisations of heritage value” (Sully, 2007, p. 15). This can be related to the emergence of kaupapa Māori approaches in Māori cultural identity research where alternative or parallel approaches are emerging alongside existing

paradigms (B. Stevenson, 2004). Dean Sully's publication (2007) highlighted changes to conservation theory and representation, utilising Hinemihi as the primary case study of Māori meeting houses outside of Aotearoa. It offered several stakeholder perspectives and included in the narratives are perspectives from Ngāti Hinemihi members, the National Trust, Ngāti Rānana and conservators from UCL. Dean Sully attempts to reconceptualise Western conservation theory and provokes debate on the hybrid nature of representation of Māori meeting houses and taonga. The cultural hybrid represents an amalgamation of Māori and European cultures. Bhabha (1994) stated that within this Third Space, "each position is always a process of translation and transference of meaning" (p. 26), aligning to the processes of kaupapa Māori in creating meanings from critical reflection of cultural knowledge and translation.

Another example of how different meanings are drawn from the history of Hinemihi is in the different accounts of the relationship between Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi at Te Wairoa pre-1886. Tribal narratives continually seek to whakamana or reinforce the relationships that exist between each of the hapū. Within the different forms of whakapapa kōrero, for example, primarily the focus was and continues to be based upon how Hinemihi protects and supports the essence of whanaungatanga and how she was and is fundamental in maintaining those relationships; intertribal conflict is not raised within these tribal narratives. Kaumātua Anthony Wihapi reiterated that the understanding is that while Ngāti Hinemihi held rangātiratanga of Hinemihi, Tūhourangi held and continue to hold mana whenua over the region; this includes ownership of Te Wairoa and surrounds. Whakapapa kōrero about the region includes or details how the cultural landscape has evolved, how mana whenua was achieved, how the tribal estate should be cared for, and how people are connected to tribal land holdings and thus each other. Tribal accounts have been further endorsed in recent Treaty of Waitangi claims where Tūhourangi have successfully settled claims to areas around the Tarawera region, including parts of Te Wairoa. In contrast to the accounts from a whakapapa paradigm, other historical accounts within the context of tourist commentary at Te Wairoa provide another interpretation. Identification of possible intertribal problems at Te Wairoa prior to the eruption is one such example of the differences between the Māori and non-Māori accounts as there are suggestions of tensions in the contemporary historical accounts but no mention of this in the tribal narratives. Bremner (2004) found in his research that there was tension between Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi, particularly referring to the chiefs Te Wharekaniwha and Te Rangipuawhe, and it appears there was also conflict over

tourist fees and territory rights, as outlined in tourist commentaries and non-Māori historical accounts (Kear, 1981; Stafford, 1986). These historical accounts do not reflect what Smith asserted is “the convenient invention of Western intellectuals which re-inscribes their power to define the world” (Smith, 1999, p. 14) but rather offers another perspective outside of the cultural paradigmic concepts framed within or from the whakapapa kōrero of *Hinemihī*.

The importance of promoting the relationship between the hapū of Ngāti Hinemihī and Tūhourangi is continuously re-endowed in whakapapa kōrero. Within Māori modes of identity, meanings are drawn that support Māori cultural concepts of whanaungatanga, aroha and reciprocity which continue to be reflexively reviewed. Edwards (2009) endorsed this notion of critical reflection, stating that “this is the way Māori reason and that the Māori mind operates, in cycles with constant reflection, review and repetition” (p. 54). Relationships within the realm of whakapapa and processes of tribal tikanga are mapped out from ancestral connections and histories. At Hinemihī now, through the continued practices of tikanga Māori and even in the absence of Ngāti Hinemihī, the cultural concepts based upon whakapapa founded upon the ancestress *Hinemihī* continue to add value and meaning to relationships and new forms of whānau.

During the years Hinemihī was at Te Wairoa, tourism generated an interest in the collection of cultural artefacts and thus her sale was part of the early consumption of cultural products as souvenirs. The dialectic between the production and consumption of cultural material is highlighted during this history as Māori began to produce commodities that reflected ‘traditional Māori’ aspects of life. The paradox of this is that the production of these souvenirs negated the essence of how Māori viewed taonga, arguably a true representation of the ‘traditional Māori’. The objectification of taonga often occurs when there is a change of context such as taonga being sold to tourists, traders, museums or collectors, or when confiscation, theft or social changes have resulted in a change of ownership (Neich, 1993).

Furthermore, disconnects also occur when ‘redefinitions’ are made of taonga that lie outside of cultural definitions or outside of their Māori identity. When taonga are redefined as objects according to Western definitions of ‘art’ or non-Māori interpretations, this can effectively change their importance, significance and history, as well as their whakapapa and connection to Māori. Thus, such changes in context or ownership can reinforce the disconnections of Māori with taonga. Although Hinemihī was presented initially as a taonga Māori, then as a souvenir or curio, and then she became just an object or artefact as part of the Clandon estate,

the whare has been re-appropriated by Māori in the past three decades. Jahnke (1999) argued that “the use of Māori images is not only a statement of Māori identity but also a claim to conscious and unconscious elements of cultural heritage” (p. 198), and in the case of Hinemihi, this notion of redefinition has come full circle. Sully (2014) stated that “ this Māori re-appropriation has created a new profile for Hinemihi both in the UK and New Zealand through which she has been re-imbued with a Māori physical and spiritual presence” (p. 210).

The tikanga or Māori cultural processes practised at Hinemihi have and continue to evolve and are dependent on both who is attending and the occasion. While the whare and surrounds are used at least two or three times a year by Māori as a marae and marae rituals are carried out at those times, there are unprecedented issues around what is considered standard marae rhetoric and what is the correct tikanga in the absence of ahi kaa or tangata whenua at Clandon Park. In the case of Hinemihi, these paradoxes continue to be negotiated as they do in many marae in Aotearoa.

During the 100th anniversary celebrations at Clandon Park in 1994, for example, both Tūhourangi and Ngāti Hinemihi were invited as guests of the National Trust to the occasion. It wasn't until the whānau arrived at Hinemihi that they realised that there were two hapū from Aotearoa attending. Members of both hapū were not sure which side of the pōwhiri they were to be situated. Ngāti Hinemihi, while tangata whenua at home in Aotearoa, did not consider themselves tangata whenua at Clandon and thus asked Tūhourangi to officiate on the Hinemihi side of the process. Tūhourangi, however, were also reluctant to act as hosts as they, too, were visitors, and so both groups went on as manuhiri. Anthony Wihapi (personal communication, December 20, 2007) said that “the cultural protocols were unclear in England; however, these were successfully traversed”. While the evolving tikanga at Hinemihi is different in many respects to the tikanga held by tribal elders of Te Arawa, the cultural concepts that frame the space of Hinemihi remain constant. Respect for ancestral connections, intent of manaakitanga, and an entrenched discourse of care for the whare within a multifaceted context persist. Indeed the National Trust, through its conservation work, supports cultural practice as a means to sustain the long-term care of the whare: “...forever for everyone ... Caring for Hinemihi therefore means caring for these relationships” (Sully et al., 2014, p. 225).

Reciprocity is a key element in hapū narratives and cultural exchanges. An example of these exchanges is evidenced by the most recent offer of Ngāti Hinemihi to Tūhourangi to use

Hinemihi ki Ngapuna while the Tūhourangi tūpuna whare was under repair. While a very simple exchange, the offer is underpinned by a deep cultural recognition that the role of Hinemihi was and continues to be one of sustaining the people of Te Wairoa in both a physical and metaphysical sense. Tūhourangi reciprocate these actions in different forms. For example, the Tūhourangi kapa haka group in their most recent waiata moteatea, performed at the Te Arawa regional competitions in 2014, recalls how Hinemihi was the hero that night of 10 June 1886, sheltering members of the hapū from certain death and therefore sustaining the whakapapa of those members inside the whare. Many examples of this type of acknowledgement support the ongoing relationship of these two hapū.

Whakapapa kōrero with respect to Hinemihi, by way of waiata, whaikōrero and karanga, recognises the good will engendered between the two hapū as well as promoting how they can sustain their relationship into the future. These relationships are framed within the paradigm of māramatanga, wisdom conceived from an historical base within new contemporary contexts. In this instance, the relationship is founded on kin relationships and a shared history, and the intention, as with many Māori associations, is to whakamana or ensure that the continued integrity of current and future exchanges is recognised. Again, the concepts of reciprocity are reflected in the wider network of social relationships. For example, from a conservation approach, Hinemihi is considered an:

...object-centred network of reciprocal social relationships between people and each other and between people and things ... the conservation of Hinemihi becomes a distorting lens through which to understand the realities of people's lives and relationships. (Sully et al., 2014, p. 225)

While whakapapa kōrero at the marae located within the hapū territory of Rotorua continues to be able to maintain these shared histories and intertribal relationships, when relocated to England the two hapū are challenged to negotiate the differing physical and cultural landscapes. For example, the pōwhiri processes in Te Arawa uphold strict guidelines as to how the welcome is enacted; who is involved in this process, how the encounter is managed, and the expectation and obligation of the different pōwhiri participants is well recognised. In the pōwhiri at the Te Kōhanga o Rānana hāngī event in 2009, the pōwhiri was enacted by Ngāti Rānana, as hosts. The tikanga differed to Te Arawa and was semi-staged, in that Ngāti Rānana provided the kaikaranga and kaikōrero for both the tangata whenua and manuhiri. The ceremony and entire process was explained prior to the pōwhiri in a similar fashion to how cultural tourism businesses explain these processes to tourists in Aotearoa. The deeply entrenched tikanga or rules of Te Arawa could not be adhered to in their absence and Ngāti

Hinemihī and Tūhourangi elders have on several occasions endorsed the kaupapa whānau of Hinemihī to continue with the processes that best fits the occasion and context as long as the intent and respect is afforded to their ancestress.

There is acknowledgement by some that the whare is indeed owned by the National Trust and that through events such as the hāngī day, Hinemihī is kept warm, and that her relationships with all enhance her mauri and care and her identity as Māori is sustained. Indeed a continued kaupapa Māori approach in negotiating a pathway forward both informs those working to secure the future of Hinemihī and reaffirms her cultural identity. While differing perspectives and relationships with Hinemihī sometimes challenge notions of kaupapa Māori, tribal tikanga, and dependence on place (such as ideas of tangata whenua and ahi kaa), the overriding rationale for continued care of Hinemihī for all is to maintain and sustain her identity as Māori.

The paradox of finding out about oneself and confirming one's identity as Māori outside of Aotearoa is reflected in associations with the kaupapa whānau. Responses from expatriate New Zealanders to questions about connectivity with the whare, with Ngāti Rānana and with the community of Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana, acknowledged that the opportunities offered by events at the marae at Clandon were not as forthcoming in Aotearoa and the spaces created within these forums supported Māori cultural identity, albeit away from Māori places at home in Aotearoa. These responses were from both Māori and non-Māori and related to participation at the hāngī events, doing kapa haka with Ngāti Rānana, and involving 'Kiwi' children in learning Māori language and culture. Miss Weston referred to this paradox when writing about New Zealand from London in 1891:

'Why is it that New Zealanders learn so much more of their own country abroad than when they are at home?' Such is the question propounded in a letter to the editor of *The Observer* by Miss Jessie Weston, an Auckland girl who has attained literary fame in London by her interesting novel of New Zealand life, entitled 'Ko Meri'. ("Stage and study", 1891).

Te Awēkotuku also alluded to this when she said that to enable her to write her PhD thesis, she had to leave Aotearoa and completed her study in Hawaii (Te Awēkotuku, 1981). This phenomenon may occur for many reasons, but one explanation could be that Māori who find themselves in 'foreign spaces' outside their tribal lands are able to assert their Māoritanga in contemporary contexts that may or may not align to tikanga of their respective tribal groupings. Yet, even while a disconnect from tribal indices may be the case, the identities of travelling Māori are and continue to be interpreted through a mātauranga Māori schema and

these diversities do not diminish Māori identities but add value to the increasingly diverse Māori population.

In contrast to Māori scholarly assertions that taonga Māori imbue essential elements of Māori identity, the colonist project of non-Māori ethnographers in the early 20th century was to obscure those elements in the aspirations of the European tourist trade and art collector industry. The direction of Charles Nelson to Tene Waitere, for example, was to not use non-Māori symbols in the whakairo design as the curios commissioned for visitors were to be a representation of traditional Māori – as determined by non-Māori. This contradiction and perception of tradition is reflected in the perspective of European visitors at Te Wairoa in the 1880s. Gallop (1998) stated that Te Wairoa was “...a community operating on both traditional native and British lines; a village with an identity crisis, reeling from the side effects of European colonisation while trying to hang on to Māori values (p. 46). At the time Hinemihi was built at Te Wairoa, the ‘identity crisis’ mentioned by Gallop, for Māori of the village, was in fact quite the opposite: Māori identity was being reinforced by those who commissioned, built and utilised Hinemihi within the changing society in which the whare was positioned.

While colonisation made a significant impact on Māori society and cannot be considered simply a ‘side effect’ as there were dramatic changes to the fabric of Māori society at the time (Bremner, 2004), the identity crisis proposed here was not shared by the Māori in the village. Māori identity was being reconfirmed through the sharing of traditional stories with tourists, the resurgence of carving, and the utilisation of cultural identity in the development of much of the tourism experience at Te Wairoa. Amongst other things, the whare embraced British iconography. Cultural concerts, the building of Hinemihi, the observance of traditional sanctions on the tours, and the presence of the tohunga or high priest, Tuhoto-Ariki, in the village were all indicators of the strong will of the people to maintain their identity and cultural systems of knowledge – while also demonstrating a pragmatic economic response to shifting times.

Part of these dramatic changes to Māori society was the emergence of more permanent settlements in the wake of new forms of food sources. Instead of people travelling according to seasonal gathering grounds, the planting of wheat crops and trading of resources lead to more permanent villages being established (Brown, 2009). Te Wairoa is an example of this: where Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi were once travellers in and around their tribal

boundaries, the establishment of a flour mill, tourism and trade lead to a more permanent type of community. As a consequence, more permanent construction techniques emerged and this reflected upon the style of houses built. New technologies were also adopted, for example, with the introduction of metal tools: adzed timber frames and thatching made from native materials were supplanted with milled, sawn timber and shingle roof (Brown, 2009).

While changes in Māori settlement patterns, new economic opportunities and the introduction of new technologies influenced Māori architecture, Brown (2009) asserted that “Māori persistently built and rebuilt their world to meet the challenges of the natural, spiritual, political and colonial environments” (p. 19). As such, the significance of changes to Māori architecture is that buildings, such as wharenui, are founded on “a changing rather than static tradition with multiple strands of development that were sometimes in competition with one another” (p. 19). In the context of Hinemihi, an example of the dialectic between the multiple strands of development is the different views for future development of the whare, particularly between her whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau.

Another issue continues to be raised around the ability of the National Trust to maintain the cultural integrity of Hinemihi in the absence of the whakapapa and kaupapa whānau as tangata whenua or ahi kaa. For example, Clandon Park is opened to the public throughout the summer months and many non-Māori events such as weddings take place in its grounds. Questions are raised regarding whether these activities are conducive to Hinemihi, as a fully functioning marae. These challenges have surfaced several times at different events, and while the tribal ancestry is not always at the forefront of gatherings at Hinemihi, there continues to be a distinct strength drawn from the collective whakapapa and kaupapa whānau that is evident in much of the narrative about her.

The loss of understandings of the taonga or the physical parts of the whare of Hinemihi provided for further reflection on the importance of the whakairo and their subsequent interpretation by both Māori and non-Māori. The interpretations of the whakairo, for example, have sought to unpack both the initial intent of the carvings as well as the meanings of the carvings from history, current activity and future plans for the physical renovation and care of Hinemihi. Interpretation and subsequent representation of taonga is reflected in the many narratives about Kataore. Different interpretations applied to this single whakairo alone show how perspectives of representation can change the meanings of taonga in a broad sense as well as in a personal context.

The loss of ancestral knowledge of some of the individual whakairo is just one example of how being outside of the tribal care system has led to a loss of ancestral knowledge represented in the whare. This issue alone motivated Ngāti Hinemihi kaumātua to seek repatriation of Hinemihi.

Repatriation kōrero

Repatriation of taonga is a significant aspect for both the whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau communities. There are two sides to this debate: either for Hinemihi to stay and for Māori to support the National Trust, as her owners, in her care or for her to be returned to Aotearoa and be reunited with Ngāti Hinemihi, particularly those based in the tribal lands at Ngapuna.

Ngāti Hinemihi has not given away their kaitiakitanga obligations and continues to support the wairua of Hinemihi from Aotearoa. Those in England caring for the whare (particularly the expatriate Māori residing in London), while not claiming the tribal kaitiaki rights, do endeavour to care for her as if she was indeed their marae at home, a form of kaitiakitanga.

The hapū in Aotearoa has repeatedly requested the National Trust to return Hinemihi and a certain level of lobbying to support this mission is underway by kaumātua at relevant hui and wānanga within Te Arawa. These different forums where the value of taonga, such as Hinemihi, is contextualised to significant cultural and historical interpretation has stimulated quite strong responses from both tribal members and those who feel all taonga should be repatriated.

Indeed, repatriation was also considered by non-Māori who saw the value in repatriating the meeting house back in 1935 as “a work of Māori art and a memento of an historic occasion”. As reported in *The Daily Post*, it was suggested she could be deposited in a museum in New Zealand:

Mr H Lundius, of Wellington, who was in Te Wairoa in 1886 on the night, of the Tarawera eruption, and who was instrumental in the rescue of some members of the Hazard family, writes to the editor of “The Post” in further reference to the Māori carved house, Hinemihi, ‘which was sufficiently strongly built to withstand the mud rained by Tarawera on Wairoa village’. Mr. Lundius, on a former occasion, suggested that Hinemihi, as a work of Māori art and as a memento of an historic occasion, might be acquired for the (or a) Dominion Museum. (“Hinemihi – Now an English Amenity”, 1935, p. 10)

Mr Lundius's perspective implies that the historic value of the whare, as a physical representation or momento, would be best located in Aotearoa. His suggestion followed the passing of both the Right Honorable William Hillier Lord Onslow and his son Huia, who were both deceased by 1935. Mr Lundius surmised that the successors to the Onslow estate may not be that interested in retaining Hinemihi. Lundius arranged to have the matter raised with Sir James Parr, the High Commissioner of New Zealand, who then wrote to the current Lord Onslow, Richard Hillier, at the time. In response, a letter dated 29 January 1935 from Lord Onslow stated:

Dear Sir James

Thank you for your letter of 24th inst. I fear it would be quite impossible to comply with your request. The Māori house in question is not my property, but that of the trustees of the entailed settled estate. I am, therefore, but a tenant for life. I do not think the trustees could dispose of a portion of the settled estate by sale or otherwise without considerable legal difficulty, and I do not know whether they would be disposed to consider the matter. As a tenant for life, I should feel it would be my duty to oppose any deterioration of the amenities of the property I hold on trust for my successor and family, such as would be caused by the removal of part of the settled estate.

Yours truly.

(Signed)-ONSLOW...

("Hinemihi – Now an English Amenity", 1935, p. 10)

While Lord Onslow did not share any sort of connection to Hinemihi beyond his legal obligation, it was clear that Hinemihi was not going to be returned easily. Lundius responded that while there may be but a slender chance of securing Hinemihi from the trustees, he still hoped that "someone with greater wand than mine" (p. 10) would take the matter up, and he suggested that Lord Bledisloe (the New Zealand Governor) might be consulted in the matter.

Mika Aporo also had preferred the option of repatriating Hinemihi when he mentioned that he would prefer the whare be located in a museum in New Zealand: "I hope you can get them (the carvings) back to New Zealand and have Hinemihi re-erected in some museum" (*The Dominion*, 1935, cited in Gallop, 1998, p. 97). The notion in 1935 was that taonga were best cared for in museums and thus many taonga were either appropriated or given to museums throughout the world. And it should be acknowledged at this point that if it were not for many museums we would have far fewer taonga today as museums' conservation practices have sustained the physical forms of many taonga.

In 1986, during a visit of a Te Arawa cultural group who were touring Europe, the kaumātua raised the matter of repatriating Hinemihi with the National Trust. This discussion subsequently prompted a visit from the National Trust to Whakarewarewa a few years later. A kaumātua who responded to an invitation from the National Trust recalled:

A few years later a *panui* [invitation] went out to attend a gift giving from the National Trust at the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute at Whakarewarewa. They [Tuhourangi/Ngāti Hinemihi elders] were excitedly waiting for the ‘gift’. The representative excitedly presented us with a copy of the ‘bill of sale’. The whānau were gobsmacked and thought he may have been arrogant but because he was so genuine in his approach they realised this gesture was truly considered honourable but whānau thought it was disgraceful. The iwi graciously accepted the gift. (Anonymous, personal communication, December 20, 2007)

The iwi had presumed that a visit from the Trust suggested their request for repatriation may be fulfilled and instead they were given the proof of the sale of Hinemihi in 1891 between Lord Onslow’s representative, Roger Dansey, and Mika Aporo. The representative was genuine in his presentation; however this gesture by no means diminished the desire of Ngāti Hinemihi to have Hinemihi returned to Aotearoa.

In the kōrero regarding the whakairo, the hapū are hoping to initiate negotiations for ten of the whakairo to be returned. It was proposed that ten new carvings be made to replace those on Hinemihi in order for the return of the original ones. It was not made clear why the negotiation is for only ten whakairo instead of the twenty-three that had been initially sold; however, representatives of Ngāti Hinemihi were intending to travel to England to discuss this proposal with the National Trust later in 2012. This particular venture did not eventuate however hapū members continue to communicate their desire for repatriation. Te Ohu Wikingi of Hinemihi ki Ngapuna stated throughout the evening presentation that they are “currently fighting for the repatriation of their beloved ‘Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito’” (Wikingi, 2007).

Highlighting again her name and integral connections the hapū have and will continue to have with Hinemihi, Te Ohu spoke of the people of Ngāti Hinemihi and their continued desire to have her returned to Rotorua. Due to the continued obligatory ethic of care that Ngāti Hinemihi maintain through the tikanga of hunga tiaki and as the spiritual guardians of Hinemihi, some kaumātua of Ngāti Hinemihi continue to advocate strongly for her repatriation.

An alternative perspective is that Hinemihi provides a cultural link to home. This view is reflected by Maina Tapiata-Thompson of Ngāti Hinemihi, who has resided in London since 1997. She commented thus on the debate regarding repatriation:

The debate that Hinemihi should be repatriated continues... Hinemihi is significant to the UK Māori community. She is our marae away from home, a visual reminder to retain our identity wherever we are. She is significant to the historical community because of her value and rarity. Hopefully the initiatives being reviewed by the Clandon Park and Hatchlands Park National Trust working group can be implemented so we can utilise her more... I'm a descendent who likes to hang out with her as much as possible – just like I'd do with my koro. (Te Kōhanga Reo o Rānana, 2007, p. 7)

The hunga tiaki or spiritual guardians of Hinemihi continue to be Ngāti Hinemihi, who are a central part of the current activity to have the whare upgraded.

The relationships continually reinforced at hui, on marae, and in tikanga and ritenga, the methods by which Māori knowledge is transmitted, continue to enrich and sustain *Hinemihi*, the history of Hinemihi and her cultural identity as Māori. These relationships have broadened to the wider Te Arawa iwi as a way of maintaining the integrity of whānau, hapū and iwi and ensuring the concepts such as aroha and manaaki are upheld. While the ideal is to have the original carvings returned, there are hapū members who are also working with the National Trust towards renovation and development of Hinemihi in terms of her continued care and ability to operate in England as a marae.

If Hinemihi had not been taken to England, if her cultural identity had not been removed from her physical tribal landscape, would she have had as much success in creating a space for Māori, for expatriate Kiwis and for those who are now part of her community? The irony here is that some whare carved in the same period and by the same carver, those that have remained here in Aotearoa, are relatively unknown. The following section presents examples of other Te Arawa whare, some overseas and one still in Aotearoa but outside of the tribal region, as a comparative to taonga similar to Hinemihi, taonga that have had a similar beginning but very different histories.

Place as location or as a philosophical position

Schama (1995) contends that cultural landscapes are as much about the “strata of memory” (p. 15) as they are about geographic place. He used the example of national identity to show that while geographic place is intrinsically linked to identity, it is the “mystique of a particular landscape tradition: its topography mapped, elaborated, and enriched as a

homeland” (p. 15) that forms the interconnectedness of people to their home. The strata of memory of Hinemihi reflects both her five years located at Te Wairoa and her 120-plus years in England.

Considerations of location are central in much of the kōrero regarding Hinemihi. Ngāti Hinemihi, for example, presented their desire to have the whare returned to Te Arawa, whereas members of Te Maru o Hinemihi and those of the HinemihiNOW project are working on the physical and cultural future of Hinemihi in England. Furthermore and on another level, members of Te Maru o Hinemihi discussed the distance of Clandon from central London, and other options were mooted in developing another marae closer to London for Ngāti Rānana and others who currently meet at Hinemihi. While not overtly stating that Hinemihi could be replaced by another space closer to central London, it is fair to construe that some expatriate Māori do not have the same sense of connection to her as those who are associated through whakapapa and hence they feel the stated ‘symbol of unity’ that Hinemihi engenders can be recreated in other places. Nevertheless, she is still treasured and cared for as an important cultural reference in England for Māori.

Escobar (2001) asserted that ‘place’ in the context of anthropological study is more accurately positioned as “the defense of the constructions of place ... [and has] ... become an important object of struggle in the strategies of social movement” (p. 139). This notion of struggle, for Māori, is highlighted in the political context of Aotearoa where historic land confiscation by the New Zealand Crown is now being addressed through the Treaty of Waitangi claims processes. As the social context of Māori society since the Treaty was signed in 1840 has dramatically changed, Māori are now reaffirming or constructing their connections to place to conform to political agendas involved in land return and compensation for the Crown’s wrongdoing.

The relationship of Māori with their respective tūrangawaewae is complex, and primarily one’s connection to their whenua, taonga and iwi is prescribed through both whakapapa links and relationships with iwi members who maintain tribal politics; generally that power is held by tribal elders. This reinforces the notion that these linkages to whenua as a defined place and iwi are necessary to identify as Māori. Indeed, most Māori are now being asked to register with their iwi in order to provide a mandate to iwi representatives for land claims, resource return and usage. In order to register one must provide proof of ancestry which must be endorsed by a tribal elder, one with good knowledge of mātauranga Māori and specific

whakapapa. This process has created major problems with representation and the ability of urban Māori to be recognised in the absence of whakapapa information or associations. The contradiction here is that while Māori culture is based on inclusive concepts such as whanaungatanga, iwi, mana and aroha, many tribal trust boards, authorities or corporations are adapting membership to meet the increasing economic responsibilities iwi have gained as a result of Treaty of Waitangi claim settlements; i.e. iwi membership is primarily exclusive to tribal shareholdings via proof of whakapapa.

Iwi throughout Aotearoa have many different approaches to achieving tribal membership. Some depend on shareholding in tribal lands as a way of decision making – the more shares members have inherited, the more power to make decisions. Another way is through association with iwi marae, although this is generally limited to those who reside in tribal bounds. As a result of the processes iwi are adopting, much of the decision making, power and resources remains within tribal boundaries, even though 80% of Māori do not reside in those places. There have been recent challenges to iwi representation as a result, particularly when major Treaty claims are being settled. Iwi are aware of these discrepancies; however, it is difficult to manage potentially thousands of people who may or may not be able to affiliate. Many Māori are more closely related to urban Māori authorities or kaupapa whānau than their own iwi and this reality creates challenges for all Māori to provide the same cultural and social capital and opportunities for urban Māori as are provided for those residing in tribal bounds (Meredith, 2009; Tamihere, 2010). The exclusivity of Māori in these forums does pose problems; however, like Hinemihi, many Māori continue to be Māori outside of place but inside of Māori spaces.

Whakapapa or genealogically based tribal relationships continue to be a central part of Māori identity along with whenua connections or place (Durie, 1998). T. Pohatu (2001), however, played down the significance of one's place of origin and argued that it is not integral to a person's identity; rather, said Pohatu, it is the interrelationships of those who feature in a person's whakapapa that are important. This was highlighted when speaking with Precious Clark, a Ngāti Rānana member of Ngāti Whatua (an iwi of Auckland). She asked about my connections to England and I told her my thoughts that Hinemihi strangely connected us to our British father's country and identity in England. Her comment: "Maybe you are just connected to your Māori identity and Hinemihi is that [referring to being Māori], not because of being in England, you are Māori and connecting with other Māori people connects you to this place [referring to being in England]." This made me think that indeed the Māori cultural

identity of Hinemihi, like us, is maintained and sustained through her connection to other Māori regardless of place or time. It's about our identity as Māori and, through the symbol and opportunities offered at Hinemihi, we are all connected to this place.

A perception of the identity of Hinemihi, in two very different contexts, is illustrated in the perspective of the Antipodes. Antipodeans are most often referred to in ethnography and early tourist accounts as the inhabitants of New Zealand and Australia, a place on the opposite side of the world. Indeed, a perspective held by people positioned in or from the Northern Hemisphere when considering the Antipodes was one of 'opposite feet' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2008). In this study, however, the Antipodes is considered from a Māori position in the Southern Hemisphere, where Europe and England are cited as being on the opposite side of the world. This simple shift in perspective highlights the multiple interpretations and subsequent meanings within the social connections people have with Hinemihi, who can be considered Antipodean and viewed from both ontological positions, albeit sustaining their identity as Māori. Therefore the kaupapa Māori research focus is on contextualising cultural identity within the elements of a kaupapa Māori paradigm developed with these dichotomous philosophies in mind.

The non-Māori history of Hinemihi presents tourist views from those who considered Hinemihi and her environs as Antipodean in the sense that Māori were located in the Antipodes. It is perhaps relevant to point out here that the physical relocation of Hinemihi from Aotearoa to England in 1891 represents both a continuity of elements to her identity while synchronously presenting a total philosophical shift in how she is perceived by her communities of interest. For example, Hinemihi has continued to be located in a tourism context, from being part of cultural performances for Victorian tourists in Aotearoa to now being located within a National Trust estate in England. The 19th-century visitors to Hinemihi who gazed upon a new culture as the Other, whereby consideration of another culture reconfirms one's own identity, have now been replaced in the 21st century by visitors to Clandon who are primarily Māori and reconfirming their own cultural identity as Māori. While once considered by Victorian tourists in New Zealand as a display of Antipodean culture, Hinemihi is now considered by her Māori visitors to Clandon as a link to home, a reconfirmation of their own cultural identities or Self.

Other travelling Māori whare

There are three Te Arawa built whare located outside of Aotearoa. Two are in Germany – Te Wharepuni a Māui in the Linden-Museum in Stuttgart, and Rauru in the Museum für Volkekunde in Hamburg – and the third is Hinemihi, in England. Although all three whare were carved within a tourism environment around the turn of the 20th century and Tene Waitere was involved in carving all three, they were and continue to be considered differently with respect to the people of Te Arawa and indeed their non-Māori ‘owners’.

While their respective non-Māori owners are taking more care in the ethnographic representations of the whare and the conservation of their physical entities, their stories are informed by more than one hundred years of being “decontextualised ethnographic objects” (Garbutt, 2007). The dialectic between Western and indigenous interpretations of ‘taonga versus objects’ has prompted, in the past 20 years, museums and those who hold indigenous peoples’ collections to consider how the “intangible qualities of ethnographic objects, their conceptual integrity should be approached” (Garbutt, 2007, p. 112).

Another example of a whare built in the context of these ‘souvenir-type’ items is the whare now named Te Koha (the gift), which was acquired by the McKenzie family of Auckland. While this whare was not taken overseas, it presents similar disconnects of art as opposed to taonga in the context of whare. These whare that are located outside their original tribal regions were all built within a production-consumption tourism or commodity context. The overarching question here is: In the absence of tribal knowledge systems, do these whare present the same schema of memories, of cultural identity, as those whare located at home in their tribal regions in Aotearoa?

Like Hinemihi, Rauru and Te Wharepuni a Māui, Te Koha was carved by Tene Waitere as a non-Māori commissioned piece, but unlike the other three whare, this one was not taken overseas. The whare was opened in 1908 and sited at Sir Clutha McKenzie’s estate in Manurewa, Auckland, until the 1970s where it was moved to Orākei, Auckland. Currently it is sited alongside the ancestral house of the hapū Ngāti Whātua ki Orākei, Tumutumuwhenua.

The whare has a less exotic history and does not enjoy the iconic status of Hinemihi, being utilised as a utility space, as the marae mattress storage room, and is not mentioned in whaikōrero on that marae or any other. Ngāti Whātua ki Orākei is a tribe that has successfully

settled land claims through the Treaty of Waitangi settlements process after a protest occupation in 1977–78. Te Koha was located on the whenua that was occupied by the tribe in the protests, and since 1978 the whare has also been used as accommodation for whānau members. It is one of the only buildings that has endured more than one hundred years of existence, travel and relocations, and, while obscure in its current location, Te Koha continues to serve a purpose in the Māori cultural epicentre of Auckland’s tribal peoples.

Over the past three decades this little whare has fallen into disrepair and out of interest, and so, out of concern for his great-great-grandfather’s works, in 2010 Jim Schuster wrote a report for Ngāti Whātua ki Orākei to support their care of the whare. While Ngāti Whātua has had plans to renovate the whare for many years, Te Koha continues to deteriorate and the carvings are breaking off and rotting; it is now in a dire condition and unlikely to sustain much longer in the inclement weather of Auckland.

There is relatively little interest by Te Arawa in the whare (compared with the iwi interest in Hinemihi) or requests of its repatriation. This could relate to the commercial context within which it was built (although Rauru in Germany and Hinemihi in England enjoy much interest from Te Arawa), the private nature of its ownership with the McKenzie family (although Hinemihi has been privately owned for nearly a century), or the fact that the whare is now in Māori care and respect of Ngāti Whātua ki Orākei to be good kaitiaki is afforded – whether this is correct or not given the current status of Te Koha.

Figure 37: Sir Clutha Mckenzie (centre), circa 1912, outside Te Koha, Manurewa, Auckland



Source: McKenzie family private collection.

Figure 38: Te Koha was relocated to Orākei marae in the 1970s



Source: Nari Faiers.

Note: Jim Schuster and Keri Wikitera visiting, 2010.

Figure 39: Te Wharepuni a Maui, Whakarewarewa



Source: Price, William Archer, 1866–1948: Collection of postcard negatives. Ref: 1/2-001496-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

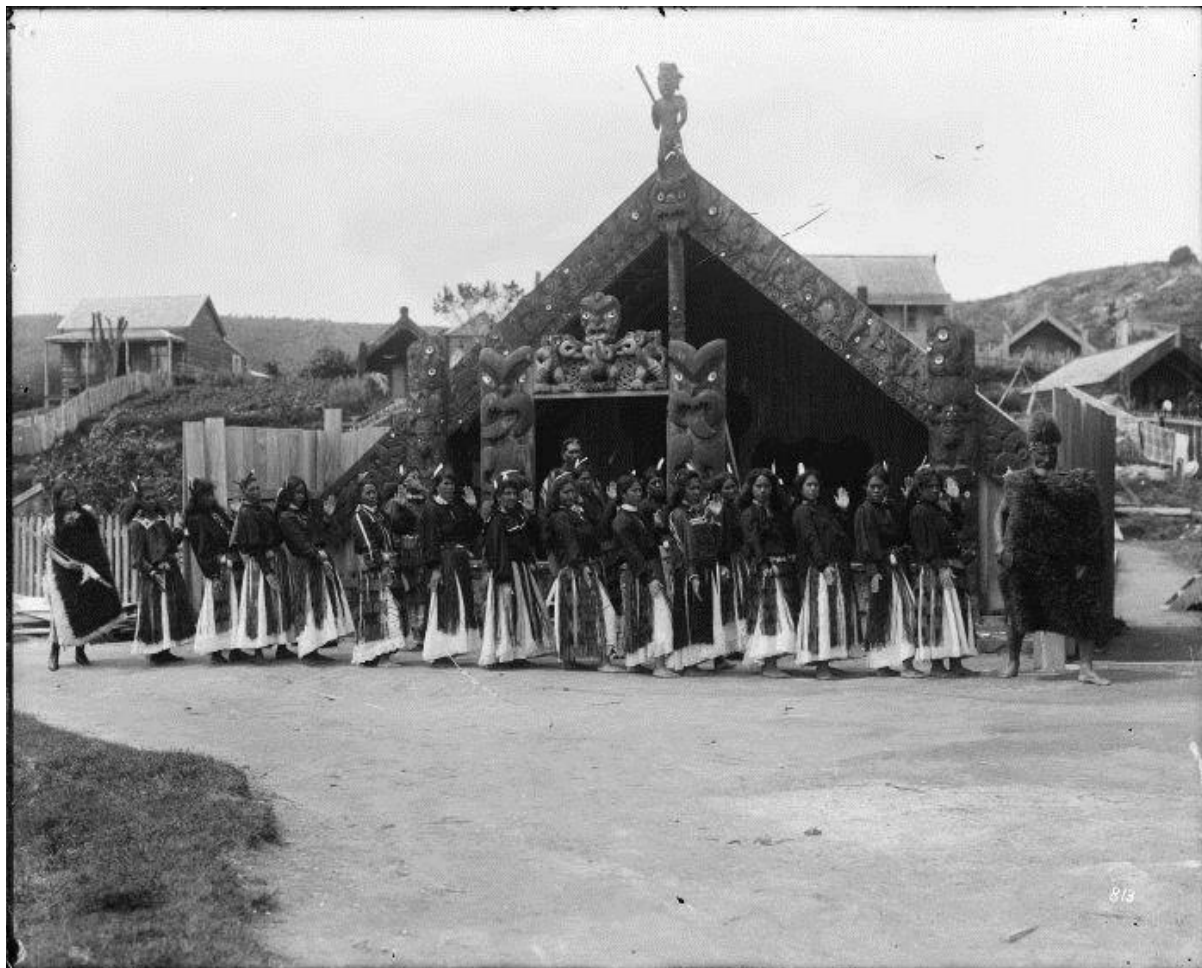
Garbutt (2007), when referring to the two German-based whare, stated that the interpretations and approaches made of them come from “vastly different worldviews – one of which can be seen to reflect a Western/European view [Te Wharepuni A Māui], another an indigenous/Māori view [Rauru]” (p. 11). Arguably, while the construction of Rauru was first located within a deeply rooted Māori cultural context, its subsequent completion, sale and location in a German museum continues to reflect a less connected relationship to Māori than does Hinemihi. Although both Rauru and Te Wharepuni a Māui have had increasing interaction with Māori in the past three decades, neither have had or currently have the level of interaction with Māori as Hinemihi does.

Both of the German museums are keen to increase the relationships between the whare and the whakapapa whānau with whom they are linked. These relationships, while reflecting the importance of whakapapa and continued association with key stakeholders, in a kaupapa Māori sense also reflect the essence of understanding conservation. Lindsay (1991) stated:

...conserving the essential elements of taonga includes encouraging an active relationship with their Māori spiritual owners. This reflects an understanding of conservation in its most important sense – that objects do not exist in a vacuum but must be connected to people and their communities. (p. 7)

The continued interrelationships the whare have with their spiritual owners, the Māori of Te Arawa and the communities that currently care for them, is recognised by the museum staff working on the respective whare.

Figure 40: Te Rauru meeting house at Whakarewarewa village, 1900



Source: Tourist and Publicity, Ref No. PAColl-3063, Alexander Turnbull Library
<http://mp.natlib.govt.nz/detail?id+29994>

These two whare that were sold to Pākehā buyers all reflect an interest in art and culture from exotic countries. The Māori whare, built during the period Tene Waitere was carving, became popular as souvenir pieces and many were not built to house cultural events or enact Māori traditions. These whare were built and carved following an interest in Māori Art (with a capital A) during the late 19th century and early 20th century. As the demand grew so, too,

did the supply. Tene himself saw the benefits of carving for commission as he was able to utilise his skills while being self-employed and so was able to provide for his family (J. Schuster, personal communication, May 17, 2009). Even so, there are numerous accounts where the carvers were made to wait and/or did not get paid the expected amount; for example, in 1906 Tene was short paid 5 pounds and paid six months late (Neich, 2001).

As demand increased for Māori carving, non-Māori began to influence how carvings were being designed, and in the late 19th century, ethnographers and commentators on Māori Art, such as James Cowan, Augustus Hamilton and Charles Nelson, became involved in what was to be a change in Māori knowledge transfer to Māori Art as ‘ornament’. Hamilton wrote a book on his interpretation of Māori carving, *The Art Workmanship of the Māori race* (1896–1900), and in a 1905 article on Māori Art alongside the development of a model village at Whakarewarewa, he proposed there be established a shed “in which young Native boys should be taught carving and the girls mat making” which would be “inhabited during the tourist season by approved natives, who should be required to wear, at any rate, some semblance of Māori dress and to conform to Māori costumes” (cited in Neich, 2001, p. 219).

Hamilton’s book on Māori Art was to remain a seminal text for Māori Art advisors who also imposed their views of art from England. In order to present a piece of art that responded to European sensibilities, these views had the effect of diminishing Māori knowledge systems and obscuring any meaning in the carvings. Neich reflected on Hamilton’s dismissal of “the complex problem of meaning” that was disposed of by Hamilton when he incorrectly stated that in carvings the “knowledge of the meaning of these things was known to the initiated men of the tribes of the Māori people up to recent times; secondly, that such knowledge has not been transmitted to any still living” (cited in Neich, 2001, p. 142).

This statement reveals Hamilton’s attitude towards the Ngāti Tararawai carvers who continued carving according to ancestral tenets, imbuing their systems of knowledge and meaning into their carving. While Hamilton’s systematic interpretation of Māori design was adopted by the carvers in the context of carving for commission, it was clearly not accepted by all. Hamilton was aware of those carvers who continued to challenge these ethnographers who had begun to assert financial power and control over what was represented in the carvings. Carvers such as Tene Waitere and Anaha Te Rahui were increasingly being asked to carve to appeal to “European connoisseurs of ‘good design’...” (Neich, 2001, p. 141) and as a result, Anaha Te Rahui was expected to systematise and abstract his carving patterns

according to Hamilton's 'ethnocentric instructions'. Hamilton wrote derisively of Anaha, "If the old gentleman had done exactly as my letter said and put nothing but one pattern on each block it would have been very good, but in all cases he has made something pretty" (cited in Neich, 2001, p. 229). Neich (2001) asserted that Hamilton had very little appreciation of the "grammar of the carving language" (p. 229), referring to how he had censored designs based on his view of what the appropriate method should be, disregarding the explanation by Anaha and knowledge of the old-school Ngāti Tararua carvers.

Subsequently Hamilton and Nelson worked together to fashion an orthodoxy of what an unchanging traditional Māori culture should look like and they were responsible for crafting representations of Māori culture during their time working with Tene Waitere and other various Māori on carvings. This practice alludes to the notion that these whare were objectified and not connected to or imbued with cultural meaning, and that by subjugating the Māori voice in these cultural representations, Hamilton and Nelson had essentially defined and limited the potential of Māori cultural values and knowledge systems with which whare whakairo imbue.

Summary

This chapter outlined key points from the history of Hinemihi that contextualises different times, events and changes that have occurred since she was built in 1881. Particular emphasis was placed on how Hinemihi brings people together; how through the many relationships of people with Hinemihi has shaped her cultural identity; and how the tensions manifested in these contexts are continually negotiated.

Central themes were highlighted as a way of demonstrating how Māori concepts found in kaupapa Māori references continue to sustain the identity of Hinemihi as a Māori icon. These concepts provide for a unique cultural framework of analysis.

The location of the whare is a significant aspect in much of the dialogue. Two obvious positions were revealed. The whakapapa whānau desire the return of the whare to Aotearoa and the kaupapa whānau appreciation of her being located in England.

Consideration of three other whare of similar origins was also discussed. While all these whare were built in the same period and Tene Waitere was involved in carving all three, different meanings, perspectives and relationships are found. The differences are largely dependent on their current contexts, ownership, utility and individual histories. Regardless of the disconnect of all these meeting houses located outside of tribal bounds there is still a continued interest by the whakapapa whānau in their care. In the case of Hinemihi dialogue continues for her to return to Aotearoa.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

The central thesis of this study is that Māori spaces are not confined to geographical places but are shaped in terms of social influence and cultural identity. The study found that whilst Māori identities are primarily determined through common ancestries affirmed with ancestral connections to whenua or tribally derived places, there are now new determinants to Māori identity that reflect changes in Māori society.

Ancestral and tribally bound cultural identity continues to be the norm in connecting many Māori with their whakapapa, histories and traditional cultural landscapes. There is, however, an element of evolution in cultural identity rhetoric. The cultural landscapes, for a now predominantly diasporic people, have evolved in response to societal change to what I have termed 'kaupapa based' identities outside of tribally determined criteria of place. Regardless of dislocation to place, the thread in Māori identities is based upon Māori histories intrinsically linked to whakapapa. The continuum of relationships builds upon the strata of memories that form Māori histories. For Hinemihi, the whakapapa kōrero of Ngāti Hinemihi and *Hinemihi* provides the backbone for a Māori historical paradigm represented symbolically in the structure of the whare itself.

This research was initiated, at first, to support an enduring legacy of Māori cultural identity to enhance future generations of Māori who, for many different reasons, no longer have a day-to-day connection to their tūrangawaewae. My motivation was one of self interest, perhaps, as my first *mokopuna*, my first grandchild, was born on the day I began this PhD journey, herself born to be a traveller or away dweller.

I found that the identity of Hinemihi, as a Māori icon, has not significantly changed over time even though her location, ownership, usage and relationships with people have. Her enduring status highlights the fluid nature of Māori socio-historic interpretation. Moreover, the case of Hinemihi illustrates how Māori cultural identities are constructed and sustained independent of traditional tribal boundaries and sometimes outside of knowledge of whakapapa or kin connections. The cultural landscape of Hinemihi, while based upon Māori concepts of tikanga, whakapapa, pakiwaitara, whakataukī, waiata, mana, aroha and taonga, are not contextualised to the traditional tribally bounded elements found within tribal places such as that of Te Arawa of the central North Island of New Zealand.

The view that the stresses of colonisation and non-Māori ideology have had detrimental impacts on indigenous identities (Edwards, 2009) are evidenced in the imbalance in social indices where Māori are over-represented in areas such as prisons, negative health statistics, basic education and poor housing (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). Henry (2012) asserted that a result “of the encroaching effects of Eurocentric ways of thinking and doing” has led to “traditional Māori communities and responsibilities for the inter-generational transfer of knowledge through oratory ... to fall away” (p. 14). Hinemihi is an example of how Māori can be Māori regardless of historical trauma, dislocation and disconnect from tribal relationships. Through an examination of the whakapapa of *Hinemihi* maintained through tribal tikanga, kawa and relationships in Aotearoa, the foundation for the Māori cultural identity of Hinemihi is laid. This whakapapa is then extended upon through an intricate and complex network of people who all bring layers of memories to this cultural landscape. These additional layers do not impugn the others but, rather, provide a third space in which all those who are connected to Hinemihi can come together.

Although I have described the travelling Māori as an emergent and new form of cultural landscape, the thesis also found that Māori, as with most cultural identities, have always been travellers. Geographic place is significant, not simply because of occupation or ownership but also because place is founded upon a ‘strata of memories’ and the traditions that link people to each other that is important.

While the whare tūpuna Hinemihi has been in England for more than one hundred years, I found that the whare is considered just as much a Ngāti Hinemihi tribal whare as it was when it was located in the tribal boundaries of Te Arawa. Thus the Māori cultural identity of Hinemihi has persisted regardless of dislocation and time. The tribal narrative about the whare continues to provide historical reference points to its original homeland of Te Wairoa and the relationships prior to the eruption of 1886. These narratives highlight tribal relationships, the whakapapa of *Hinemihi*, the topography of the Tarawera region, the development of tourism at Te Wairoa and, importantly, the capacity and fortitude of tikanga Māori to continue regardless of location. Indeed the absence of the whare adds to its mystique and another layer to its history, one that embraces new communities and relationships between the whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau with whom the whare is connected. Other whare of Te Arawa that were also built and carved at the time tourism was developing in New Zealand and are also located outside of tribal bounds do not enjoy the same level of interest as Hinemihi.

The dialectical tensions that exist between her kaupapa whānau and whakapapa whānau, rather than being detrimental, actually support and encourage continued interest with regard to how the spiritual, physical and cultural well-being of Hinemihi is maintained. These tensions continue to be negotiated between the National Trust, Ngāti Hinemihi, Ngāti Rānana and others.

Marsden (cited in Royal, 2003) contended that to understand culture, one must consider the world views of the communities of interest. He stated that “the world view lies at the very heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of culture” (p. 56). While the communities of interest in Hinemihi are diverse – from whakapapa whānau, the expatriate Māori community, non-Māori academics, the owners (the National Trust) and the Onslow family themselves – all relationships were mediated and analysed through the Māori cultural conceptual elements outlined in the literature review. The research endeavoured to not only articulate the ontology of the researcher, positioned as both the Self and the Other, but also to further understand the social interactions and motivations of all connections/relationships to Hinemihi. These relationships were analysed against historical discourses found in tribal texts including whakairo and waiata tawhito related to Hinemihi and her environs pre-1886. Given the broad nature of this study’s communities of interest and the many contexts of Hinemihi, limitations on the research being able to ‘touch, interact with’ and reflect all world views resulted in analysis of current activities at Hinemihi against similar activity while Hinemihi was in Aotearoa within a Māori tribal environment.

Despite her relocation to England in 1891, Hinemihi continues to bring people together, and although the function of the whare tūpuna from her time with her whakapapa whānau has changed dramatically, the cultural significance of both her whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau to understanding this taonga has been constant. Moreover, the cultural significance of the whare to her kaupapa whānau reflects that of Ngāti Hinemihi/Tūhourangi, whereby the presence of Hinemihi provides the cultural space to be Māori, to learn tikanga Māori, and to celebrate the culture in a way in which she originally was used. The hāngī event, amongst other occasions at Hinemihi, has engendered relationships with the whare that encourage a shared desire for her continued survival. These relationships and the resulting desire for the continued well-being of Hinemihi reinforces the notions of whanaungatanga, kotahitanga, koha, utu and aroha – a sincere regard for ensuring that her continued cultural value is upheld.

Hinemihi can be considered an urban-type marae because she is representative of a pan-tribal marae due to her location, ownership and community of interest. The location of Hinemihi in a non-Māori context and utilisation by a range of different Māori tribal peoples has changed the way knowledge systems at events at Hinemihi are transmitted. Her ability to engage in Ngāti Hinemihi tribal knowledge systems are limited to visits from Ngāti Hinemihi/Tūhourangi members, either in person or via cyberspace.

Edwards (2009) found in his research that “Māori knowledge systems are replete with elements that contribute positively to the maintenance of cultural identities and these identities are uniquely and distinctively contextually and culturally relevant” (p. ii). Māori knowledge systems are widely considered to be dependent on tribal elders to hold and communicate the requisite knowledge of ‘being Māori’. However, I argue that these knowledge systems can be just as effective away from tribal boundaries, in the absence of tribal elders, and outside of traditional considerations of place. Instead, I would assert that these knowledge systems are dependent on the relationships of people who give meaning to cultural connections, whether that is within their respective iwi or within new contexts that promote and reaffirm the cultural space of Māori identity.

Utilising Hinemihi as an example of enduring Māori identity, the research has outlined the social history of the whare tūpuna from the many interpretations of her whānau, who are the principal stakeholders in her physical and spiritual care. The recognition of Bhabha’s (1994) concept of the Third Space supported the kaupapa Māori research approach. The Third Space for cultural production and emergent notions of belonging are founded in the hybrid nature of most populations. Such views of social difference are important in promoting cultural capital and community well-being because they, in turn, enhance cultural, social, economic and political growth.

The study considered the Third Space of Hinemihi through the interpretations and meanings drawn from the many stakeholders and associations throughout the history of the whare. These stakeholders were classified into two groupings: the whakapapa whānau and the kaupapa whānau. The thesis therefore presented the respective whānau associations with the whare which further contextualised her cultural and social history and significance. What was found in the analysis of these whānau interpretations is that regardless of location, ownership and differing association with the whare, Hinemihi is a cultural reference that has provided

and continues to be an exemplar for Māori identity, and this is particularly aligned to an emergent travelling Māori identity or typology.

The research is reflexive in that it maintained a cycle of communication with iwi members as the researcher reflected upon the information proffered through observation in the wānanga and hui with the whakapapa and kaupapa whānau, in conjunction with the perspectives and narratives of the whakairo, waiata and tikanga. This cycle of communication was achieved through continuous collaboration with Tūhourangi at wānanga, during tribal hui and in written communications. Virtual communications through the Te Maru o Hinemihi network based in England (“Te Maru o Hinemihi”, 2012a) also provided important information and the ability to get feedback from those currently working with Hinemihi.

The hybrid nature of these communities and the intent of the research to present a Māori historical account initiated a critique of traditional history theory which is fundamentally constructed within Western frameworks of power. Smith (1999) asserted that “to hold alternative histories is to hold alternative knowledges” (p. 34). The literature review recognised that history has been used to reinforce people’s own beliefs and sense of identity, often with political motivations, and that the absence of indigenous views has been a result of colonial ideologies. The literature review critically reflected on history, interpretation and meanings, and the outcome of this critical reflection then formed the kaupapa Māori theoretical and methodological approach of the research.

An essential component of undertaking kaupapa Māori-based research is the acknowledgement that the subjectivities of those undertaking respective research projects are central to the research outcomes. As such, I presented my motivations and intent for the research, positioning myself clearly as a Tūhourangi woman and an urban born Māori who was raised in Auckland outside of the place of Te Arawa. Furthermore, by identifying myself as both an insider (as a Te Arawa woman) as well as an outsider (an away dweller or travelling Māori), my own history is reflected in the history of Hinemihi in multiple ways. The research, therefore, introduced the context of the whare to expose her identity through what Mageo (2001) stated are “sites of transit between layers of historical experience” (p. 2). Experience and context is repeatedly endorsed throughout the thesis as important factors in kaupapa Māori research, historical investigation and identity validation.

In the case of Hinemihi and many Māori throughout the world, not only are they disconnected from their tribal region but they are located overseas, far away from the

traditional tribal knowledge systems at home. Yet in these new environments, they continue to be just as Māori as those who live and keep the ahi kaa (home fires burning) in Aotearoa. Carter (2013) called this phenomenon “travelling beyond landscapes”, and related both people and objects as travelling symbols of Māori identity and engagement with cultural landscapes.

Māori histories detail this travelling beyond landscapes phenomenon with travel, navigation, relocation and responses to societal change dating back to the celestial origins of the human race from the separation of Ranginui and Papatuanuku and the creation of the world and all within it. Stories of migration are embedded in much of traditional Māori knowledge systems and are shared to justify our existence in Aotearoa as well as to demarcate and categorise individual tribes throughout the country. Yet, despite stories of migration, travel and relocation being found in many whakapapa kōrero, there exists a prevailing view that Māori identity is dictated by whakapapa and connection to tribal places. Based on this principal criterion, tribal kaumātua and authorities, haukāinga and certain significant New Zealand Government policies are seeking to reaffirm Māori people and their connection to their respective tūrangawaewae (Emery, 2008; *Tuhourangi Auahi Ana E!*, 2011; Whānau Ora Taskforce, 2009). This is a positive step for some, as the process re-unites whānau, reinforces tribal mores and confirms meaning and connection to tribal whenua, taonga and thus whānau, hapū and iwi histories.

The reality for many Māori, however, is quite different. The common question linking one to their hapū and iwi is: No hea koe? (Where are you from?). The responses from the kaupapa Māori whānau and other research on urban Māori (Durie, 2008; Meredith, 2000; Sully et al., 2014) suggests that often, those who are third-, fourth- or fifth-generation urban Māori feel uncomfortable responding to that question as they are all too aware that their place of residence does not reflect the expected response. For some, stating one's tribal origins provokes a level of anxiety as, while their ancestral links can be identified, a simple tribal connection commonly invokes further enquiry into hapū, whānau and marae relationships or links. An example of this form of dialogue is the use of one's pepeha. This common form of introduction provides a structured framework for Māori cultural identity. Within these traditional narratives, a method of connecting one to their whakapapa and requisite histories is confirmed. Disassociated from that form of whakapapa knowledge, Māori have been categorised as ‘compromised’ or ‘underprovided’ and with ‘negligible cultural competence’

(Emery, 2008). Thus many iwi throughout the country are seeking to reconnect their whānau, hapū and iwi so as to strengthen and sustain their respective tribal knowledge systems.

The thesis that one can be Māori, can sustain Māori cultural practice and thrive outside of tribally prescribed places influenced my preliminary investigation into the two questions of: Who is a Māori? and What is Māori cultural identity? This initiated further critical reflection of the methodological implications in forming a kaupapa Māori framework that responds to “what is real for Māori, how Māori live according to tikanga, and how knowledge can be created out of those tikanga” (Henry, 2012, p. 25). Therefore, I examined the epistemological considerations and the foundation, scope and validity of the chosen research methodologies to understand what the realities are for Māori against concepts found in mātauranga Māori.

Research question, goals and outcomes revisited

The original research questions set out to investigate how and why the cultural identity of Hinemihi, as a Māori icon, has sustained such radical change and how these findings apply to a growing diasporic Māori community. What are Māori spaces of identity?

In the absence of whakapapa relationships and knowledge of shared histories that are commonly bounded to connections to land interests, how does one seek to identify as Māori? Māori spaces, taken literally, can be considered any place where Māori are Māori. In the context of Hinemihi, this space can be likened to Mead’s (1986) contention that marae, as a pivotal institution for the enactment of tikanga Māori, can be transferred to non-Māori or foreign places.

The criteria for measuring cultural identity continually evolves with changing societies and is influenced by political agendas, be they cultural, social, economic or for individual gain. Hinemihi is an example of a taonga that has endured change while still maintaining her mana as the eponymous ancestress of Ngāti Hinemihi of Te Arawa. Cultural identity in this context is founded on historical traditional Māori cultural rhetoric which is based on connection to whenua, to whakapapa, in this context as tribally bound or kin based, and to patriarchal, hierarchical social structures or institutions. However, Hinemihi also provides the space outside of these indices to be Māori where her connection to whenua is in England and the context of her social relationships reflects an alternative or hybrid Māori identity where both whakapapa- and kaupapa-based interpretations can be drawn.

This ‘new’ identity was due, primarily, to the devastating events of the Tarawera eruption in June 1886, after which Hinemihi was sold and shipped to England. It appears, however, that adaptations to what was considered a ‘traditional’ whare tūpuna was already happening by 1881 when Hinemihi was first built. Metal tools used for the whakairo, a shingle roof and utilisation for both Māori and non-Māori activities were new contexts within the emergent tourism trade at Te Wairoa.

These new identities are reflected in the different interpretations of the history, significance and meaningful engagement of the whakapapa whānau of Hinemihi (Ngāti Hinemihi, Ngāti Tarawhai, Tūhourangi and the wider tribal confederation of Te Arawa) and her kaupapa whānau (the National Trust, the Onslow family, Te Maru o Hinemihi, Ngāti Rānana and many other visitors who attend Clandon Park). Common themes emerged from the research which are summarised here under the physical and metaphysical elements of Hinemihi. Both elements yield examples of the tensions raised between the interactions and differing perspectives of her whakapapa whānau and the various communities within her kaupapa whānau.

The importance of conserving and protecting the physical and metaphysical aspects of the whare is shared by both the whakapapa and kaupapa whānau. The major conservation and renovation project currently underway, whareNOW, includes the whānau of Hinemihi in a whole range of capacities, from volunteer work at the maintenance days to the sharing of historical and cultural knowledge concerning whakairo and the turapa. Future developments also recognise the significance of the whare to the identity of Ngāti Hinemihi as their whare tūpuna as well as her value to the kaupapa whānau as a cultural reference to their identities as Māori.

The debate over the desire of some to have the whare repatriated to Aotearoa reflects the dialectic tensions found between some of the whānau members. While Ngāti Hinemihi have a vested interest in the representation and integrity of their ancestress *Hinemihi*, members of the hapū in Aotearoa indicated their desire to get the whakairo returned, with replacement carvings being made for Clandon Park. The paradox here is that other whare located away from Rotorua do not have the same level of lobbying for their return. The tribal engagement with the National Trust and members of the kaupapa whānau of Hinemihi not only enhances the cultural capital found at Clandon Park but also increases the dialectical negotiations between the two whānau groupings.

The increased interest in the whare since 1986, when Te Arawa reconnected with their whare tūpuna and the social capital within the stakeholder communities of Hinemihi, has resulted in her continued care and development. Ironically, her care and development is being considered in the context of her original existence at Te Wairoa, even though the whare is now located in England. Yet, without the political negotiation that exists between those communities, Hinemihi may well have been relegated to the history books of Tarawera and lost to museums, her carvings sold off at auction houses, or continued in her role as a boat shed or a house for the estate's goats (Gallop, 1998).

Consistent with the Māori way of utilising whakapapa knowledge to connect oneself with the wider community, Hinemihi is a cultural conduit that provokes a critical consciousness. Her history traces links between new forms of power and knowledge associated with cultural identity, interpretation and analysis of philosophical considerations. In symbolising ancestral connections, Hinemihi embodies the history and continued kin-based engagement with these new forms of power.

The reality for most Māori is that their cultural identity is no longer defined by tribal identities alone or by whakapapa kōrero enacted on the marae at 'home'. Māori are travellers and are now predominantly:

- urban – residing outside of tribal boundaries, and
- diasporic – increasingly enacting Māori culture within kaupapa whānau.

In the case of Hinemihi and her communities, the identity of the whare as Māori is not only found to exist but also nurtured outside of Māori tribal territories – indeed in the most antipodean place in the world to that of the tangata whenua of Aotearoa. The question then posed was: How are Māori notions of cultural identity constructed at Hinemihi?

Associations were made with the dislocation of Hinemihi to those Māori who live outside of their tribal regions, whose cultural linkages to their tūrangawaewae have been weakened or, like Hinemihi, have endured a period of disconnect. Despite these disconnections, kaupapa whānau still continue to create their own spaces as Māori within contexts often not recognised by tribal members or traditional tribal conventions. Unpacking the complexities embedded in Māori cultural identity and the interrelationships of people to whenua, taonga and other iconic references is part of the pathway of validating the position of many travelling Māori or urban Māori who, like Hinemihi, are just as much Māori as their ancestors were.

While Hinemihi still has whakapapa connections to Ngāti Hinemihi, her identity in the present is not necessarily always built upon her genealogical connection to Te Arawa (in terms of current Māori ideology of whakapapa). New forms of cultural identity exposed the dialectical negotiation that exists between kin-based Māori and new forms of kaupapa-based identities. Kin-based criteria engage the systematic organisation of beliefs, experiences and understandings as understood within whakapapa kōrero, tikanga and tribal or genealogical knowledge systems. In contrast, kaupapa-based identities are a response to an increasing population of travelling Māori who identify as Māori within new relational connections in urban communities. Essentially the identity of Hinemihi is framed within the dialectical negotiation between connections of whakapapa versus kaupapa (or genealogical relationships versus communities of interest) in creating historical meaning.

The paradigmatic change in how Hinemihi has and is perceived by her respective communities is presented in this research as a relocation of the theoretical point of departure. The research is located from a Māori world view which represents a deliberate theoretical shift in how Māori cultural identity is researched through a kaupapa Māori theoretical base. While Hinemihi was first considered to be antipodean because of her location at Te Wairoa, she could now be considered antipodean because of her location in England. Although now in a totally opposite place from her original location, the theoretical point of departure that the research adopted was still framed within a kaupapa Māori epistemology or Māori 'space'.

The most recent history of Hinemihi and her associated connections with the 'social value systems' of the diasporic Māori community in England provided an opportunity to highlight sociocultural issues facing many Māori who, like Hinemihi, no longer reside in or indeed connect to their tūrangawaewae. Therefore the ex-patriate Māori, and even expatriate Pākehā, interpretation of Hinemihi was different to those of visitors and tourists to Clandon Park where she is located, and different again to those of Ngāti Hinemihi and of conservationists currently working on her physical form. Thus all those involved with Hinemihi come with different cumulative knowledge systems that need to be considered when defining the cultural identity and/or significance of the whare.

An example of the complexities of the cultural identity of Hinemihi and her interpretation is demonstrated in the dichotomous nature with which she is positioned. Hinemihi displays these in many of the different relationships she has had with a range of people. Her ongoing role in tourism, from a Māori cultural centre at Te Wairoa to an English estate at Clandon

Park, reflects her as a true ‘Antipodean’, whereby different interpretations were made based on tourists’ views whereby different interpretations were made based on perspectives that were dependent on whether the tourists were from Aotearoa or from England. Initially Victorian tourist perspectives associated Hinemihi with the Antipodes, with the exotic, with the Other. Now her Māori visitors associate Hinemihi with home, with their own cultural identities, resulting in many finding their own identity as Māori travellers while being with Hinemihi and her whānau in England. Even within the different social groupings of whānau visiting Clandon Park, there are differing perspectives on the cultural landscape of Hinemihi that are dependent on context and interpretation. For example, many of the New Zealand-based people visiting Hinemihi say she provides a tangible connection for them to Britain, while for expatriate New Zealanders living in Britain, such as Ngāti Rānana members, the whare gives them a connection to home, Aotearoa. Regardless of the positioning or paradigmatic place of departure, different interpretations come together to form commonalities of cultural identities and of interpretation. These common themes culminate in a want for those connected to her to sustain and maintain her identity as a Māori cultural icon as well as to provide the optimal environment for her future care, be that of her physical structure and/or the metaphysical elements that she imbues. These differing interpretations and perspectives support what Bhabha (1994) contended is the “paradigmatic place of departure [whereby] cultural and historical hybridity” (p. 21) brings together communities rather than divides them. Bhabha termed this the principle of negotiation.

Bhabha (1994, p. 28) asserted that this principle is not necessarily influenced by class or nationhood and is articulated outside of material interests, instead reflecting the wants of hybrid communities to a common cause. The stakeholder relationships that Hinemihi inspires have brought together peoples otherwise worlds apart. The inception of these relationships began when she was built in 1881, and thus for Hinemihi, the principle of political negotiation began nearly 135 years ago. Hinemihi acts as a focal point for these diverse communities, bringing together a cluster of people seeking connections to their respective cultures, homelands and to each other, forming what Carter (2013, p. 25) describes as ‘social capital’.

The essential elements of Māori identities are founded within kaupapa Māori philosophy, which states that it is not the dislocation or the distance or place that matters, but it is about interpretation and perspective. Thus, rather than analysing data through a set of non-contextual criteria, analysis of the data through a kaupapa Māori ontology has reinforced and

highlighted the successes, the priorities and the ability to transfer Māori knowledge within the spaces created. It is what Hohepa (2010), Jackson (2011), Pihama (2001), Smith (1999) and other kaupapa Māori theorists assert: it is about knowing who we are as defined by our people, not defined by those who assume a power relationship over us.

Amundsen, Jansen, and Mey's (2012, p. 6) interpretation and analysis of the physical imagery of Hinemihi as an object excluded context or subjectivities. This approach did not meet the rigours of kaupapa Māori where meanings in the whakairo are found not in the physicality of the carvings but rather from the meanings of the whare and her carvings to her people. A kaupapa Māori examination demanded a semiotic approach where the analysis reflected on the way people communicate through the signs and symbols of the whare. Therefore, a holistic approach was adopted where the whakairo were explored within the context of her communities. Furthermore, these signs and symbols were also positioned within both the physical and metaphysical space of Hinemihi. In examining the physical aspects of Hinemihi within the elements of kaupapa Māori, her cultural identity is dependent on those with the authority to define. For example, kaumātua of Ngāti Hinemihi have a different account of how the whakairo relate to the cultural identity of Hinemihi to how Ngāti Rānana interprets them. Neither can be determined incorrect but, in different contexts, those 'competing groups' are continuously redefining and reinterpreting her history and identity.

Māori identity can be fostered away from elements of whakapapa, tangata whenua and other tribal reference points and this new approach to identity has arisen alongside changing societal conditions (Houkamau, 2006; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Rata, 2004; Stevenson, 2004). Meredith (1998, p. 1) challenged the concept of Māori identity based on tribal connection to place. He proposed that tribally bounded typologies do not embrace new categories of Māori citizens, the urban Māori. He disputed the view that Māori identity must emanate from tribal boundaries and proposed that cultural identity consists of a complex strata of reference points based on a "Māori critical consciousness". While Māori continue to utilise natural landscapes as historical markers, a practice that makes up much of Māori oratory and narrative, it is the relationships with people and that strata of memory that count, not the actual place, land mass or ownership. Clandon Park now has a strata of memories connected to Hinemihi as an iconic symbol for her people, built upon and adding to the whakapapa of *Hinemihi*. Hinemihi is an example of Māori cultural identity processes that have transformed her from her original role as a Māori cultural tourism icon, to just a Māori artefact or souvenir during her period of disconnect, to her present-day status as, once again, a Māori cultural icon. With renewed

relationships and engagement with Māori, Hinemihi is now the base or heart for Māori in England.

Research contribution

Hinemihi is an example of a travelling Māori. She is an exemplar of cultural identity for the travelling Māori who make up more than 80% of the Māori population. As the history of Hinemihi shows, no matter where you are located, and even if away from genealogical knowledge or kin-based relationships, one can still be Māori. Hinemihi provides a theoretical paradigm of Māori historical study. The recognition of the dual perspectives and cultural spaces Hinemihi provides for the whakapapa and kaupapa whānau exemplifies the multiple understandings and interpretations that are located in the present but built upon past experiences. The cultural landscape of Hinemihi through whānau analysis of meanings shows that cultural capacities can survive major interventions and, as with Hinemihi, still provide important touchstones for cultural identity.

While the cultural elements found in kaupapa Māori provided an approach to research based upon Māori concepts of identity (for example, whanaungatanga, aroha and manaakitanga), this paradigm is not exclusive to Māori. By examining Hinemihi and her relationships with her communities, the research found that non-Māori were also creating their own identities through their contact with this cultural icon.

The research developed upon opportunities to strengthen Māori identities positioned outside of ancestral and traditional Māori cultural classifications. All of her communities, both whakapapa and kaupapa whānau, agree that Hinemihi is a symbol of unity. Hinemihi is a Māori icon, a conduit of culture, a role model for how one's cultural identity can be nurtured regardless of place.

Methodological contributions

It is recognised that cultural identity is linked to a person's well-being and that people who are confident in who they are enhance their respective communities' cultural and social capital (Houkamau, 2006). The constructs developed to articulate the history and cultural identity in the study confirmed the continuing role of Hinemihi as a cultural conduit for those who had or have a relationship with her.

In seeking my own connections to Hinemihi, I asked my kaumātua how *Hinemihi* links to me – but in response, they advised me to find out how I link to her. While subtle, this changed the perspective of the study as the interpretations of the many people connected to Hinemihi were not categorised or plotted into a predetermined model of historical or cultural analysis but rather reflexively linked to the multiple contexts or cultural spaces Hinemihi provides for.

While kaupapa Māori embraces frames of reference that provide for the discursive and disciplinary position that Māori identity can be posed, the thesis also challenged and extended upon traditional notions of Māori identity, particularly identity criteria that are associated with place-based concepts such as mana whenua, ahi kaa (people keeping the home fires burning, i.e. those who are ensuring tikanga is adhered to) and tangata whenua through to taonga tuku iho (ancestral legacies, including whakairo) and their importance thereof. The thesis sought to unpack or deconstruct Māori identity as being an empirical tradition of representation and interpretation that fosters well-being and is reflective of multiple Māori identities. Therefore, the methods applied in this research sought to expose the realities of Māori who are not located within traditional tribal boundaries and/or classifications but who, nevertheless, identify as Māori.

In keeping with both kaupapa Māori research and the considerations of history theorists such as Byrnes (2001), Munslow (2006) and Tosh (2006), the framework of power and critical reflection upon different perspectives was a significant part of the research project. The complexities involved in a cultural reading of Hinemihi and her interpretation were premised on the notion that she is a symbol of identity. The kaupapa Māori system of knowledge necessitated the utilisation of multiple modes of interpretative analysis. Hinemihi was, therefore, viewed from many perspectives, split amongst many binary paradigms, be that Self and Other (Fanon, 1963), past and present (Mageo, 2001), and Western and indigene (Crosbie, 2007; Pihama, 2001; T. Pohatu, 2003; Smith, 1999).

The change of context of the whare from what was essentially a network of genealogical and Ngāti Hinemihi communication systems responds to what Neich (2001) asserted is “part of a continuing but changing system” (p. 259) and provided a dialectical framework for historical analysis that embraced social as well as other key relationships in the history of the whare. Consequently, Hinemihi not only presented historical insights from a past time but importantly provided for a comparative framework signposting future direction for Māori.

Thus a methodological approach was required that supported a critical analysis against structures of meaning contextualised to the different relationships and interpretations of people associated with Hinemihi and, through her, with each other. Consideration of the many contexts in her past and present, as well as the potential for her future, is underpinned by the intent of her whānau to ensure she is cared for in both a metaphysical and physical sense.

The research adopted a broad philosophical association between colonial cultural alienation and social control. This discursive approach allowed for an interrogation of Hinemihi within the context of her current location in England but also examined how the identity of Hinemihi has been positioned in the past. The cultural knowledge reflected in the historical narratives of Hinemihi continues to be mediated by Māori knowledge systems that are based on multiple methods of exchange.

The many stakeholders of Hinemihi, or her kaupapa whānau and whakapapa whānau, have developed a strong network through which they can work together on her future care. They utilise many forms of communication including Web-based applications (see, for example, “Te Maru o Hinemihi”, 2012a), multimedia documentaries, teleconferencing, noho marae at Hinemihi, many hui at home in Rotorua, waiata composition, working parties for gathering resources, and the informal social networking that occurs during maintenance of the whare itself. The scope of interactions within the historical and current contexts of Hinemihi influenced the choice of a kaupapa Māori methodological approach.

Paradoxically, the existence and history of Hinemihi in England supports kaupapa Māori philosophy despite the whare now being located outside of her traditional Māori tribal area. Hinemihi, her history and the multiple layers of interactions she has and continues to stimulate amongst her communities of interest provides a nexus for the elements found in kaupapa Māori literature and provides a dynamic cultural framework that addresses the complexities involved in social change. Her history continues to be enriched by the negotiation of interested people, their relationships with Hinemihi and the hybrid communities that bring groups like Ngāti Hinemihi, Ngāti Rānana, the Academy and the National Trust together.

A critical analysis of different theoretical and methodological approaches was undertaken to support the choice of kaupapa Māori methodologies. These included a critical analysis of traditional history theory, with particular regard to seeking meaning rather than fact-based

historical analysis. An analysis of aspects of the whakairo, for example, raised dialectical issues between the whakairo as objects as opposed to the whakairo as a means of ancestral communication.

Analysis of tikanga was also reflexively considered in the context of applying tikanga within the cultural constructs of Ngāti Hinemihi at Hinemihi ki Ngapuna and tikanga that is presented at Hinemihi. Māori frameworks of knowledge, literature and research continue to endorse the notion of whakapapa as an essential part of being Māori. These knowledge systems are commonly mediated through tikanga enacted by whānau, hapū and iwi at places such as tribal marae and associated cultural landscapes. In the case of Hinemihi, like many Māori travellers, the tikanga is not transmitted or communicated in the same way. Essential elements such as whakapapa and tribal tikanga, for example, is not transmitted at Hinemihi according to Ngāti Hinemihi protocols and therefore the cultural protocols at Hinemihi do not necessarily reflect her tribal knowledge system but more her history that has been established during her time in England.

By applying concepts of Māori identity outside of tribally based rhetoric or traditional cultural identity measures, the analysis confirmed that Māori identities can be created and maintained through cultural spaces rather than cultural places. Thus, the research has produced an alternative perspective on Māori identity: firstly, that connection to genealogical knowledge is not a prerequisite to being Māori, and secondly, that knowledge transfer mediated through tikanga can be maintained and sustained outside of tribal knowledge systems and is largely or wholly dependent on context.

The dualistic character of the history of Hinemihi highlighted the dialectics between Māori and non-Māori world views and between whakapapa and kaupapa whānau, as well as differences in historical perspectives, public versus private ownership, and the host/visitor dynamic. Practical elements such as traditional conservation versus the realities of marae maintenance were also highlighted. While the whare received British tourists visiting the Antipodes pre-1886, the whare now has Māori tourists visit her while touring through Britain. The visitor records from both locations reflect the unique adaptability of the whare. Despite having been located in two very different environments, Hinemihi has retained her presence as a cultural conduit for many people who have come across her, both at Te Wairoa and in Clandon Park, Surrey. Hinemihi represents the multi-vocality of her taha tinana, taha wairua and taha hinengaro (her physical or built history, her spirituality or connections to the

cosmos, and her emotional or social linkages, respectively), elements that reflect a holistic approach to her history. Consideration was also made of her continually evolving relationships with her iwi and a fast growing non-Māori community. The key elements in the history of Hinemihi have been aligned to Māori societal changes as a form of analysis rooted within this study's kaupapa Māori philosophical framework. This is particularly pertinent to the travelling Māori/urban Māori demographic and respective systems of relevance that now shape cultural identity outside of the traditional tribally confined regions or places as prescribed through whakapapa connections.

The research therefore examined kaupapa Māori cultural concepts, such as tikanga and whakapapa kōrero, as applied and practised within Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi in Aotearoa; it then compared these concepts to the cultural space of Hinemihi in England. I assert, from my analysis, that Māori cultural identity concepts continue to apply in England, albeit adapted to the environment of Hinemihi. Thus, although these concepts do exist away from home, the way in which they transpire is different to the same concepts enacted in tribal tikanga in Aotearoa.

Rather than the different forms of tikanga enacted at Hinemihi creating a less Māori space, however, these changing tikanga practices affirm and promote Māori cultural identity. The tenets of kaupapa Māori continue to be mediated through such concepts as those highlighted in the model of Māoritanga (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2003) – concepts such as aroha, marae, hākari, whanaungatanga and manaakitanga. All these concepts are a part of and indeed the intent of the kaupapa whānau in events such as the annual hāngī days at Hinemihi. I contend that this notion of Hinemihi, that she is a genealogical or whakapapa example of Māori cultural identity, can be extended beyond Ngāti Hinemihi, and that her case study as presented in this thesis can be an exemplar of a socio-historical study of Māori spaces created outside of traditional contexts.

The kaupapa Māori approach to the study of Hinemihi as a cultural icon exposed the complexities and dynamic nature of Māori cultural identity, spaces and symbols. The multi-vocal interpretations, dialectics and negotiation that take place within the Māori space of Hinemihi provide a framework and methodology for the affirmation of cultural identity of the whānau. For example, the pakiwaitara, waiata, whakairo, whakataukī and kōrero or narratives of Hinemihi inculcate the intrinsic and extrinsic values of Ngāti Hinemihi and Tūhourangi, and now the diasporic community of Hinemihi. The institutional and social perspectives

within the stories, narratives and carvings of Hinemihi imbue both physical and metaphysical cultural references to her many stakeholders. These cultural references did not always meet a time-based lineal or chronological order as determined in traditional history theory. The historical interpretations from the study were established upon the meaningful engagement of people concerned for the future of Hinemihi. The research, therefore, required an approach that embraced ancestral standards and values that extended beyond previously published historical accounts into cultural landscapes mediated by people and their respective relationships within the cultural spaces of Hinemihi. The art history, for example, was not just purely an examination of the history of the artwork of Hinemihi, but a reflective analysis of Hinemihi, the whakairo and the cultural references within the whakairo themselves, and their respective stories.

I have argued that the many perspectives of Hinemihi, mediated through a Māori ontology, provide for an understanding of Māori knowledge systems. The scope of the Māori history of Hinemihi is located within the whakapapa kōrero of *Hinemihi* and her complex network of relationships. The whakapapa kōrero is not exclusive to the whakapapa whānau and continuously and synchronously reflects the past, present and future relationships with people and place, developed through their connections to Hinemihi. Hinemihi continues to maintain her mauri because of her status as an icon for Māori identity and the relationships that continue to fortify her future. While her location, ownership and cultural landscape have been located in a non-Māori context for more than a century, her Māori cultural identity has endured. This is primarily due to the unique ability of Hinemihi to connect people through the interpretations of her past and the current activities of her global community that essentially secures her future. While the notion of fluidity of time consistently emerged in the historical account, there are divisions in time that displayed changes to her context that influenced her position. However, an overriding theme was that Hinemihi acts as a conduit between the past, present and future.

The socio-historical study of Hinemihi exposed the dialectics between her whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau. The interpretations from both groups, while sometimes conflicting, have and continue to be mediated by establishing meanings or ‘truths’ from both sides rather than disproving one argument. Consideration of how her relationships with people have been fostered, how mātauranga Māori validates these relationships, and how future research and progression of histories can add value to Hinemihi, reaffirms her cultural identity as a travelling Māori. These relationships and interpretations are not exclusive to

Māori but present multiple perspectives of people who are concerned for the future of Hinemihi and inherently connected to her past.

Towards an alternative typology of Māori cultural identity

Emery (2008) found in her research that while her hapū are attempting to revitalise hapū participation of those who have been disconnected from their iwi, there are distinct dialectical dilemmas between those who reside and engage in maintaining tribal identities at home, the ahi kaa, and those who don't; furthermore, there is some way to go to overcome these tensions. In analysing current practice at the marae at 'home' in order to support an increase in tribal cultural competencies and relationships, Emery (2008) stated that "assisting these people to secure (or at a minimum 'positivise') their identity profiles, requires some changes to current marae systems" (p. 262).

To a degree, I began this research from this same position, whereby I was researching to save the plight of the travelling Māori, disconnected from their papakainga, their culture and their ways of knowing, and with their varying degrees of disenfranchisement. Furthermore, this perspective was positioned from my own ontological view that the only pathway to reclaiming our cultural identity was to secure tribal ties to our tūrangawaewae. What I found, however, was that not only do the travelling Māori not need saving, many find their cultural identities easier to identify while away, outside of their respective tribal regions. Like Hinemihi, the cultural identity of travelling Māori endures no matter where one is. Māori cultural identity is not dependent on being with the tribe, at the haukāinga or on the marae of Aotearoa, it is about having the opportunity to access cultural spaces that support being Māori and people's ability to whakamana that identity.

From this research, I contend that rather than attempting to change marae systems or change the way both the ahi kaa and ahi tere engage with each other, there is a need for affirmation of difference. Making sense of changes in society requires recognition of the multiplicity of perspectives, interpretation and knowledge systems, and the capacity of kaupapa Māori research to bring these differences together. The result from this study is that the travelling Māori diaspora contributes to Māori cultural capacity, social capital and new cultural identity criteria, which enhances Māori identity for all Māori.

Therefore, my research contribution broadens and extends upon previous Māori identity typologies in recognition of the evolutionary and contextual nature of Māori cultural identity.

Alongside the application of concepts found in kaupapa Māori philosophy, this alternative view of Māori recognises the cultural spaces and cultural references developed over time that embrace whakapapa kōrero. The Māori histories based upon whakapapa move beyond cultural landscapes connected to place as a static tradition towards an evolutionary typology, that of the travelling Māori.

Poroporoaki – (expression of grief)

On the 29th April, 2015 the Clandon mansion was severely damaged in a fire. Hinemihi yet again survived another tragedy even though it is located very close to the mansion. It is too early to speculate on what the future holds for the estate and thus Hinemihi. The kaupapa whānau have shared their extreme sadness at the loss of the mansion which is now just a shell. The fire has devastated many who worked there, visited and those of the Onslow family. The annual Te Kōhanga Reo hangī has been cancelled along with all other events planned at the estate.

The change in context will have dramatic impacts, certainly for the coming years, on visitation to Hinemihi and thus the relationships of the whakapapa and kaupapa whānau will change. Members of Ngāti Hinemihi/Tūhourangi are planning to travel to England this year to meet with the National Trust and other members of the whānau to discuss the future of Hinemihi.

No reira ki a koutou te whānau o Te Maru o Hinemihi

Kia kaha, kia maia, kia manawanui

Glossary of Māori terms

<i>ahi kaa</i>	1. ‘burning fires of occupation’ – title to land through occupation by a group, generally over a long period of time. The group is able, through the use of <i>whakapapa</i> , to trace back to primary ancestors who lived on the land. 2. home dwellers; those who keep the home fires burning.
<i>Aotearoa</i>	New Zealand.
<i>ariki</i>	1. paramount chief, a person of high ranking. 2. God.
<i>aroha</i>	affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy
<i>atua</i>	1. god. 2. ancestor with continuing influence.
<i>haerenga</i>	journeys.
<i>haka</i>	a fierce rhythmical dance.
<i>hākari</i>	1. to have a feast. 2. sumptuous meal, feast, banquet, celebration, entertainment.
<i>hāngī</i>	an earth oven used to cook food with steam and heat from heated stones.
<i>hapū</i>	a 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 <i>whānau</i> 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 <i>hapū</i> usually shared adjacent territories forming a looser tribal federation (<i>iwi</i>).
<i>harirū</i>	1. formal greeting. 2. handshake, or to shake hands.
<i>haukāinga</i>	1. true home; tribal lands. 2. the local people of a <i>marae</i> ; the people who live on the tribal lands. 3. those who give life to home
<i>Hawaiiki</i>	the spiritual homeland of Māori.
<i>hiko</i>	tramp, excursion, march.
<i>hinengaro</i>	intellect, mind, thought, consciousness, awareness, psychological, mental.
<i>hongi</i>	1. to press noses in greeting. 2. to smell or sniff.
<i>hui</i>	meeting, gathering or conference.
<i>hunga tiaki</i>	<i>Te Arawa</i> dialectical term for <i>kaitiaki</i> or spiritual guardians.

<i>Ika-a-Māui</i>	the North Island of <i>Aotearoa</i> .
<i>iwi</i>	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.
<i>iwi wānanga</i>	tribal learning forum(s).
<i>kai</i>	food or meal.
<i>kaikaranga</i>	the woman or women who make the ceremonial call to visitors onto the <i>marae</i> at the beginning of a <i>pōwhiri</i> .
<i>kaikōrero</i>	speaker, narrator.
<i>kainga</i>	home, address, residence, village, settlement, habitation, habitat, dwelling.
<i>kaitiaki</i>	spiritual guardians, stewards of nature and resource, trustee, custodian, caregiver, minder, guide.
<i>kaitiakitanga</i>	guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship.
<i>kākahu</i>	garment, clothes, cloak, apparel, clothing, uniforms.
<i>karakia</i>	prayers or incantations.
<i>kaikōrero</i>	a male speaker.
<i>kapa haka</i>	Māori cultural group.
<i>karanga</i>	formal or ceremonial calls; usually the ceremonial call of welcome on to the <i>marae</i> at the start of a <i>pōwhiri</i> .
<i>kaumātua</i>	adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man; an elder who has status within the <i>whānau</i> .
<i>kaupapa</i>	topic, policy, matter for discussion, philosophy, theory.
<i>kaupapa Māori</i>	a philosophical doctrine that incorporates the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society.
<i>kaupapa-a-iwi</i>	tribal ontological framework.
<i>kaupapa whānau</i>	community of interest.
<i>kawa</i>	<i>marae</i> protocol, customs of the <i>marae</i> and <i>wharenuī</i> , particularly those related to formal activities such as <i>pōwhiri</i> , speeches and <i>mihimihi</i> .

<i>Kawe mate</i>	mourning ceremony at another marae subsequent to the tangihanga and burial - relatives of the deceased, especially someone of importance, visit as a group the marae of communities. The kawē mate is often at the community's request. A photo is often held by one of the woman at the front of the group to represent the body of the deceased person and is placed on the verandah of the meeting house during the pōhiri.
<i>kete</i>	basket(s).
<i>koha</i>	a gift, present, offering, donation, contribution – especially one maintaining social relationships ; <i>koha</i> has connotations of reciprocity.
<i>koha o te aroha</i>	gifts of love.
<i>kōhanga reo</i>	Māori language preschool(s).
<i>kōrero</i>	speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, conversation, discourse, statement, information.
<i>kōrero tuku iho</i>	history, stories of the past, traditions.
<i>kōwhaiwhai</i>	painted rafter panels
<i>koro</i>	elderly man, grandfather, grandad, grandpa - term of address to an older man.
<i>koruru</i>	carved figure on the gable of a meeting house, often representing the ancestor after whom the <i>whare</i> is named.
<i>kotahitanga</i>	unity, togetherness, solidarity, collective action.
<i>kuia</i>	female elder, grandmother, elderly woman.
<i>kura kaupapa Māori</i>	Māori language primary schools.
<i>mahau</i>	porch.
<i>mana</i>	authority, prestige, status, spiritual power, control, influence.
<i>mana motuhake</i>	independent status, sovereignty.
<i>mana tangata</i>	the acknowledgement of the human being, human rights.
<i>mana tūturu</i>	your prestige/spiritual guardianship.
<i>mana whenua</i>	territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory, jurisdiction over land or territory – power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land. The tribe's history and legends are based in the lands they have occupied over generations and the land provides the sustenance for

	the people and enables provision of hospitality for guests.
<i>manaaki</i>	to support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect, look out for.
<i>manaakitanga</i>	1. hospitality, kindness, generosity, support. 2. the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others.
<i>manawa</i>	heart; seat of affection.
<i>manuhiri</i>	visitor(s), guest(s).
<i>Māori</i>	the indigenous people of Aotearoa (New Zealand).
<i>Māoritanga</i>	Māori culture, practices and beliefs.
<i>marae</i> (also <i>marae ātea</i>)	1. the open area or courtyard in front of the <i>wharenui</i> , where formal greetings and discussions take place. 2. a complex of buildings around a <i>wharenui</i> .
<i>māramatanga Māori</i>	enlightenment, insight, understanding, light, meaning, significance, brainwave.
<i>mātāmua</i>	first born or eldest child.
<i>mātauranga Māori</i>	Māori knowledge.
<i>mate</i>	dead.
<i>maunga</i>	mountain, mount, peak.
<i>mauri</i>	life principle, essence.
<i>mihimihi</i>	speech of greeting, tribute.
<i>moana</i>	sea, ocean.
<i>mokemoke</i>	lonely.
<i>mokomoko</i>	lizards, skinks, geckos.
<i>mokopuna</i>	grandchildren.
<i>mōteatea</i>	lament, chant.
<i>Ngāpuhi</i>	a Māori <i>iwi</i> or tribal group of the northern part of the North Island.
<i>ngāwhā</i>	geothermal activity.
<i>Ngāti Hinemihi</i>	a subtribe or <i>hapū</i> of <i>Te Arawa</i> descended from the original owners of the whare Hinemihi and whose people trace their identity to their ancestress

Hinemihi.

<i>noho marae</i>	an overnight stay, sleeping on a <i>marae</i> .
<i>pā</i>	fortified village(s).
<i>paepae tapu</i>	a sacred panel of speakers.
<i>Pākehā</i>	European.
<i>pakiwaitara</i>	story, legend, fiction, folklore, narrative, gossip.
<i>papakāinga</i>	home, village, original home or village, communal Māori land.
<i>papatipu</i>	ancestral land.
<i>Papatuanuku</i>	the Earth mother.
<i>paraoa</i>	1. whalebone. 2. a weapon made from whalebone.
<i>pātaka</i>	storehouse.
<i>patu</i>	a short weapon, club.
<i>panui</i>	invitation.
<i>pepeha</i>	tribal proverb, formulaic expression.
<i>pōkeka</i>	a form of <i>whakapapa</i> narrative peculiar to the tribe of <i>Te Arawa</i> , it is a rhythmic chant of challenge, without actions, that tells a story of an extreme event in tribal history.
<i>poroporoaki</i>	eulogy, panegyric, leave taking - eulogies, or farewell speeches to the dead, contain beautiful language and express people's grief.
<i>pou</i>	post.
<i>pouhaki</i>	carved post.
<i>pou kōrero</i>	narrative post.
<i>pou whakairo</i>	carved posts.
<i>pounamu</i>	greenstone.
<i>poutokomanawa</i>	the central post supporting the ridge pole of the whare.

<i>pōwhiri</i>	traditional welcome ceremony on a <i>marae</i> , an initiation, ritual of encounter.
<i>puhi</i>	a virgin, or woman of high rank.
<i>pūkana</i>	facial expression.
<i>rangātira</i>	1. chief (male or female); in a contemporary sense, can be a boss, supervisor, employer, landlord, owner, proprietor. 2. qualities of a leader, especially 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.
<i>rangātiratanga</i>	chiefly autonomy, authority, self-determination, sovereignty.
<i>Ranginui</i>	the Sky father.
<i>raranga</i>	weaving.
<i>raupō</i>	bullrush; this material is used in weaving <i>tukutuku</i> panels.
<i>ritenga</i>	customs, practices or rituals; the normal way of doing things.
<i>rohe</i>	district, area or region; boundary or border of land.
<i>taha</i>	things.
<i>tāhuhu</i>	ridge pole.
<i>tamariki</i>	children (normally used only in the plural).
<i>tāne</i>	male.
<i>tangata whenua</i>	indigenous people; literally meaning ‘people of the land’, the term refers to people born of the whenua, i.e. of the placenta and of the land where the people’s ancestors have lived and where their placentas are buried. 2. (in a broader sense) local people, hosts.
<i>tangihanga</i> (or <i>tangi</i>)	funeral, death ritual.
<i>taniwha</i>	water spirit, monster, dangerous water creature, powerful creature, chief, powerful leader, something or someone awesome. Taniwha take many forms from logs to reptiles and whales and often live in lakes, rivers or the sea. They are often regarded as guardians by the people who live in their territory, but may also have a malign influence on human beings.
<i>taonga</i>	treasures, resources, property, goods.
<i>taonga tuku iho</i>	ancestral treasures.

<i>tapairu</i>	chieftainess, first-born female in a high-ranking family.
<i>tapu</i>	sacred, holy.
<i>tautoko</i>	support, prop up, verify, advocate, accept (an invitation), agree.
<i>Te Ao Māori</i>	the Māori world.
<i>Te Ao Mārama</i>	the world of light, possibility, potential
<i>Te Arawa</i>	Māori <i>iwi</i> or tribe from the Bay of Plenty region, New Zealand.
<i>te reo Māori</i>	the Māori language.
<i>teina</i>	younger brother (of a male), younger sister (of a female), cousin (of the same gender) of a junior line, junior relative.
<i>tekoteko.</i>	carved figure on the gable of a meeting house; figure on a canoe.
<i>tika</i>	correct, proper.
<i>tikanga</i>	1. correct procedure, customs, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention, protocol. 2. the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context.
<i>tinana, ā-tinana</i>	physical, body, the main part of anything, to be real, actual, real (as opposed to an apparition).
<i>tino rangātiratanga</i>	self-determination.
<i>tohunga</i>	high priest, skilled person, chosen expert, healer; a person chosen by the agent of an <i>atua</i> and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation.
<i>tohungatanga</i>	expertise.
<i>tohunga whakairo</i>	expert carver.
<i>toto</i>	blood.
<i>tuakana</i>	elder brother (of a male), elder sister (of a female), cousin (of the same gender from a more senior branch of the family).
<i>Tūhourangi</i>	one of the <i>hapū</i> or subtribes of <i>Te Arawa</i> ; traditionally from Rotorua and the Bay of Plenty, New Zealand.
<i>tuku</i>	to cede or relinquish.

<i>tuku iho</i>	ancestral legacies including carvings, precious heirlooms that are passed on.
<i>tukutuku</i>	an ornamental woven lattice, used particularly between carvings around the walls of meeting houses.
<i>tupe</i>	to grow, increase, spring, issue, begin, develop, prosper, sprout, originate.
<i>tūpuna</i>	ancestors, grandparents.
<i>tūpuna whare</i>	ancestral meeting house; for <i>Tūhourangi</i> the term refers specifically to a whare connected to a male ancestor.
<i>tūrangawaewae</i>	domicile, a place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and <i>whakapapa</i> .
<i>turapa</i>	a <i>tukutuku</i> or woven pattern, which is unique to <i>Te Arawa</i> .
<i>urupā</i>	family burial site, cemetery, graveyard.
<i>uruwhenua</i>	Passport, birthplace
<i>utu</i>	revenge, cost, price, wage, fee, payment, salary, reciprocity; <i>utu</i> is 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.
<i>wāhi tapu</i>	a sacred place or site; a place subject to long-term ritual restrictions on access or use, e.g. a burial ground, a battle site or a place where tapu objects were placed.
<i>wahine</i> (also <i>wāhine</i>)	female.
<i>wahine toa</i>	female leader, champion.
<i>waiata</i>	song, chant, psalm.
<i>waiata moteatea</i>	a traditional chant, or sung poetry.
<i>waiata tangi</i>	lament.
<i>waiata tawhito</i>	traditional or ancestral chant or song.
<i>wairua</i>	spirit, soul, the metaphysical, the spirit of a person which exists beyond death. It is the non-physical spirit, distinct from the body and the <i>mauri</i> . To some, the <i>wairua</i> resides in the heart or mind of someone while others believe it is part of the whole person and is not located at any particular part of the body.
<i>wairuatanga</i>	spirituality.

<i>waka</i>	canoe, boat.
<i>wānanga</i>	conference, gathering for higher learning, seminar, forum, educational seminar.
<i>whāea</i>	mother, aunty, female from an older generation.
<i>whaikōrero</i>	1. to make a formal speech. 2. oratory, oration, formal speech-making, address, speech. 3. oral evidence.
<i>whakairo</i>	1. carvings. 2. to carve or sculpt.
<i>whakamana</i>	give prestige to, confirm, enable, authorise, legitimise, empower.
<i>whakapapa</i>	1. ancestral knowledge systems and genealogical history. 2. kin connection, genealogical lineage or descent. Reciting <i>whakapapa</i> was, and is, an important skill and reflected the importance of genealogies in Māori society in terms of leadership, land and fishing rights, kinship and status. It is central to all Māori institutions.
<i>whakapapa kōrero</i>	tribal narrative, kin-based ways of cultural knowledge transmission.
<i>whakapapa whānau</i>	genealogical or kin-based community.
<i>Whakarewarewa</i>	a Māori village in Rotorua, New Zealand.
<i>whakataukī</i>	tribal proverb, formulaic saying; like <i>pepeha</i> , <i>whakataukī</i> are essential ingredients in <i>whaikōrero</i> .
<i>whare tūpuna</i>	ancestral meeting house.
<i>whakairo</i>	carvings.
<i>whakawhanaungatanga</i>	to come together as a <i>whānau</i> .
<i>whānau</i>	extended family or family group; a familiar term of address to a number of people. The <i>whānau</i> was 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.
<i>whanaunga</i>	relative, relation, kin, blood relation.
<i>whanaungatanga</i>	1. relationship, kinship, sense of connection through family. 2. a relationship through shared experiences and working together that provides people with a sense of belonging.
<i>whare</i>	house, building, residence, dwelling, shed, hut, habitation.

<i>wharekai</i>	dining room or facility.
<i>whare manaaki</i>	a services or hospitality building.
<i>wharenuī</i>	meeting house.
<i>wharepuni</i>	sleeping house.
<i>whare tangata</i>	houses of humanity.
<i>whare tūpuna</i>	ancestral meeting house; for <i>Tūhourangi</i> the term refers specifically to a whare connected to a female ancestress.
<i>whare whakairo</i>	carved houses.
<i>whare wānanga</i>	universities or places of higher learning.
<i>whenua</i>	1. land. 2. placenta.

The translations above are primarily sourced from the *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index* (Moorfield, 2015).

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APPENDIX I Kia Pupū Ake a Tūhourangi

Tūhourangi – A Thriving and Vibrant People



Tūhourangi descendants are actively encouraged to come and participate in the third annual

TŪHOURANGI HĪKOI 2014

Thursday 9th to Sunday 12th January 2014

Discover the Tūhourangi connection to the whenua of Moehau - the resting place of Tamatekapua. This wānanga will take place at Harataunga Marae, Kennedy Bay, Coromandel Peninsula.

APPENDIX II Ngāti Rānana Letter of Support



AUT Ethics Committee – AUTECH

AUT University
Wellesley Street
AUCKLAND

17 October 2008

Tēnā koutou,

Letter of support for Māori spaces in foreign places – Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito research

On behalf of Ngāti Rānana London Based Māori Club, we would like to offer our support to Keri Wikitera to undertake research which involves documenting, analysing and critiquing the history of Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito.

Ngāti Rānana was formed at least 50 years ago to provide New Zealanders based in London with an opportunity to come together, share, teach, learn and live according to Māori values, namely; whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, kōtahitanga and aroha.

During this time Ngāti Rānana has maintained a special relationship with Hinemihi, keeping her warm with aroha and waiata. We regularly gather at Hinemihi and are actively involved in her restoration.

Keri Wikitera has been in touch with individual members of Ngāti Rānana about her research topic, and as an organisation we support and welcome her research topic and her proposed methodologies. Ngāti Rānana will be pleased to act as a liaison between Keri and key individuals and institutions based in London in her quest to gather information on her proposed research topic.

We look forward to assisting Keri and eagerly await the findings of her research.

Nō reira, mā te kahukura ka rere te manu.

Nā māua

Titus Rahiri and Alana Watson
Co-Presidents
Ngāti Rānana London Māori Club

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Student ID No	0004361	Name	Keri-Anne Wikitera
Faculty	Culture and Society	School/Dept	Hospitality and Tourism
Programme	PhD	Year of submission (for examination)	2015
Research Output	Thesis <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Exegesis <input type="checkbox"/> Dissertation <input type="checkbox"/>	Points Value	
Thesis Title	Māori Space in Foreign Places Hinemihi o Te Ao Tawhito		

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