Te Aka Matua o te Ture
Law Commission

Mahuru | September 2023
Te Whanganui-a-Tara, Aotearoa
Wellington, New Zealand

Pūrongo Rangahau | Study Paper 24

Appendix 1:
Tikanga

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Contents

SECTION ONE

Kaupapa Māori

BACKGROUND

1.1 The purpose of this paper is to provide an understanding of core elements of tikanga Māori in general terms, as well as in the more specific context of its relationship with what might be described as state law. It is important to note that considerable work has already been undertaken regarding tikanga and its use within the legal system of Aotearoa New Zealand. Rather than repeating those aspects of tikanga that have already been explored, this paper will provide a different lens from which to consider tikanga.

1.2 Fundamental to any discussion of tikanga is the necessity to appreciate its placement and functioning within te ao Māori. Understanding tikanga requires a journey through the Māori world – one that outlines the knowledge systems, values and beliefs and that locates tikanga into its natural environment. To try and build an understanding of tikanga outside of that framework runs the risk of it becoming de-contextualised and abstract and where its authentic meaning becomes distorted.

1.3 The natural environment for tikanga is mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and mātauranga ā-iwi (tribal knowledge). Tikanga is complex and applies to all things within a Māori world view and must be located within mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi. In placing tikanga within mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi, its purpose and intent become clear. This paper will introduce the notion of intent and performativity. Introducing the idea that tikanga speaks to the intent of a concept and being careful to separate the performativity that is conducted to ensure the intent of tikanga is maintained as a separate element, this idea will be explained more fully throughout this paper. A core pathway to reveal the intent and performativity of tikanga is language. A closer examination of te reo Māori reveals many Māori terms are in fact compound words that, when unpacked, provide insight into the meaning intended in key terms.

1.4 Given the importance that mātauranga Māori plays in developing an understanding of tikanga, an in-depth view of mātauranga Māori is provided along with the relevant tikanga concept. This section will outline, through Kaupapa Māori theory, a framework to unpack mātauranga Māori, introducing the idea that, while mātauranga Māori can host core values and principles, it cannot express their application, since this is instead through the application of mātauranga ā-iwi. Understanding the interface between mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi provides the rationale for tribal variance that will be seen within the application and performativity elements as they relate to tikanga. Outlining the connection between mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi draws attention to the fact Māori are not homogeneous but rather are a collective of tribal communities each with their own

application to the values and principles that reside with mātauranga Māori. While the intent that sits within tikanga will more than likely be able to be described consistently within mātauranga Māori, the application, or performativity, will not.

1.5 The first section of this paper will look at the politics of knowledge, stating that, when viewing knowledge, we are applying a set of values and principles to understand and interpret and what we are looking at needs to be understood so we do not unwittingly view te ao Māori through the values and principles that are not Māori.

1.6 Following this section, an overview of the whare will be provided as an illustrative example to build an understanding of te ao Māori, noting the knowledge system at work and outlining the cosmological world view.

1.7 Section 3 will provide an account of the fundamental principles that underpin tikanga – an explanation of what it is, with examples provided, and finally connecting it back to the whare to show where the practice and concepts are located within the whare.

1.8 The final section of the paper will focus on a series of case studies to illustrate tikanga in operation.

1.9 This section of the paper will provide an overview of mātauranga Māori, mātauranga ā-iwi, Kaupapa Māori theory and the Ranga Framework.

1.10 The Ranga Framework is a theoretical framework that explains the relationship between mātauranga Māori, mātauranga ā-iwi and Kaupapa Māori theory.

1.11 Historically, when we look at the early writings on Māori, we see that early recordings of Māori knowledge taken from tribal districts were later confused when sections of differing tribal accounts were combined, altering what was once a true tribal component of knowledge. This resulted in a series of muddled stories that became termed ‘myths and legends of the Māori’. These versions had lost their true tribal context; they had become de-contextualised. The explicit link to a particular territory of people occupying the sites these accounts were based on became obscure and confused; they were removed from the people and landscape they were intended for. This ‘de-contextual’ knowledge has significantly contributed to what is now often termed ‘mātauranga Māori’. Presenting the idea that, while mātauranga Māori holds the values and principles for mātauranga Māori, it does not hold the application of these principles and values – instead, they are held within mātauranga ā-iwi.

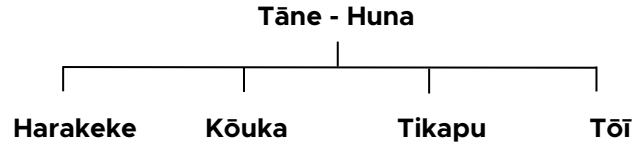
1.12 When properly located within their environment, historical accounts form the basis of mātauranga ā-iwi. This is knowledge that is described within its own context and is a lived reality. It has not been confused by unknowingly drawing from other tribal knowledge. Making the distinction between mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi will help deal with the notion that each tribe will have its own nuances and application to tikanga. Again, while the intent will be similar, the application will not.

THE RANGA FRAMEWORK

1.13 The Ranga Framework presents, in diagrammatic form, generic knowledge (knowledge that is not Māori) and mātauranga Māori as strands that simply exist and have been represented as horizontal strands and mātauranga ā-iwi existing vertically.

1.14 Before unpacking the model further, below is an explanation of where and how I came to this model, and in doing so, I provide an example of analysing words to help build an

understanding to their meanings. When examining the term mātauranga, we see it is a compound word – 'mātau' and 'ranga' (this will be explained more fully following the Ranga Framework), i.e., 'ranga' being 'strand'. Within the Ranga Framework, we have horizontal and vertical strands interwoven creating a 'raranga' – weave effect. Extrapolating this concept of raranga wider, it connects to harakeke (flax). Harakeke, within te ao Māori and mātauranga Māori, is of the elder children of Tāne:



1.15 Harakeke was born into a world that was 'broken' – the siblings Tangaroa and Tāne were in constant conflict. Harakeke ultimately helped mediate the conflict by deliberating placing themselves at the interface of waterways and land to 'stay' the encroachment of Tangaroa into Tāne's newly formed domains by way of erosion. Harakeke was able to achieve this by bonding into strongly connected units, whereby clusters with the youngest at the centre with the parents surrounding their children as the cluster spread outwards strongly bound together as a unit, connecting firmly to other tightly bound clusters, provided the environment to build the resilience required to overcome turmoil and conflict. Where reference to children of a person who has passed as pā harakeke is deliberate and intentional. It is drawing on the lessons learned by examining the actions of Harakeke in mitigating the conflict and turmoil between Tāne and Tangaroa. By being strongly connected, we can overcome great levels of challenge and hardship often experienced when losing a parent. Returning to the Ranga Framework, it is with this understanding of the function of Harakeke to overcome conflict and challenge that I used the term 'ranga', representing the weaving together of ideas demonstrated through the vertical and horizontal strands and connecting to the base word 'ranga' seen within mātauranga.

1.16 I have designed this framework to show that mātauranga Māori, mātauranga ā-iwi and Kaupapa Māori theory are distinct but inseparable entities, each of which is required to ensure the survival of the Māori language, knowledge and culture. The framework describes an active relationship in the placing of these concepts. In doing so, the framework introduces the idea of generic knowledge. Generic knowledge is used to describe knowledge that does not originate from Māori. Located within these strands are Pākehā epistemologies and philosophies. This model is premised on each strand (generic knowledge, mātauranga Māori, mātauranga ā-iwi and Kaupapa Māori theory) containing a knowledge base that has its own set of values and principles.

1.17 The Ranga Framework illustrates the interconnection of the strands. Mātauranga Māori is a horizontal strand that moves from left to right. Situated above mātauranga Māori is the strand generic knowledge. Between mātauranga Māori and generic knowledge is Kaupapa Māori theory. Moving vertically is the strand mātauranga ā-iwi, intersecting Kaupapa Māori theory as it meets mātauranga Māori.

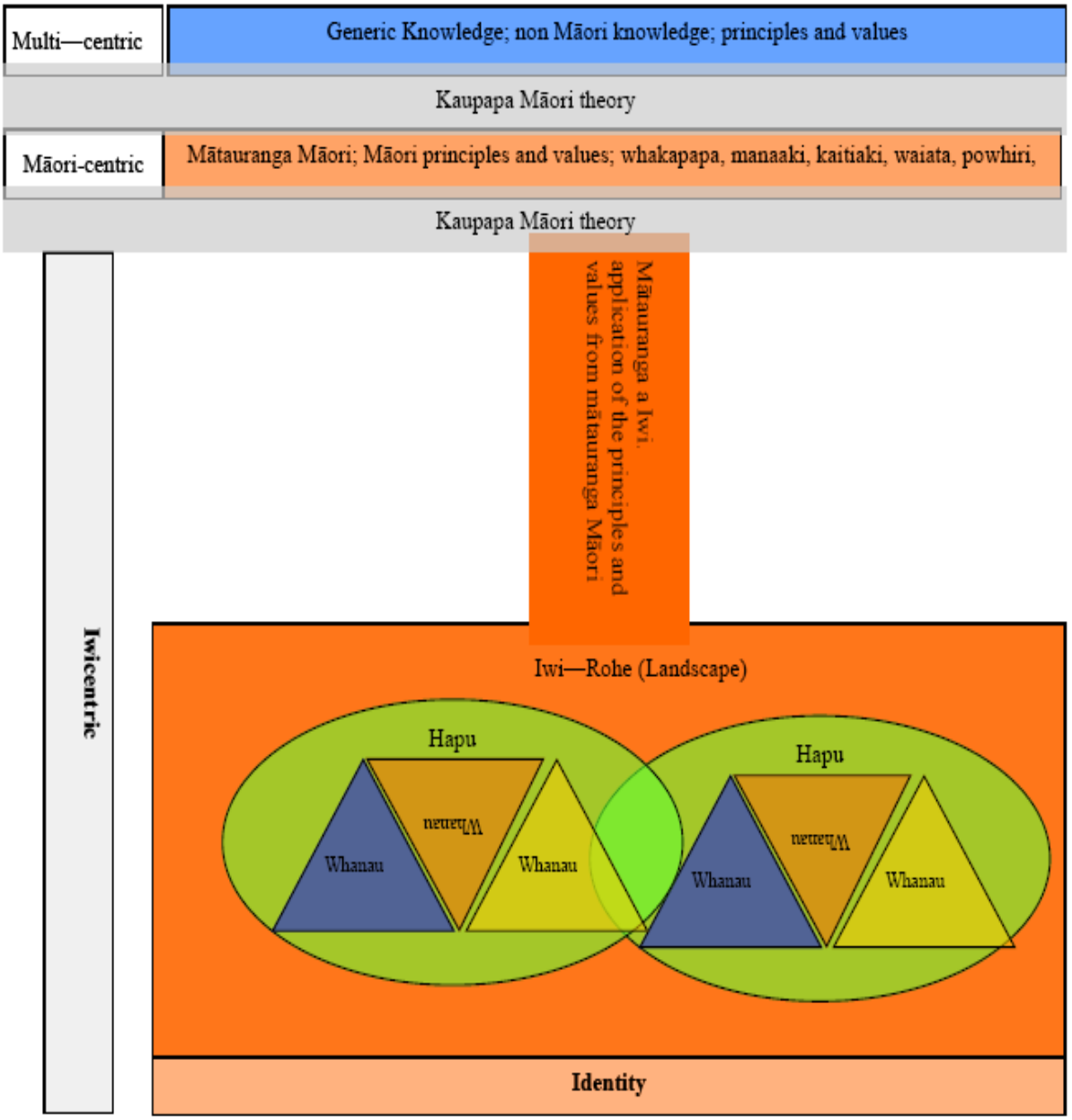


Diagram 1. Ranga Framework

MĀTAURANGA MĀORI

1.18 Mātauranga Māori is defined as Māori knowledge. It is a term that places emphasis on Māori histories, knowledge and language; it refers to the Māori way of thinking, doing, and acting (Mead, 1997; Smith, 1997). Mātauranga Māori bridges both traditional and contemporary Māori knowledge curriculum, pedagogy and philosophy. It is through mātauranga Māori that histories and knowledge within Māori are expressed.

1.19 Mātauranga Māori encompasses the core values and principles that apply to all Māori. While the core values and principles are located here, their *application* is not. The application of these values and principles is filtered through mātauranga ā-iwi. Each iwi has their own specific sense and use of these core values and principles that connect them with their unique environment. This tribal application cannot be applied elsewhere, to another tribe, as they will have their *own* application that links them to *their* environment and iwi. Since the applications cannot be located within broader notions of

mātauranga Māori, it is presented in the Ranga Framework as de-contextualised knowledge.

MĀTAURANGA MĀORI AND THE RANGA FRAMEWORK

1.20 The deliberate placing of mātauranga Māori on a horizontal plane is to illustrate that this knowledge is de-contextualised. It is disconnected from its context. While it can *host and express the values* that are critical for a notion of Māori knowledge, language and culture, it cannot express the differences that occur from district to district. There is a danger that an assumption may be drawn from mātauranga Māori that Māori are a homogeneous body and Māori knowledge is one set of ideas and practices. mātauranga Māori provides Māori with a platform to speak generically. As the deep, esoteric explanations of concepts reside with tribal knowledge, mātauranga Māori needs mātauranga ā-iwi. Access to the deeper interpretations is further elucidated through Kaupapa Māori theory that connects mātauranga Māori to mātauranga ā-iwi. Kaupapa Māori theory creates a bridge that permits a different set of applications for the principles and values in mātauranga Māori to occur in mātauranga ā-iwi.

KAUPAPA MĀORI THEORY

1.21 Kaupapa Māori theory is a political instrument that takes account of the unequal power relations that exist between Māori and Pākehā. It critically responds to the processes of colonisation, which have been embedded in 'taken for granted' practices and ideas. Kaupapa Māori theory provides a space outside assimilation, acculturation, exploitation, domination of Māori by Pākehā and Pākehā knowledge hegemony.

1.22 Kaupapa Māori theory describes the transformational shifts required to respond to unequal power relations. The transformational shifts required and explored under the concept of Kaupapa Māori theory are taken from the tradition of critical theory, using Māori and non-Māori theoretical tools (Smith, 1997). Critical theory underpins Kaupapa Māori theory because it focuses on emancipatory outcomes and provides an approach to a range of challenges facing Māori, reification of science over culture and the interpretation of mātauranga Māori through Pākehā perspectives.

1.23 In explaining the need for Kaupapa Māori theory, Smith uses the analogy of "shadow paintings" of tools on the garage wall, while in the university/academic environment, we have an array of western tools hanging on the wall at our disposal. From time to time, when we are working on specific Māori issues, the available tools do not quite fit and therefore he argues the need to add specific "Māori theoretical tools" to the wall – the best tools to get the job done (Smith, 1997).

1.24 By using specific Māori theoretical tools, Kaupapa Māori theory asserted the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge, language, culture and practice as 'taken for granted'. In this sense, Kaupapa Māori theory, both in its theoretical and practical dimensions, legitimised the space for mātauranga Māori (Smith, 1997).

1.25 Historical accounts in New Zealand have tended to view Māori history from a non-Māori perspective. Historical accounts have tried to understand Māori through Pākehā perspectives or lenses. From this position, Māori are viewed from a non-Māori perspective in an attempt to comprehend the Māori world.

1.26 Elsdon Best found it difficult to rationalise Tūhoe history from his perspective. During the early stages of his writing, he would rely on the Pākehā lenses to understand elements of Tūhoe epistemology and, because he was unable to comprehend this knowledge, he sought to marginalise it, diminishing it as an absurdity (Best, 1972: 19).

1.27 Marie Battiste and James (Sákéj) Youngblood Henderson (2003: 36) highlight the dilemma of attempting to utilise a non-indigenous theoretical base to explain indigenous knowledge – a quandary created when Eurocentric philosophical perspectives or realities helped deliberately craft a mysticism around indigenous knowledge that distances the outsider from indigenous peoples and what they know.

1.28 Kaupapa Māori theory provided the opportunity to create a series of Māori lenses to view and describe Māori. This perspective clarified and intensified the focus, highlighting that Māori are not a homogeneous group. Māori are an eclectic grouping of tribes that have unique stories and histories. Mātauranga Māori is a summary of tribal knowledge that has been collectively called Māori. Kaupapa Māori theory provided the space to build the lenses required to view mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi. Mātauranga ā-iwi has always existed, and Kaupapa Māori theory created the space to allow the transformational shifts that need to occur when moving between these various knowledge systems.

1.29 Applying the lenses created in Kaupapa Māori theory enabled a sharper focus so that mātauranga Māori could 'visualise' mātauranga ā-iwi. Kaupapa Māori theory enabled a Māori understanding of the term 'Māori'. For Māori, the term 'Māori' does not always imply a homogeneous approach; instead, whichever iwi resides within the district you are in is taken as 'Māori'. Māori operate in a world of diverse realities, and what is taken as Māori differs from iwi to iwi (Rangihau, 1975: 232).

1.30 Kaupapa Māori theory has made it possible to describe Māori without leaving a Māori context that was not readily applicable from a non-Māori world view.

RANGA FRAMEWORK: KAUPAPA MĀORI THEORY, GENERIC KNOWLEDGE STRAND AND MĀTAURANGA MĀORI STRAND

1.31 Kaupapa Māori theory is located horizontally. It deliberately stratifies the strand of generic knowledge from the strand of mātauranga Māori. Kaupapa Māori theory provides a political buffer between these strands to ensure that mātauranga Māori is not subsumed by generic knowledge. This ensures the values and principles located in generic knowledge are not merged or transported across to define mātauranga Māori. Placed in this position, Kaupapa Māori theory creates a barrier to ensure the principles and values of generic knowledge are not used when engaging with mātauranga Māori. By doing this, Kaupapa Māori theory provides the space to begin building an awareness of a new set of principles and values (e.g. whakapapa, manaaki, aroha, whaikōrero, karanga and many others) to be used when engaging with mātauranga Māori. Simply transporting the values and principles used in generic knowledge and applying these to mātauranga Māori will not work, as these values and principles do not fit with mātauranga Māori. To engage with the principles and values of mātauranga Māori requires a new set of lenses to view them.

1.32 The political space that Kaupapa Māori theory creates allows for re-conscientisation to occur when moving from one set of paradigms to another. Re-conscientisation occurs by creating a new lens to observe the principles and values required to successfully engage

with mātauranga Māori. Creating a new lens reduces the risk of Māori being viewed through a lens created for generic knowledge, where assumptions or judgements are made about Māori that deny or overlook Māori concepts and realities.

RANGA FRAMEWORK: KAUPAPA MĀORI THEORY, MĀTAURANGA MĀORI AND MĀTAURANGA Ā-IWI

1.33 Kaupapa Māori theory as it applies to mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi is to ensure the application of the principles and values in mātauranga Māori are not universally applied to all iwi. While the principles and values of what is called mātauranga Māori are largely consistent across Māori groups, the application is not.

1.34 To ensure this point is not overlooked, Kaupapa Māori theory provides a buffer to ensure these principles and values are not applied generically across iwi. As people develop their knowledge from the level of mātauranga Māori into mātauranga ā-iwi, the lens that was required in mātauranga Māori is given a sharper focus to examine the application of the mātauranga Māori principles and values in their specific environmental context.

1.35 When considering the relationship between mātauranga ā-iwi and mātauranga Māori, the design of the Ranga Framework centres Kaupapa Māori theory as a buffer to ensure the application of principles and values from one tribal perspective are not applied elsewhere and within another tribal context or setting. The engagement through Kaupapa Māori theory is to reduce the possibility of a hegemonic approach that makes a certain iwi-centred understanding a 'Māori' understanding. To engage with mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi, it is critical that each is understood as an opportunity to view the other.

1.36 Simply applying a lens that is used in generic knowledge to view mātauranga Māori will not work because each of these two strands has a distinctive set of values and principles that are used when interpreting the knowledge that is found in the respective strands. Again, as a space-maker, Kaupapa Māori theory creates the distinction between mātauranga Māori and generic knowledge for these lenses to be accessed prior to engaging with mātauranga Māori – ultimately, allowing a transition between mātauranga Māori and generic knowledge.

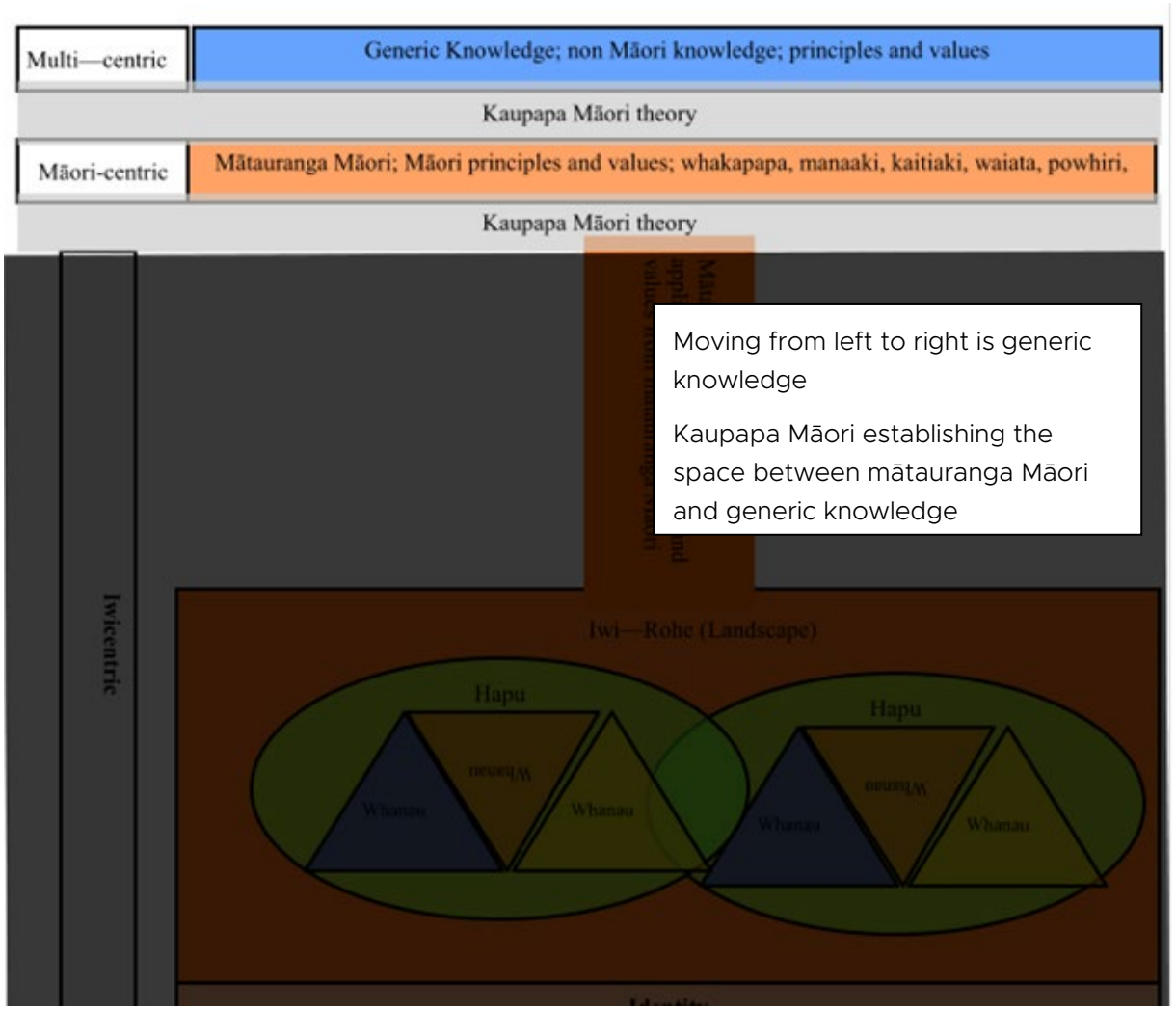


Diagram 2. Ranga Framework – mātauranga Māori, mātauranga ā-iwi and generic knowledge

Mātauranga ā-iwi

1.37 Mātauranga ā-iwi is tribal knowledge. Tribal knowledge is defined as the relationship between the tribe and its land base. Mātauranga ā-iwi is knowledge specific to an iwi and its rohe. It is the exchange between the rohe and the iwi that provides the context for mātauranga ā-iwi. As the iwi engages with and describes its environment, the basis for mātauranga ā-iwi is established. The application of the principles and values in mātauranga Māori occurs, though each iwi has its own process that links their rohe and people together.

1.38 Each tribe has their own versions of knowledge that define the application of the values and principles in mātauranga Māori. An in-depth study of mātauranga Māori produces mātauranga ā-iwi. This is not to negate or undermine the value of mātauranga Māori; rather to explain and better express the depth and breadth of mātauranga Māori. Mātauranga Māori is premised on mātauranga ā-iwi – this is where the deeper explanations, meanings and signposts are found to the many questions raised within mātauranga Māori. The interaction the tribe has with its environment, expressed using its language, shapes and forms the epistemology of that tribe. The link that is created here establishes the context for mātauranga ā-iwi to exist.

1.39 By connecting the iwi and their landscape, mātauranga ā-iwi produces contextual knowledge. This differs from mātauranga Māori, which, as an amalgam of numerous tribes with their numerous land bases, makes it difficult to connect with a particular geographical location. Such a generic approach, in mātauranga Māori existing outside its tribal context, produces de-contextual knowledge. Valid and comprehensive descriptions of Māori processes cannot be provided within mātauranga Māori, as these are located within mātauranga ā-iwi. An example of this is the formal welcoming principle pōwhiri. All Māori use this principle of action; however, the application of this principle differs markedly from iwi to iwi. The variance cannot be understood within the framework of mātauranga Māori.

1.40 What is required is an iwi explanation to provide the rationale as to why a particular process was used. Explaining the application of pōwhiri within an iwi context will provide a rationale linked to that iwi and its region. My own iwi, Tūhoe, does not allow pōwhiri to take place after nightfall; other iwi do. This deviation occurred early in Tūhoe history when the tribe was still known as Ngā Pōtiki. A Ngā Pōtiki marae was expecting the return of a food-gathering party, but unbeknown to the expectant marae people, the group had been killed. The marauders knew the marae would be expecting the slain group's return and waited until nightfall to enter the marae. The marae, seeing a group returning on nightfall, assumed it was the food-gathering party returning and took no precautions. The marae was attacked and destroyed. Since that time, Tūhoe no longer allow pōwhiri to occur at night. The relationship with the environment and the people of Tūhoe have shaped and adapted the principle of pōwhiri.

Whakapapa

1.41 The connection between the people and the tribal environment (rohe) is managed through the term 'whakapapa' (genealogy). Te Urewera is the territory that Tūhoe occupy, and through whakapapa, Tūhoe genealogically connect to Te Urewera. Te Urewera is the land base that builds the identity for Tūhoe. It is the interaction Tūhoe have with their land base that established Tūhoe as a distinct grouping of people, different from other tribes. It is the connection to the land base that provides the platform for Tūhoe to build their identity; this is the tūrangawaewae (place of standing), this is the Tūhoe comfort zone. It is within the space, place and environment of Te Urewera that Tūhoe gain their identity that is unique to Tūhoe. This is the context for mātauranga ā-iwi.

1.42 To illustrate this on the Ranga Framework, mātauranga ā-iwi is shown as a vertical strand. The base is situated in the tribal lands that the tribe occupies and emerging from here until it connects with Kaupapa Māori theory.

1.43 The knowledge that informs the application of the principles and values expressed in mātauranga Māori are found here. The rationale is expressed in the relationship that the tribe has with its tribal environment. The applications of the principles and values have their context defined by the rohe. The purpose and reason for the values and principles is defined here as knowledge. Within the context of the tribal lands, this knowledge strand is contextual knowledge; it is expressed within its own environment as opposed to mātauranga Māori, which is de-contextual, operating outside of its context. Within this strand, a more authentic understanding of Māori is reached – it defines Māori as a tribal grouping with subsets of hapū (subtribes) and whānau (families).

1.44 The mātauranga ā-iwi strand is carefully placed vertically with the base located into the tribal landscape, emerging exclusively to intersect with mātauranga Māori through the

Kaupapa Māori theory strand. Within my Ranga Framework (Diagram 1), space has been created for other vertical strands to be added that emerge from their tribal rohe.

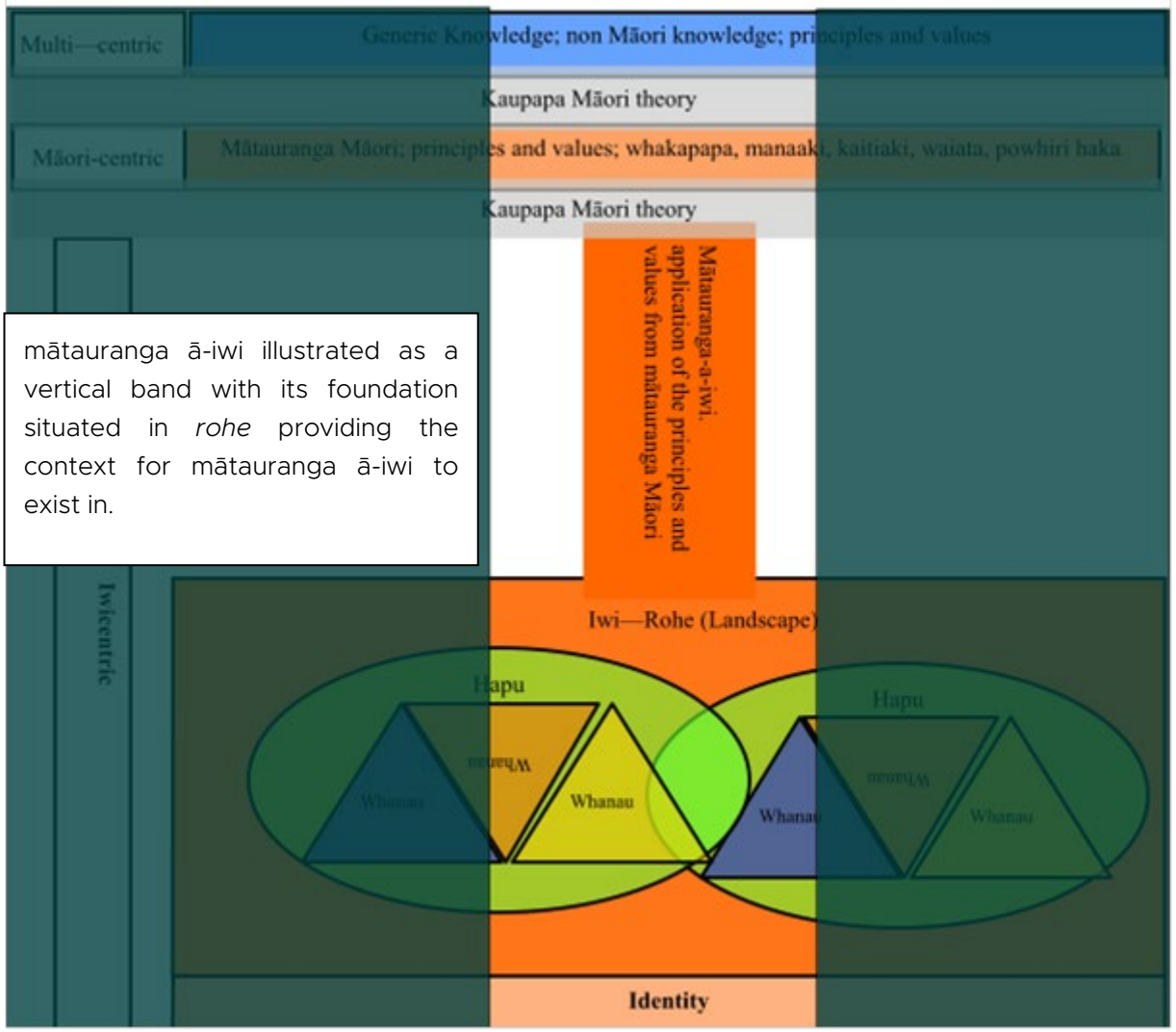


Diagram 3. Ranga Framework – mātauranga ā-iwi

1.45 The term 'whakapapa' is commonly used to describe genealogical connections between people. However, my argument is that, from a mātauranga ā-iwi perspective, whakapapa maps epistemologies (including tribal concepts, principles, ideas and related practices) and locates them within a particular context. Whakapapa will map the inception of a concept, identifying the reason and purpose for the idea, and track its changes that have occurred to date. Whakapapa links people and the landscape together within and through concepts or ideas.

1.46 To more comprehensively understand the impact of whakapapa, the relationship between the past and present is fundamental to any discussion. To describe the past is to state 'i ngā rā o mua' (the days that hang in front of [me]). Māori are walking backwards into the future, the days that have passed hang in front and the future is behind because it cannot be seen or easily predicted. When analysing a concept by reference to whakapapa, the temporal order of events that have occurred to form that concept or meaning are laid out 'in front of you' to provide the historical context showing the purpose and reason the concept, idea or principle exists and how this relates to the iwi and rohe.

1.47 To link a practice or concept to an iwi or rohe requires an intimate understanding of the people and land they occupy. If concepts cannot be linked to the iwi and/or rohe, it is likely the practice or concept is not indigenous to the area but rather imported.

1.48 When the concept of whakapapa is applied to knowledge, it creates the connection to the tribal lands (rohe) and to the individual. Whakapapa indicates the rationale behind the different tribal practices by revealing the sequential order of events required for tribal knowledge – a lineal frame that helps explain why the practice was created and how it was established will be shown.

1.49 Whakapapa describes the evolution of mātauranga ā-iwi from inception through to the current agreed practice for the iwi. Mātauranga ā-iwi must have a whakapapa that links it to the rohe and the iwi for it to be termed mātauranga ā-iwi. This link not only provides the evidence to support iwi ownership of a particular practice, it also places the learner and knowledge into context. Through whakapapa, three important elements – people, land and knowledge – are linked together, providing the context for each to exist. This is mātauranga ā-iwi. It is contextual knowledge.

Identity and tūrangawaewae

1.50 The final component to be explained using the Ranga Framework is identity. I have located identity at the base of the Ranga Framework under iwi. Identity is deliberately placed here to illustrate that, when environment, people and knowledge are drawn or linked together, identity is fully understood.

1.51 As whakapapa defines a working relationship to enable links between people, environment and knowledge, identity provides a structure to locate and connect mātauranga ā-iwi to its people and environment. These elements effectively coalesce to build the understanding required for identity. By doing so, the foundational base for the Ranga Framework – tūrangawaewae – is created.

1.52 The literal translation of tūrangawaewae is a person's 'place of standing'. Through tracing your genealogical whakapapa links, connection is made to your rohe that forms the basis of tūrangawaewae. The term tūrangawaewae has a physical and cognitive element to it. It defines the physical connection to a space and place illustrated as a 'place of standing'. The cognitive position is best described as a 'comfort zone' or a person's point of view. This is also the place one cognitively and/or physically returns to when challenged or feeling uncomfortable in order to re-gather one's thoughts. In this sense, tūrangawaewae establishes the base to enable the whakapapa connections to occur and the links to appropriate knowledge or mātauranga ā-iwi.

1.53 Tūrangawaewae is achieved when a person can define their identity by linking themselves to the wider people of the tribe, their environment and the tribal knowledge base.

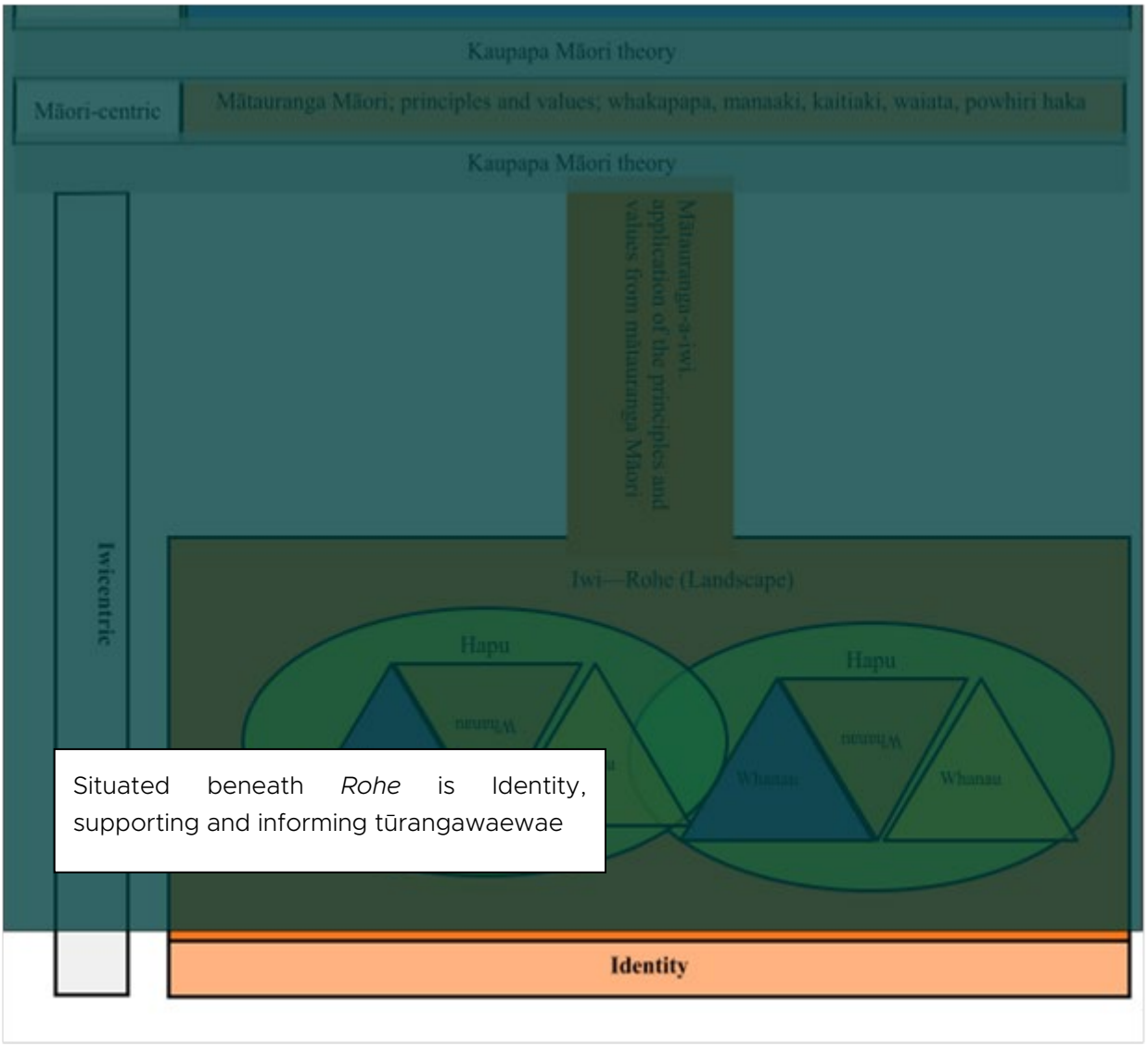


Diagram 4. Ranga Framework – identity

Summary

1.54 In summary, the Ranga Framework is a diagrammatic representation of relationships. It enables us to explain the conceptual connections between various ideas and therefore their meanings. We have placed mātauranga Māori and generic knowledge forms horizontally, both as de-contextual knowledge. Separating each of these strands is Kaupapa Māori theory providing an intermediary to ensure the values and principles from generic knowledge forms are not hegemonically applied to mātauranga Māori. Mātauranga ā-iwi operates vertically. It has its base firmly situated within its rohe and to form its context: this is contextual knowledge. As mātauranga ā-iwi operates vertically, it eventually connects to the mātauranga Māori strand, where again the Kaupapa Māori theory strand has been deliberately placed to ensure tribally held practices and processes are not hegemonically applied to other iwi as a Māori practice. Nestled within the rohe are the hapū and whānau.

1.55 Mātauranga Māori explains and expresses Māori histories, Māori ways of knowing and Māori processes. Mātauranga Māori is the Māori way of thinking acting and achieving. Mātauranga Māori enables explanations of perspectives from within a Māori environment. Māori processes can be expressed within a Māori context without having to leave the

Māori conventions and stepping into a Pākehā context and therefore expressing generic knowledge strands to explain what Māori were expressing. Mātauranga Māori moved Māori processes away from being unsympathetically marginalised as simple myths and legends and instead towards an expression of the lived realities of Māori.

1.56 In this framework, mātauranga Māori is described as transitioning horizontally from left to right, encompassing different tribal groupings of Māori. This body of knowledge constitutes the exoteric versions of Māori processes and ideologies. This body of knowledge is de-contextual because, as already explained, it operates outside of the tribal context of Māori.

1.57 Running vertically is mātauranga ā-iwi, tribal knowledge. This operates with its basis situated in the tribal context and intersects with the horizontal field of mātauranga Māori. This knowledge form is contextual; it is premised on the tribal knowledge forms that are unique to the differing tribal identities. Within this field, the answers to questions that mātauranga Māori poses can be answered. It is here the different versions of Māori protocol and processes are rationalised, explained and located to the tribal entities. It is by full engagement and participation within the tribe that informs the tribal knowledge forms, producing an environment where elements are lived as opposed to learned. There is no substitute for people being full participants in the world and generating meaning. It is from here tikanga can be examined, outlined and explained.

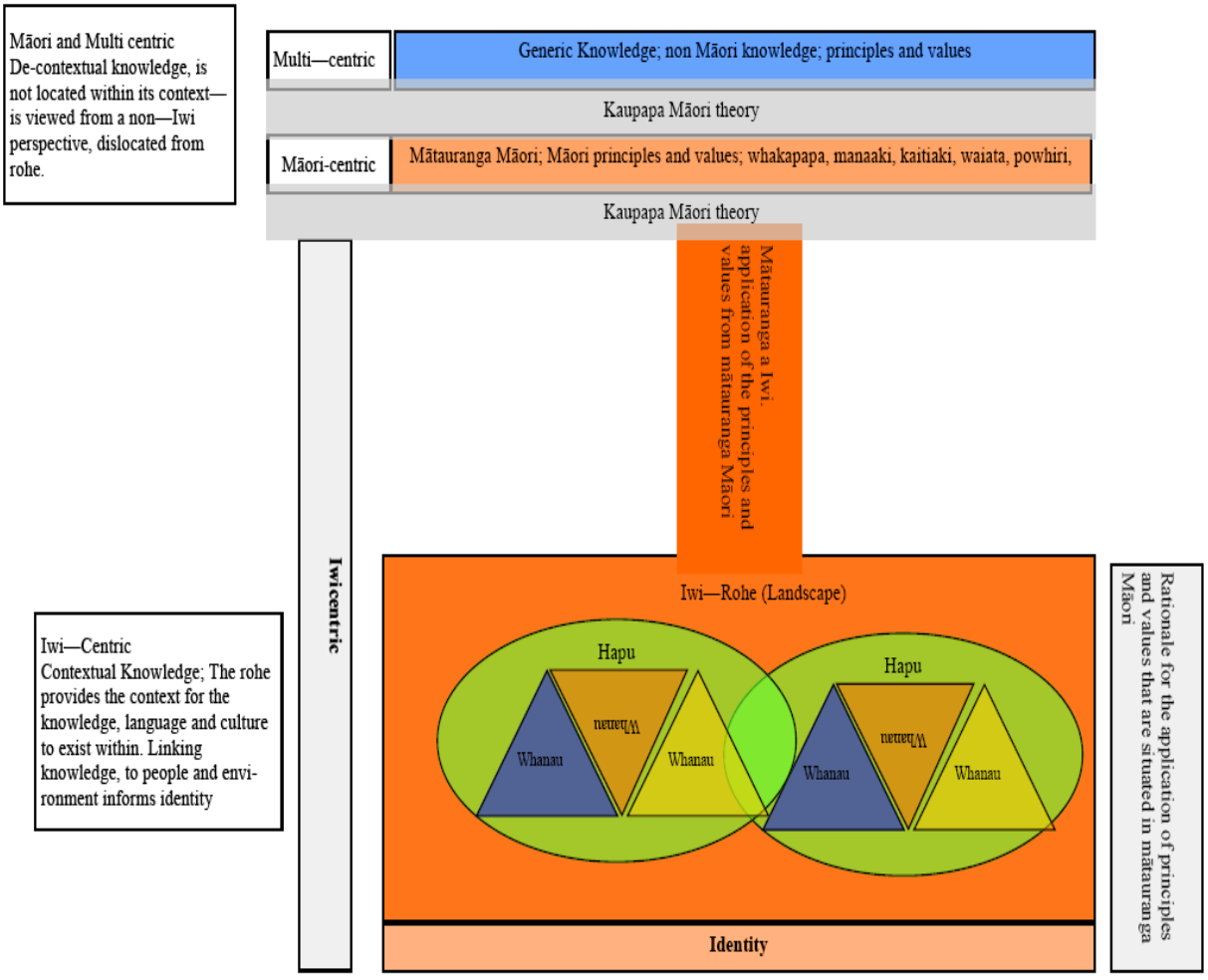


Diagram 5. Ranga Framework – multi-, Māori- and iwi-centric

WHĀNUITANGA, HŌHONUTANGA ME TE MĀRAMATANGA: PROFESSOR MEAD

1.58 Widely acclaimed expert on mātauranga Māori, Distinguished Professor Sir Hirini Moko Mead outlines three distinct elements that must be understood and applied by learners wishing to develop expertise in mātauranga Māori.

1.59 Firstly, in regard to whānuitanga (width), students must be able to comprehend a great range of ideas and content as it applies to Māori. Secondly, students must be able to demonstrate a deep understanding across a range of this content, expressed as hōhonutanga (depth). Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, students must be able to understand what it is they are observing, described as māramatanga (understanding). Taking the three key concepts – whānuitanga, hōhonutanga and māramatanga – and applying each of these concepts to the Ranga Framework, we can see an alignment and consistency – how each validates the other and how these concepts of principles, expressed differently, reveal a remarkable level of consistency.

Whānuitanga

1.60 A broad holistic approach to the subject is required to fully comprehend the extent of what it is you are doing. This is represented horizontally in the mātauranga Māori and generic knowledge forms strands where a broad approach is required in building the foundation of what it is you are about to study in depth.

1.61 Similarly, the concept of whānuitanga has been applied to the mātauranga ā-iwi strand, where the application of this concept is consistent in that a wide understanding is required to build a fuller comprehension of mātauranga ā-iwi. A broad approach is required in understanding the different subsets of knowledge that exist within the different hapū and whānau and that, when combined, this creates mātauranga ā-iwi.

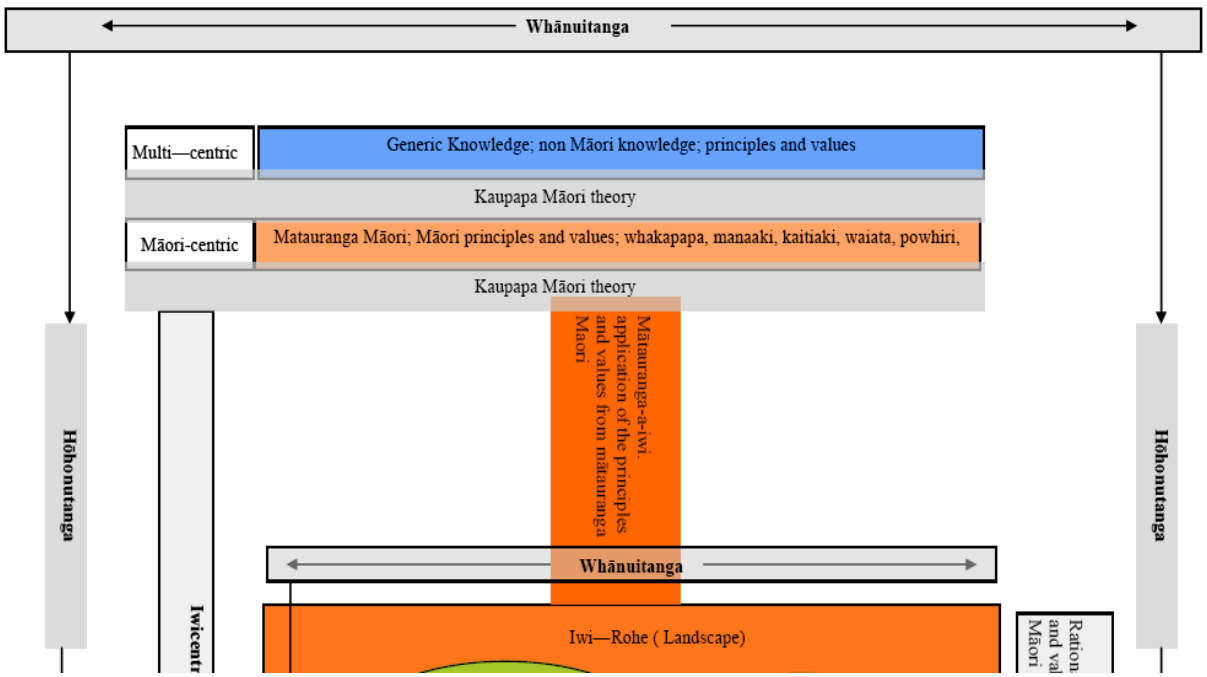


Diagram 6. Ranga Framework – whānuitanga, hōhonutanga

Hōhonutanga

1.62 After establishing the depth of what it is that is explored, an in-depth analysis of this data is required. To fully comprehend this data, a deep critical analysis is required, which is expressed as hōhonutanga. By exploring the depth and breadth of data, an understanding will begin to emerge. Hōhonutanga is illustrated vertically in the same manner as mātauranga ā-iwi.

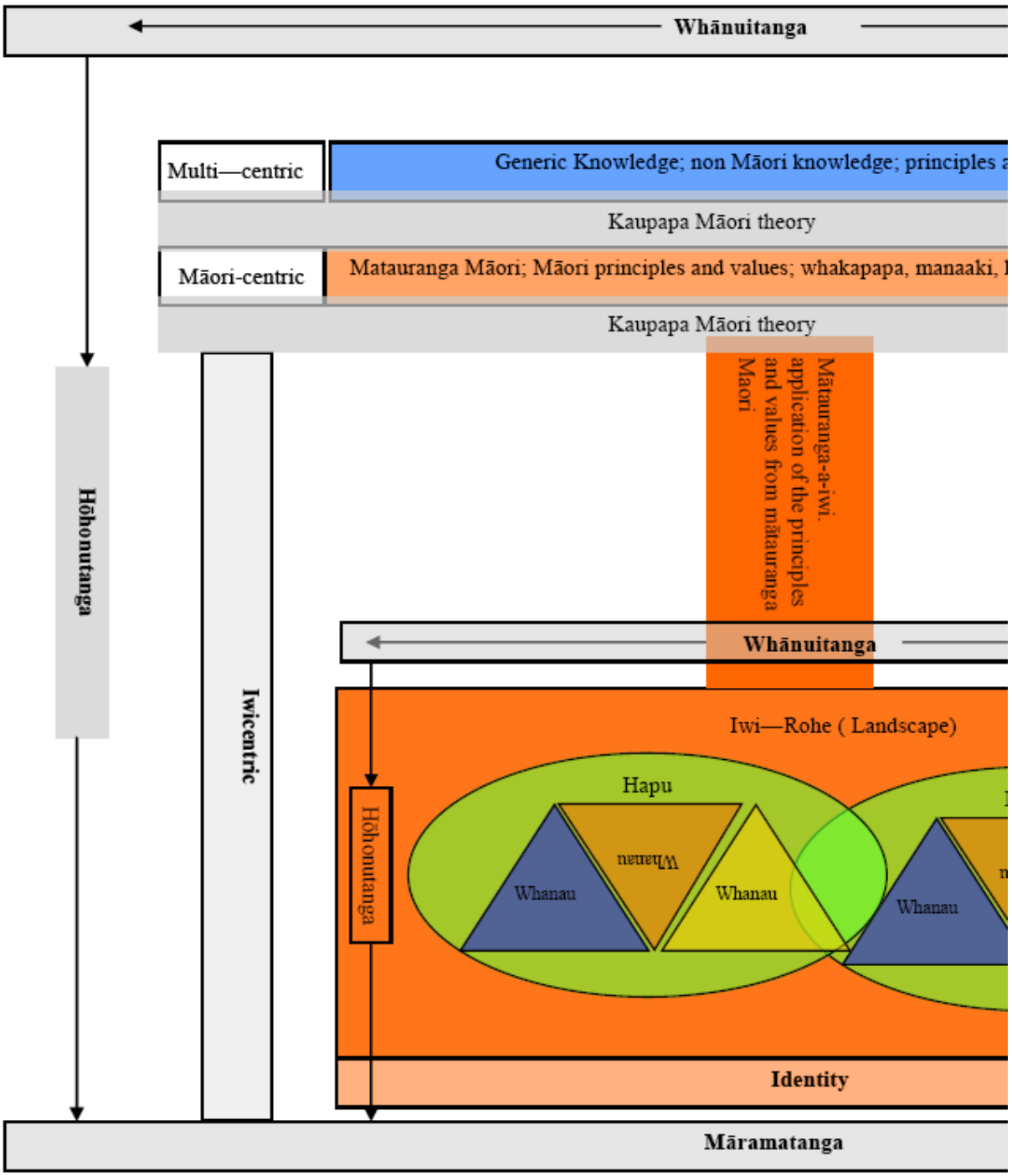


Diagram 7. Ranga Framework – māramatanga

Māramatanga

1.63 By exploring the width and depth of knowledge and analysing its content to rationalise the relationships between the differing notions, a clear understanding can begin to emerge. This is māramatanga – it has become clear. Within the Ranga Framework, māramatanga is situated in the same place as identity. The clarity – māramatanga – achieved in understanding mātauranga ā-iwi is also required in establishing identity, which is why both elements are situated together.

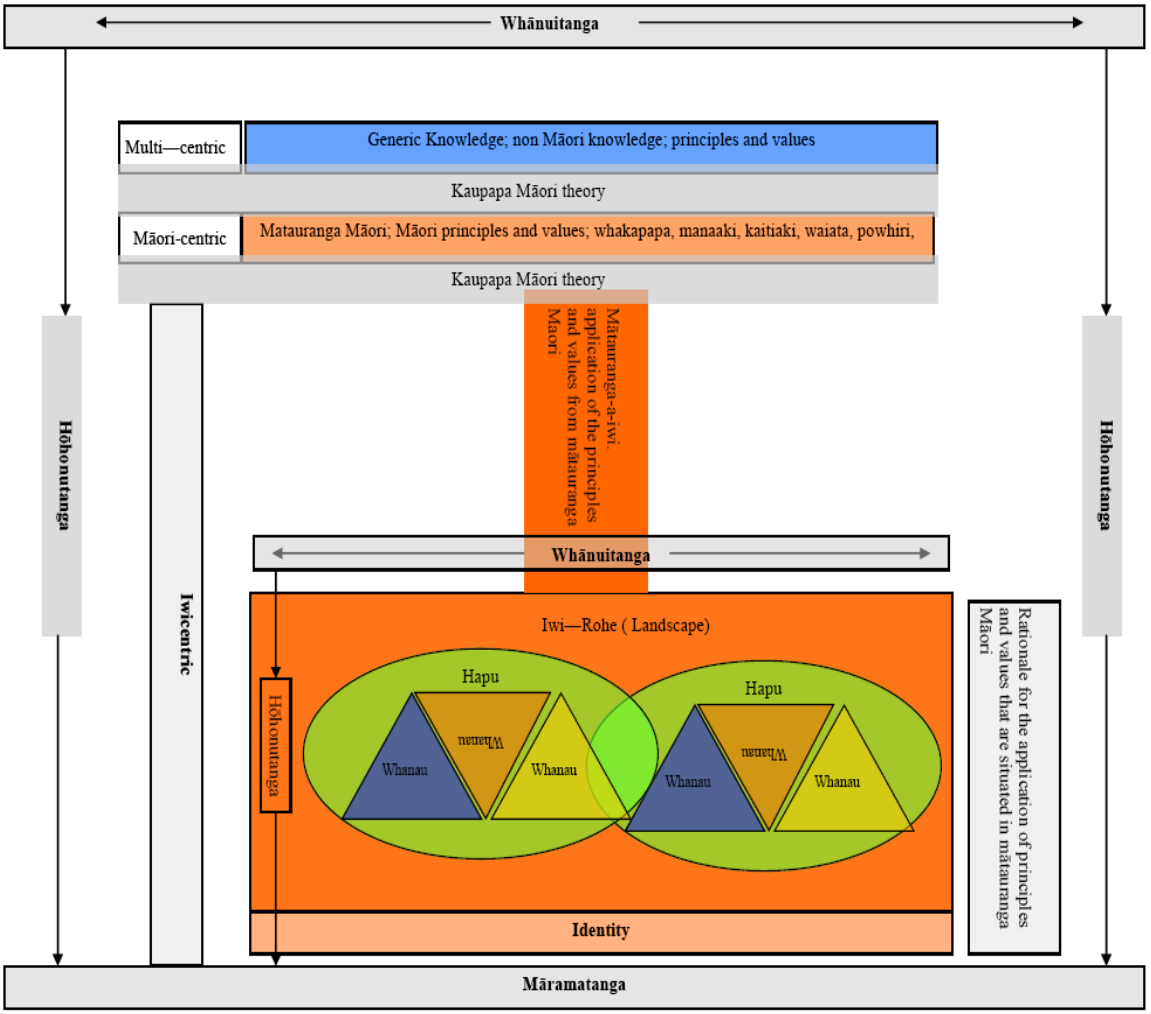


Diagram 8. Ranga Framework – Mead application

EXPLANATION OF THE RANGA FRAMEWORK

1.64 To conclude this section of the paper on mātauranga Māori and in reference to the Ranga Framework, we reflect back to a point raised previously in explaining the deliberate use of the term 'ranga' and reinforce here the concept of analysing the language to highlight the clues and signposts that sit there to help inform our understanding of concepts.

1.65 The abstract framework is purposely designed to show the strands interlinking, where mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi intersect with each other. Purposeful selection of the strands was intended to align with the terms used and further describe the cognitive developmental stages in Māori. The term 'ranga' is the Māori name for 'strand' that appears consistently through the following terms:

Rangatahi	*Youth*
Rangahau	*Research*
Mātauranga	*Knowledge*
Rangatira	*Chief/Leader*

Ranga

1.66 The term ranga (strand) is intentionally selected to describe the fusion of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi, Kaupapa Māori theory and generic knowledge forms. As illustrated above, the term ranga appears consistently when describing youth, knowledge, research and leadership, where inherent within Māori knowledge was the requirement of a special kind of leadership.

1.67 An explanation of these terms is provided below to show the correlation to the framework. It also illustrates that, by knowing the language, it is easier to translate the deeper, more authentic processes that are embedded in Māori terms.

Rangatahi

1.68 The term 'rangatahi' has two key components to it. The first is 'ranga' or strand; the second is 'tahi' – one or singular – therefore, expressing the notion of a singular strand. When applied to youth, it encapsulates the early developmental stages of egocentrism – the idea that the circumstances that inform or shape you are developed by the influences that surround you. This becomes your truth and understanding of the world. Any ideologies that deviate from this set of truths and understandings are incorrect. Parents may reflect on this when their children begin school in that the teacher becomes the all-providing oracle of all matters, the possessor of all knowledge – "But my teacher said …" as they begin the process of learning material from a different home environment.

1.69 What is inherent in rangatahi is the development of a solid base to build wider understandings that will occur later in life. The term has been used to describe youth. However, a more informed or sophisticated interpretation of the term describes a person's engagement with a new concept. The learning that occurs here is what is referred to as rangatahi in that it is not associated with a particular age insomuch as the idea that people learn and engage with new ideologies daily, and they will therefore transition seamlessly in and out of a state of rangatahi.

Rangahau

1.70 As a person becomes comfortable in what it is they have learned, they begin exploring more widely and confidently where, initially, aspects that do not fit with what they perceive to be correct are not as quickly dismissed as being incorrect. They begin to explore and examine new ideologies. The term 'rangahau' is a translation of this. The term 'ranga' (strand) remains consistent with the addition of 'hau' being the concept of new space or enter and wind, in that there is space where wind occurs. To further explain this abstract term, if there is 'space', there is room to view ideas more openly.

1.71 Drawing out of the term rangahau is the creation of new strands, and when applied to rangatahi, it infers a movement from the singular strand that is inherent in rangatahi. The term rangahau is used to describe the notions of research. The exploration and analysis of data are displayed here. However, it is critical that the foundation and understandings acquired in rangatahi are secure to provide the basis for comparison and analysis. One

cannot progress from rangatahi if a sound understanding has not been established, building the maturity that is required to explore and analyse ideologies that may at times challenge what it is we consider to be true. Only when this occurs does the person begin to engage with rangahau, where again it is not limited to a particular age but rather is a state of being that people will continually move in and out of.

Mātauranga

1.72 As the person continues in their cognitive development, moving in and out of both rangatahi and rangahau, a wider appreciation begins to develop, culminating in a state of clarity that is reached by knowing and understanding. This process is captured in the term 'mātauranga', where the term ranga this time is prefaced with mātau simply translated as 'know' or 'knowing', which is reached by a clarity of understanding.

1.73 Applying mātauranga to the previous examples of rangatahi and rangahau, the developmental stages become clear. Moving from the singular thought through exposure to other ideologies leads to an understanding being reached in knowing, being clear and moving towards an informed state of being. As the person develops and becomes aware and can examine, analyse and accept other ideologies, awareness and understanding are reached, which is described as mātauranga (knowledge).

1.74 To be mātau on a particular issue is to be clear in your understanding. This level of clarity is achieved when a sound foundation is established and clarified through the processes of rangatahi and rangahau. Central to this idea is identity – in order to build and develop, one must know intimately one's position and place, described in Māori as tūrangawaewae (place of standing), both physical and cognitive, as the two are inextricably linked. This is a concept that is explored later in this paper. A person can be mātauranga and rangatahi at the same time. The process is not linear or binary; rather, it is a state of praxis that involves reflexivity and reflection, supporting the notion made by Graham Smith (1997: 65-67) of simultaneous engagement occurring.

1.75 Most people operate and engage within and across these three stages, moving freely between rangatahi, rangahau and mātauranga, where each informs and builds the understanding that ultimately produces mātauranga. When each of these processes is applied, clarity of thought and understanding is achieved. As the development occurs in the exposure to new strands (rangahau), viewed through the understandings achieved in the singular strand of rangatahi, an understanding through praxis is achieved termed as mātauranga – knowing, understanding the strands.

Rangatira

1.76 Emerging out of this process is the term used to describe and refer to leadership – rangatira. A point raised earlier in this section alluded to knowledge informing a particular kind of leadership expressed in the meaning of the term rangatira. Again, the term ranga remains consistent, this time used in conjunction with 'tira', the Māori term to describe a union of people. A leader is a person who must be able to connect and unite the differing strands (ranga) inherent in a grouping of people they are leading. Tribal leaders must be able to connect the various sections of knowledge located and held by the various families that constitute hapū, who collectively are termed 'iwi'.

1.77 For the person to organise and command a grouping of people, there must be an ability to weave together the many strands (ranga) everyone has. The rangatira must be able

to weave together the varied forms of people's understandings to unite under a common thread – the weaving together of ideologies to form an epistemology.

1.78 Diagram 9 illustrates a model of Māori epistemology in action. This is a key element to development and provides fluid movements between each of the stages as new ideologies are experienced. There is not a prescribed set of time that must be spent in each stage; this process maps the cognitive pathway that one takes to understand. Alluded to here in the term rangatira is the idea of excellence – to weave together the various ideas of a collective of people requires a level of mastery. Taking this notion and applying rangatahi as novice, rangahau as fledgling, mātauranga as knowledgeable and rangatira as mastery maps the cognitive stages that occur when we learn something new.

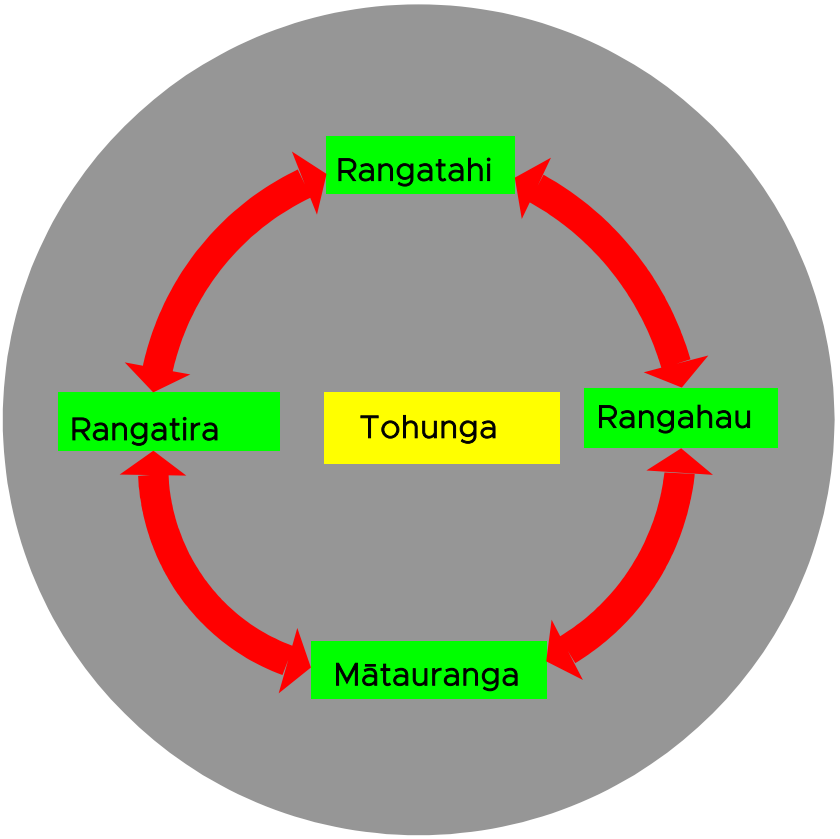


Diagram 9. Ranga model

1.79 The diagram further outlines the whakapapa of learning from rangatahi through to rangatira where there is synergy and movement between all these stages. At times, the rangatira reverts to the point of engagement rangatahi. Contingent upon the forum or situation, this will dictate who takes on the responsibility of teacher or student. This relationship is interchangeable in Māori. Located in the centre of the diagram is the term 'tohunga' – an expert in their particular field. 'Tohu' means 'instruct' or 'give direction'. The expectation can be surmised that, to be able to provide guidance or instruction, a person needs an intimate/in-depth knowledge base that cannot be easily matched or surpassed by others, save for a select few. Tohunga is the term given to people who are highly skilled and respected in their field of practice and expertise.

1.80 Before we move on to the next section of this paper, we focus on some key terms. As already illustrated, the naming of the Ranga Framework was deliberate by intentionally making the connection to the wider purpose Harakeke has played within mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi. Through an analysis of terms, subtle clues or directions are

provided to connect both purpose and function. These are woven together to help illustrate multiple layers of thinking and expression – the deeper meanings that sit within these concepts and that words (to Māori at least) are more than simply vehicles for expression. Rather, they are connected to a higher order of knowledge and broader set of philosophical underpinnings. To keep the focus on tikanga, those terms used to help express and define tikanga will be explored here.

WHAKAPAPA

1.81 While this term has already been explained as it relates to the Ranga Framework, it is a key critical component that connects 'all' things. A statement often made within te ao Māori is that everything is connected and that Māori view things holistically. This sentiment describes the function of whakapapa. In analysing the word, it has the base notion of raupapa – to simply lay things out in the order of events as they occurred. As is captured in the commonly applied use of the term as it applies to genealogies, it maps the descendants connecting in order from eldest to youngest through the generations.

1.82 When applying whakapapa to knowledge, it will map and track concepts, ideas from inception to implementation, noting events that have occurred that alter the practice, as in the example of Tūhoe pōwhiri, in that whakapapa maps epistemologies.

1.83 When applying the 'principle' of whakapapa to tikanga, it will help map the establishment of the tikanga and in doing so speak to the intent and purpose of why that particular component of tikanga was established, illustrating the performativity required to ensure that particular element of tikanga is maintained.

1.84 Whakapapa links people, environment and knowledge together, and in doing so, the intent and purpose of ideas and practice become visible.

1.85 While whakapapa will map the processes and interactions that occur between the three elements of people, environment and knowledge, it is tikanga that determines how the rules are applied. Whakapapa is the binary that creates bonds and coherence – all things must be able to be connected. Taking the meaning of whakapapa to explain the sequential order of events, what is important to note is that these events do not exist mutually exclusive of each other – they are in fact related and expressed through another concept known as 'mauri'.

1.86 This is also a complex term – mauri applies to all things. However, in applying the process of analysing the word, we can see that it too is a compound word: 'ma' – sentence particle or sentence starter, followed by 'uri' – related, drawing out the wider meaning 'to be related'. Returning to the sequential order of events outlined in whakapapa, mauri ensures these 'events' do not exist in ways that are mutually exclusive. The meaning of the term mauri is to remind us to look to the connections that bind us.

1.87 We see this similar notion of ensuring things are connected when we examine terms used for 'ngahere', the term for forest. Again, we see here the word is a compound word: 'nga' – plural, and 'here' – connections. The naming of the forest is deliberately reminding us we have a connection to the forests that must never be forgotten. When we drill down into the names of trees, we see this concept of connection re-occurring as in the naming of the large tree 'kauri'. Again breaking the word down, 'ka' ¬– sentence particle or sentence starter, followed by 'uri' – related. The naming of this tree is reminding us we are related. Taking this sentiment from kauri and ngahere, we see there is a deliberate

point being made with respect to the connection created by Tāne in the creation of flora that we must not forget.

1.88 When we look at 'pirita', the term for supplejack, we begin to see subtle clues that are designed to help guide us throughout our lives. This vine grows from a particular spot and spreads out, taking hold of others that are in its path whereby it will spread to a tree, take hold there, then continue to spread to the next neighbouring tree or fern, take hold and continue on. When we analyse the name, we see this intent captured in the name, 'piri' – connect, and 'ta' – together, taking the wider meaning of the word to mean we must maintain a connection with each other and our surrounds. When we look at the name of the berry this vine produces, called 'kareao' consistent again in the fact it is a compound word: 'kare' – wave, ripple or emotion, and 'ao' – world or environment. This is a metaphor or example of how to live our life and overcome challenges – if we are strong in our connections to each other and our environment, we will overcome the physical waves and emotional challenges that we will inevitably encounter throughout our lives.

1.89 Continuing this theme that connects us to our environment is the term 'ahikā'. This is a concept that has been used to describe the occupation and rights of people to land. The term is consistent in that it is a compound word: 'ahi' – fire, and 'ka' ¬– burning. In that, occupation is described as that one's presence must be maintained and being seen to assert one's rights.

1.90 The base concept is drawn from the use of 'puku tawai' – a fungus that grows on tawai trees. It absorbs water and continues to grow until it becomes too heavy and falls to the ground, where it has a consistency like soap. This fungus was collected and dried and used when the iwi was getting ready to move to another location to stay, largely stipulated on the availability of seasonal food or shelter from inclement weather. Within these earlier settlements, the art of maintaining a fire was paramount, noting that this was before modern fire-lighting techniques were available. So the practice of 'tamou i te ahi' – banking down the fire in the evening so the embers were still smouldering for the morning, and terms such as 'te umara i te ahi' ¬– the general sentiment meaning do not be frivolous with fuel for the fire were all created. There is clearly an entire body of knowledge here as to how to keep the fire burning.

1.91 The fires within these communities never went out, and great skill and knowledge were used to maintain these fires. When the community were getting ready to relocate to the next settlement, an ember was taken from the fire and placed into the now-dried puku tawai (that has a similar resemblance to polystyrene). The ember would smoulder and melt its way into the dried puku tawai. Taking note to be sure the fungus was smouldering, the fungus was then buried, paying attention that the depth was sufficient to ensure no air could reach the smouldering fungus, suffocating it.

1.92 The spot where the puku tawai was buried was noted. When the community returned to the settlement the following season, they would prepare dry kindling in the fireplace and retrieve the puku tawai buried the previous season, whereupon re-exposing it to air, it would continue to smoulder. The ember from last season's fire would then be used to start the fire that would burn continuously for this season, hence the name 'ahikā'.

1.93 The purpose for providing the Ranga Framework here was to show that three distinct knowledge forms – generic knowledge, mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi – exist and that we need a structure to safely navigate our way through them to ensure we do not unwittingly apply values and principles of non-Māori to express Māori. Similarly, we

do not take tribal understandings and hegemonically apply them to Māori. By using the tools that Kaupapa Māori provides, we see how concepts from a dominant knowledge system are used to maintain their dominance. This is important to understand when engaging with tikanga – what must be firmly established is that the values and principles that are used are from mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi and not generic knowledge.

1.94 As described earlier on in this paper, tikanga must be viewed within its natural environments of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi. When taking this position, what becomes apparent is there are two distinct components at play with regard to tikanga: intent and performativity. Intent is the element that is universal and can be located within mātauranga Māori. This is more than likely to be consistent across all Māori, as shown using the earlier example of pōwhiri, where the intent here speaks to the responsibility tangata whenua have in welcoming and hosting their manuhiri. Tikanga directs that manuhiri must be welcomed by tangata whenua. The application of this tikanga is what I describe as the performance required to meet the conditions expressed within the intent. The binary that whakapapa provides in connecting people, environment and knowledge together will map the relevant way that connects that group of people to their environment and knowledge system. Likewise, through whakapapa again and as was shown in the pōwhiri example of Tūhoe shared earlier, changing the performativity can be done to adapt and better align with current environmental conditions whereby the change can safely occur – you are not changing the intent that tikanga speaks to, you are simply changing the performativity that is conducted to meet the conditions expressed within the intent.

1.95 Contemporary examples of this can be seen today with the emergence of COVID-19 into our communities. As a result of the current health implications, it is no longer safe to hongi. Not engaging in this component of pōwhiri does not mean that tikanga has been diminished or set aside. Rather, you are simply adapting a component within the performance to ensure safety while maintaining its intent.

1.96 To this end, COVID-19 has provided numerous examples of how culture and cultural practices have shifted, seamlessly and without conflict or compromise, to accommodate environmental conditions or challenges. As we have seen with tangihanga, the intent that must be adhered to in farewelling our tūpāpaku has not changed. We continue to mourn and celebrate them. However, the way in which we do so now has shifted because of the environmental challenges brought about by COVID-19 and the requirement that the performance be changed.

1.97 By applying the principles of whakapapa, we can track the concept from its inception, outlining the intent and purpose of why a particular element was created, and map the components required to meet that particular component of tikanga. With whakapapa linking people, knowledge and landscape together, a narrative is created that sits within the landscape to be seen and heard.

1.98 By establishing a framework to ensure the lenses that have been crafted through Kaupapa Māori theory are used to analyse tikanga, this protects us from importing non-Māori ideas to understand tikanga. This cognitive shift is critical to ensure the fuller understanding required for tikanga is achieved.

SECTION TWO

Te Whare

2.1 In brief, the Ranga Framework is presented as a framework that highlights three distinct communities: generic knowledge as a description of non-Māori knowledge; mātauranga Māori as a description of Māori; and mātauranga ā-iwi, which is implied by Māori who use the term Māori. Each of these strands is separated with the theoretical concept of Kaupapa Māori theory.

2.2 The purpose of presenting this model is to draw attention to the politics of knowledge and lessons learned within the education communities to have mātauranga Māori acknowledged as its legitimate knowledge system, expressed through its knowledge, language and culture. The Ranga Framework presents generic knowledge as the knowledge that is learned and taught from a non-Māori space – this is knowledge drawn on Pākehā principles, values and ideas.

2.3 What is important is that the values and ideas presented in the generic knowledge strand are not used or dragged across to understand or explain mātauranga Māori. Kaupapa Māori theory provides a mechanism to safeguard this from happening. By deliberately representing Kaupapa Māori theory as a strand that separates generic knowledge from mātauranga Māori is to show it as a buffer, highlighting that we cannot simply import the ideas and thinking learned through generic knowledge to unpack and analyse mātauranga Māori. Instead, what is required is time to either learn or see the precepts drawn from mātauranga Māori.

2.4 Similarly, the Ranga Framework also separates mātauranga Māori from mātauranga ā-iwi. Drawing attention to mātauranga Māori are the general precepts that underpin the knowledge, language and culture of Māori. While the precepts are hosted within mātauranga Māori, the application does not reside here. In fact, it is located within each tribal area.

2.5 The application of the general precepts using whakapapa connects people individually to their collectives, expressed through whānau, hapū and iwi. It also connects people to their knowledge system, outlining the inception of ideas, marking the changes occurring in the natural evolution of knowledge and finally connecting the people and knowledge to their region through marae, rivers, mountains and sites of significance. Importantly, whilst these three elements are noted, they must be all present in the application of the precepts of knowledge, language and culture. Located within here is tikanga – this is its natural environment.

2.6 The Ranga Framework provides a theoretical structure outlining the various layers that must be navigated when viewing tikanga. A general statement could be made that people who have no understanding of tikanga have a starting point from within the generic knowledge strand, and those who are users of tikanga engage from the rohe and mātauranga ā-iwi strands. Importantly, those who have no understanding of te ao Māori will access tikanga through a theoretical structure, and those who use it every day apply it from a ground-up approach, connected to their iwi.

WHARE

2.7 If we take the approach outlined by Distinguished Professor Sir Hirini Mead (Mead, 2003: 305), that mātauranga Māori is a knowledge system in which tikanga operates, an understanding of this knowledge system is required to fully understand tikanga. Visible examples of this knowledge system in operation are seen within marae, particularly in wharenui. Not only are these houses the repository of this knowledge system, but their very creation is also drawn explicitly from the very system of knowledge. Through the whare, we see presented a cohesive model in how all things within te ao Māori function and relate to each other. The whare provides a cohesive model of how the connected world of te ao Māori connects with everything and functions.

2.8 To fully explain where whare come from within the knowledge system, a summarised version of the creation of the known world to Māori is provided. Note that there are multiple versions to this account of the early histories of Māori – provided here is a truncated and more commonly accepted version.

2.9 The primordial parents of all Māori are Ranginui and Papatūānuku – respectively, Sky Father and Earth Mother. The story begins with both lying tightly in an embrace with their 70 children tucked between the spaces. As the siblings continued to grow, they quickly filled the small spaces available. The cramped conditions resulted in polarising views among the siblings – some, led by Tūmatauenga, wanting to kill the parents to create more space, and others, led by Tāwhirimātea, wanting the status quo to remain. Watching these two polarising views take a firm hold was one of the younger siblings, Tāne, who adopted the view that the status quo cannot remain nor can the killing of the parents ever be accepted. He proposed a compromise to separate the parents. While not fully supported by the siblings, it was agreed to be the best solution.

2.10 This feat was eventually achieved by Tāne, after observing his older siblings' failed attempts where they braced their feet firmly onto their mother and were bent at the waist, nestling their backs against their father and pushing. The last attempt was made by Tāne who decided upon a different approach by nestling his back into his mother, bracing his feet up against his father and pushing out. Eventually, the parents slowly began to separate, with Tāne placing poles between them to keep the two separated. Having achieved this, it was the first time the siblings were able to stand tall, as is reflected in the name Te Aotūroa,[1] commonly now used to describe the world we live in now, 'the world of standing tall'.

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[1] Interesting to note, Te Aotūroa is referring to the world of standing tall. When someone is sick, they are referred to as tūroro, 'standing' prostrate as in laying down, or tūpāpaku, standing shallow. Originally, people were buried seating in the foetal position, knees bent to the chest with arms bound around the bent knees and lowered into the ground.

2.11 Having successfully separated their parents, the discussion then turned to securing knowledge for the siblings to live by. Observing these events was the creator, Io Matua-Kore, from his residence at te Toi-o-ngā-rangi. Within this cosmology, at each level, there were 12 levels of consciousness, otherwise termed 'heavens' – the creator of all things residing at the uppermost level, named te Toi-o-ngā-rangi. A messenger was dispatched to Te Aotūroa to convey the message from Io Matua-Kore requesting a journey be made to seek the baskets and stones of knowledge from te Toi-o-ngā-rangi and for these to be taken back to Te Aotūroa. Contained within these vessels of knowledge were the entire knowledge systems known – Io Matua-Kore wanted these to be made accessible to Te Aotūroa.

2.12 Once again, there was a split between the siblings. One faction strongly viewed this quest to be undertaken by the older siblings, Whiro-te-tipua and Uru-te-Ngangana, who set forth immediately travelling by way of te Taepatanga. This rash decision was soon to be found wanting as this pathway did not reach te Toi-o-ngā-rangi, leaving Whiro short of the destination. The second faction took a more consultative approach, eventually settling on Tāne. Within the considered approach, attention was given to establishing where the vessels of knowledge should be stored and made accessible. With help from one of the older siblings, Tāwhirimātea (who was responsible for creating the winds) helped take Tāne to a level above this level, Rangi-Tamaku, where Tāne saw the whare (house) belonging to Tūmatauenga, Te Roroku-o-te-rangi. He immediately took this whare as the prototype complex in which to store the baskets and stones of knowledge.

2.13 With Tāne bringing to Te Aotūroa the concept of whare from Rangi-Tamaku, it now successfully linked Te Aotūroa to the 12 levels that now each had whare located on them. It was through this link that Tāne made his ascent. Located to the side of the tāhuhu (ridge pole) of each whare was a hole to allow the smoke to exit – this hole is called 'te pūmotomoto'. It was through here that Tāne made his ascent, referred to as 'te Aratiatia'. Tāne would enter the whare and climb through the pūmotomoto of each whare as the portal connecting to the level above, emerging onto the next level, entering the whare there and exiting through the pūmotomoto until he arrived at te Toi-o-ngā-rangi.

NGĀ KETE

2.14 Upon arriving at te Toi-o-ngā-rangi, Tāne was given the kete – kete uruuru matua/aronui, kete uruuru rangi/tipua and kete uruuru tau/tawhito – and two stones – Hukātai and Rehutai. Contained within these vessels was the entire knowledge used by the creator to create the known universe. Having performed the appropriate rituals of purification and readiness, Tāne made the descent back to Te Aotūroa again, climbing through the pūmotomoto and exiting the door of the whare to enter the pūmotomoto of the next whare until arriving back onto Te Aotūroa, where the kete and kōhatu were placed into the whare constructed back on Te Aotūroa, called Whare-Kura.

2.15 This whare is said to have been built by Rua-te-pupuke – the ancestors responsible for creating the practice of whakairo. The primary function of Whare-Kura was to hold the kete and kōhatu. The three kete each held a particular classification of knowledge. Kete uruuru matua, also called kete aronui, contained all the knowledge and practices pertaining to virtuous behaviour. This housed all knowledge pertaining to good in the centre of the rear wall of the wharenui, called te poutuarongo.

2.16 The second kete, te uruuru rangi/tipua, also known as kete tuauri, held all knowledge about rituals and associated practices. This kete was stored within the roro of the house. This pou is found in the front wall of the house as you enter through the door.

2.17 The last of the kete is kete uruuru tau/tawhito also called kete tuatea. Elements considered malevolent were housed within this kete in the poutokomanawa of the house. This pou is the centre pole that connects to the tāhuhu normally midway through its length.

2.18 The creation of whare is attributed to Tāne as a result of the activities performed in accessing the kete and kōhatu from te Toi-o-ngā-rangi and bringing them back to Te Aotūroa via the pūmotomoto. An interesting analogy to point out here is that pūmotomoto is also the name given to the fontanelle cap found in newborn babies. I can remember a particular practice of early care of children was the placing of a coin to see how the cap was closing as the child aged – a practice my grandmother was furious with. While this cap is still open, it is accessing information the child will require as it grows. Similarly, through the pūmotomoto, Te Aotūroa accessed knowledge. It is also through the pūmotomoto the child accesses knowledge it requires. Placing a coin there would disrupt the connection to the environment and people the child was accessing information from.

2.19 The knowledge system Mead (2003) refers to was packaged into three receptacles and two stones accessed from the creators of our known universe and stored in bespoke buildings for us to access and learn from. The entire construction of the whare drew on the very knowledge that was held within the kete and demonstrated symbolically how this knowledge was accessed.

2.20 As has been noted earlier, the kete were stored within the three main central pou that stand directly in the centre of the building, with the poutuaroro being immediately to your right as you enter the house, the poutokomanawa standing in the centre of the whare and the poutuarongo located in the centre of the rear wall of the whare. How the building is constructed is also an example of the knowledge system, where parts are placed and decorated, and help show and map where the knowledge was accessed from as well as the elements of knowledge itself.

NGĀ WĀHANGA O TE WHARE

2.21 To help illustrate this, let's view the house from the outside. We will see it will be named after a significant person, event or object in the community. When you are facing the whare, you will see two vertical panels standing at the edges of the whare. These panels are called 'amo' (see Figure 1), a shortened name for 'kaiamo', meaning pallbearer, in the sense they are carrying the loved ones who have passed who are associated to the whare. All facets of life were performed in and around the whare. The area directly in front of the whare is referred to as the 'ātea' – this is the formal ground where formal protocols of welcome are conducted and significant meetings for people are held. It is also here where rituals of celebrating and farewelling loved ones are conducted. A key part of the whare is to hold the memory and account of all the people who are associated with the whare, where metaphorically the amo are referred to as the pallbearers for those associated with the whare.

2.22 At the apex of the building is a carved figure normally with piercing eyes on high alert. This is the 'koruru' (Figure 1), who is a sentry keeping a vigilant guard for the people residing within the building. Descending on an angle on either side of the koruru are two barge boards meeting the amo. These are referred to as the 'maihi', and the parts that extend beyond the amo are referred to as 'raparapa'. The front of the house is built to resemble a person with outstretched arms in a welcoming gesture, the koruru being the face, the maihi the arms and amo the feet and body, with the raparapa being the fingers, outstretched in welcome ready to host its visitors and guests.

2.23 Moving into the veranda of the whare we first enter the mahau, sometimes referred to as te mahau-a-Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga. Here, we will see the door – 'tatau' – and the window – 'matapihi'. Normally, the tatau is to the left of the front wall as you face the house, with the matapihi to the right as you face the house. Within the mahau, directly below the matapihi is where loved ones lay in state during the tangihanga process, surrounded by the immediate loved ones of the deceased. Not often seen now, but at times in the evenings, the casket was passed through the matapihi into the house to lay with the living members of the tribe and before dawn was passed back through the matapihi to lay back on the mahau for the day. The matapihi is the entry for those that have passed on. You will notice during pōwhiri – the process of welcoming visitors onto the marae – the matapihi is open. To have it closed is seen as a slight and not respecting the ancestors of the visiting group.

2.24 The tatau is the entry for us, the living. This too must be open while pōwhiri is taking place on the marae. Surrounding the door, are 'whakawae' – carved pou (see Figure 4). Standing on either side of the door at the top of the door where the lintel is found is the 'pare'. Both the pare and the whakawae are symbolic. A close examination of the whakawae will show there is a figure that is repeated on each pou. This represents the intergenerational network of people and leaders who will appear as one leader passing another ready to assume the role. This is captured in the saying 'mate atu he tetekura, ara mai he tetekura' – as one leader dies, another is ready to take their place. The pare is important – generally, when examining the pare, there will be a figure located at the centre. Emerging from between the legs will be a thread that splits and flows to each outer edge of the pare. Here, you will see two figures, and upon close inspection, you will find the thread that comes from between the legs of the central figure ends in the mouth of the figures that are located on the outer edges of the pare (see Figure 3). This is in reference to the actions of Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga in his attempt to gain immortality in his conquest to enter and kill Hine-nui-te-pō.

2.25 Hine-nui-te-pō is the daughter of Tāne. Following the successful location of kete and kōhatu into Whare-Kura, Tāne then turned his attention to creating human life. Shaping from the earth, he carved the form of the female element and, through the knowledge acquired in the kete and help from Io Matua-Kore, was successful in bringing to life Hine-ahu-one – female shaped from earth. Shortly thereafter, they had a child called Hine-tītama. When she came of age, Tāne took her as his lover. As their relationship developed, she repeatedly inquired as to who was her father. Tāne remarked: "Look to the walls of the house, there you will see your father." Upon hearing this, Hine-tītama realised that her lover was indeed her father. In her embarrassment, she remarked to Tāne: "I will leave this realm of Te Aotūroa and relocate to Rarohenga and there await our offspring to ensure they safely make passage when they pass from this world into the next. There I will take the name Hine-nui-te-pō."

2.26 It is there where Hine-nui-te-pō resides to this day, awaiting our time of passing to ensure we are guided safely from this world into the next world. Symbolically, she is located on the pare to signify as we enter the whare that we are moving into the world and realm of our ancestors. Upon entering the whare, we are entering the portal that connects us to worlds and levels of consciousness. An example of this is seen when you look at the poupou that adorns the walls of the whare. At times, it looks as though the figure is too large for the poupou, that it does not fit. The outer edges of the mouth are cut off – this is deliberate, as it is done to demonstrate these figures are looking into our world through a matapihi. The parts that are left off are obstructed by the edges of the matapihi they are looking through to us (see Figure 5). Demonstrated within the pare are our continued attempts to prolong life, where the figures that emerge from between the legs of Hine-nui-te-pō are representing death, and the ends that are within the mouths of the figures at the edges of the pare are demonstrating we are nowhere near overcoming death – we are merely nibbling at the outer margins of overcoming death.

2.27 Another interesting point to look at here that reinforces the understanding of multiple worlds is seen in the description of the craving experienced by pregnant mums. This is described as ‘kumama’. My kuia explained it as the baby knows it is about to take a trip and is storing provisions for its journey. When our loved ones are in their final days, this notion of craving appears again, where it too is called kumama. Again, according to my kuia, they know they are about to leave and are making provisions for their journey into the next world.

2.28 As we enter through the tatau, the poutuaroro is immediately to your right and located at the centre of the front wall connecting the floor to the tāhuhu. The pou placed along this wall and the rear wall are referred to as ‘epa’. Directly in front, you will see the poutokomanawa. Sometimes, there is another pou behind the poutokomanawa in the larger houses – this pou is called ‘te poumataaho’ (see Figure 6). Continuing to the back wall and located at the centre is the poutuarongo.

2.29 The tāhuhu begins in the mahau – commonly seen here are two figures standing feet to feet, representing Ranginui and Papatūānuku. However, as you enter the whare, the adornments on the tāhuhu are a series of repetitive koru designs where the pattern continually repeats itself, emerging from the roro of the house and disappearing out the ‘tuarongo’ – back wall of the house (see Figure 6). The repetitive design here is intentional. It is to demonstrate there was a time before us and there will be a time after us, whereby we are responsible for the time we currently exist within.

2.30 Represented through the tāhuhu is Ranginui. The rafters – termed ‘heke’ – are referred to as the children of Papa and Rangi, flowing from the tāhuhu landing on to the poupou. The poupou is a collection of the key ancestors that pertain to the people of the whare. The poupou is connected to the ground, completing the connection to Ranginui, represented as the tāhuhu connecting through his offspring, represented as the heke, connecting to the poupou, being the ancestors of the people of the whare, where it is at their feet we sit and sleep.

2.31 The side of the house immediately to your left as you enter is referred to as ‘te taraiti’. This is where the hosts of the house will position themselves with the leader locating themselves in the immediate corner. The opposite side is referred to as ‘te taranui’, being the larger section of the whare that is given to the visitors, where normally within the corner of the taranui side is where the leader of the visiting group will position themselves.

These two corners of the whare govern the speaking order within the whare, starting at te taraiti, flowing in order around the whare and ending in the taranui corner.

2.32 Moving to the outside of the whare, onto the marae ātea, is where the formal welcoming processes are conducted through the pōwhiri process. As you face the whare, normally to the right will be seating referred to as 'te paepae'. However, in some marae, you will see the paepae located on the left. The placing of the paepae is governed by the amo. Represented on the right-side amo is Tūmatauenga and Tāne facing the house, and Rongomatāne is represented on the left side amo facing the whare. The representation of Tūmatauenga and Tāne in the amo is drawing the recognition of the unpredictability of human nature captured by Tūmatauenga, accompanied by Tāne, where thought and consideration are drawn from. The marae ātea is where public debate and disputes are settled. As the amo oversees the activity that occurs here, within the whare is the realm of Rongomatāne, which sets a tone of peace and harmony. Where debates are held outside and resolved, upon entering the house, Rongomatāne dominates. Discussion and debate can continue here but is mediated by Rongomatāne.

2.33 Symbolically, we are located at the feet of our ancestors – the ancient ones will be represented in carvings, and the more recent will have pictures hung between the poupou. Connected to the poupou are the heke, represented as the children of Rangi and Papa, where the heke connect to the tāhuhu, representing Ranginui. Completing this connection are the poutuaroro, poutokomanawa and poutuarongo connecting Rangi to Papa, with us located between them. The term 'pakiwaitara' is worth noting here. Unfortunately, over time, it has been used to simply mean stories with an implication of no real worth. However, on closer inspection, the word is a compound word: 'paki', meaning story, and 'waitara', meaning wall of the house. The term is referring to content that is drawn from the walls of the whare.

2.34 The house is not only symbolic in that it is given by the gods, but it also contains the knowledge from them on how we should live our lives. This requires that great care must be taken to protect and maintain this knowledge and those who choose to access it. It was understood knowledge was power and care needed to be taken to ensure those that accessed it and use it were appropriately instructed on the duty of care required. An example of this is seen on the poupou. Here, you will see a 'mokomoko' (lizard), either carved on the chest, tongue or sitting within the mouth of figures – this is done to represent the spoken word. It can be used for good to make people feel great and also can be used to tear them down, where it was likened to a 'ngārara' (creature). Important to note here is the belief that, once a word has been uttered, it cannot be unsaid – the notion of 'sorry' does not exist. Given the high stakes, everything here is bound within tapu – not in the sense that people cannot access it, but rather strict rules of access are required to be followed and learned. Use and care of these processes must be adhered to at all times, stipulated by tikanga. Embedded in all tikanga is tapu. The application of tikanga on the marae is referred to as 'kawa', defined by Professor Sir Pou Temara as practice wrapped in tapu (Wānanga 30 June 2022: Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi). Further, Professor Sir Pou Temara continues that all tikanga must be underpinned by a connection to the gods – "all tikanga must be underpinned by Iho Atua" (Wānanga 30 June 2022: Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi) – as is represented in the creation of whare.

2.35 Everything that occurs within the whare and on the marae is governed by tikanga, kawa and tapu. An example of this at work is pōwhiri. Tikanga stipulates that manuhiri (visitors)

must be welcomed through ritual and protocol. It is a process that requires visitors to reflect and remember every person they have known who has passed and similarly every person those people have known who has passed. Very quickly, the permutations go back to the beginning of time and must be brought forward to meet all those who are presently being 'carried' by the amo of the whare (every person who has passed and who is associated to the whare) the visitors are about to appear in front of. This drawing of the ancestors to the fore is initiated through the karanga, performed by kuia[2] who are pulling forward in strands those who have passed. As the vessels that carry life and as demonstrated by Hine-nui-te-pō who guides us to the next life, this role is solely conducted by a woman. As the visiting group proceeds to the front of the whare, the pause that occurs here is to reflect on all those you have known who have passed and in doing so bringing them forward to meet those who are represented in the whare: 'ko mātau te urupā o rātau mā' – 'we carry the burial grounds of our loved ones with us'. Once settled in the arranged seating, the role shifts from women to men to conduct whaikōrero. The opening speakers will begin closest to the house. The flow of the speaking order is important, referred to as 'te ia o te kōrero'. If the kawa is pāeke, all the tangata whenua speak, followed by manuhiri, starting with the person seated furthest from the whare, following in order to the closest to the whare, taking the analogy that the whaikōrero comes off the whare and must return to the whare. If the kawa is tau-utuutu, i.e., tangata whenua, manuhiri alternate until all speakers have completed, and the last speaker must be from tangata whenua, thus returning the speaking back to the house. Tikanga determines all visitors must be welcomed through pōwhiri. Kawa is how it is conducted. Pāeke and tau-utuutu are clear examples of kawa. Others may not be so noticeable, taking the position expressed earlier by Professor Sir Pou Temara that being kawa is a set of rules bound by sacred conditions expressed as tapu. He then states that it must have the support of the people to enforce them and be practised and used every day – meaning there has to be a shared understanding of how kawa is performed on the marae.

2.36 Again, Professor Sir Pou Temara points out the whare has a single room – there are no elevated sections or separate rooms. It is open and on the same level where everyone can see each other to support the singular collective of 'kotahitanga' (unity). This notion of kotahitanga is a fundamental component of te ao Māori – it speaks to the collective being united and being one. This unity of purpose and togetherness is expressed through whakapapa that maps and identifies the connections that bind iwi together.

2.37 Whakapapa too is an important component. Like tikanga, it permeates everything within te ao Māori. Whakapapa, as it pertains to people, maps the current and historical genealogical generations of families to each other across the tribe. It provides a complete network of familial connections, linking past to present and creating a singular point of reference for the iwi to unify the iwi. This builds a shared understanding of the origins of the collective. There is a shared understanding of the historical accounts that were performed by ancestors that collectively create a historical account of the tribe. There must be a collective acceptance of the version of accounts, particularly when these accounts track back to the creation of the known world. When we map and track the exploits of our ancestors' whakapapa, it helps establish a chronology of events and

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2 Drawn from the words 'kua kūtia te mate mārama' – no longer menstruating/have gone through menopause.

practices that are critical to mapping the knowledge systems of the iwi. Here, whakapapa maps the epistemology of the collective. It maps when a particular practice occurred, where it occurred and who the pivotal participants were – concerning where, drawing in the third important component of whakapapa, through its chronology of events, noting where it links the people and the practices of the people to the landscape and in doing so to the people. Three key components are connected through whakapapa – people to each other, people to knowledge and people to their landscape. In the process, we note the significant sites where incidents occurred and map how each of these events has been wrapped into the knowledge system for the collective iwi. Whakapapa is the binary that helps maintain the connectivity of all things within te ao Māori. Through whakapapa, a shared understanding is mapped and presented.

2.38 The notion of a shared understanding is important. Tikanga too sits within this concept in that tikanga needs to be accepted and acknowledged by the collective. Rules that must be followed upon entering in and out of the whare strictly follow the tikanga rules that the collective iwi have decided and maintain. The concept of the whare provides the collective, iwi, hapū and whānau the facility to demonstrate the processes and practices of tikanga as they pertain to the operating and use of the whare complex. The entire system that dictates the use of the whare and the wider marae complex is governed by tikanga. Dr Turuhira Hare[3] commented that tikanga helps determine who does what when the collective meet on the marae. It provides an existing framework that is understood and accepted by the collective, removing the room for personal vested interests to be drawn into who should do what on the marae. Through tikanga, it outlines what needs to be done and how it is to be done and even provides guidance as to who is most appropriate to conduct the rituals that must be done. In doing so, through tikanga, people's behaviour and demeanour are moderated, including identifying if you are the one breaching tikanga and drawing negative attention to the iwi.

2.39 An important point to note when entering whare and marae is that there is a different world view and notion of time here. The concept of past and present differs. The past is the days that hang in front – i ngā rā o mua. We need to look back into the past to inform our present, to help inform our future as the days that are yet to descend – i ngā rā e heke mai nei. Examples of our children growing can be taken from the earlier cosmological accounts, where they are either going to follow Tūmatauenga, Tāwhirimātea or Tāne. As they prepare to leave home, some cannot wait, following the traits displayed by Tūmatauenga. Some may not leave home, following instead the traits of Tāwhirimātea, while the majority will not want to leave but understand that, to continue to grow, they must follow the traits set by Tāne. While these activities that were performed by ancestors and the gods occurred many centuries and millennia in the past, those actions and those who performed them are described as living the actions still alive today, and the individuals are treated as if they are still alive today. When contentious issues arise, they are taken to the marae to resolve, taken to allow the thoughts and influence of those who made decisions in the past to help inform the decisions that must be made for today. This notion of time positions ancestors of the past and their actions as living members of the collective. The actions and practices of the ancestors form the guidelines for tikanga in action today. Where the performativity of the tikanga has changed, it is mapped and

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3 Meeting held at te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi on 30 June 2022.

recorded through whakapapa. Within the whare, the construction and processes used are the exemplars for tikanga.

2.40 When viewing pōwhiri through the lens of key ancestors who shaped and informed our tikanga today and who are called forward to witness the activity that unfolds on the marae, this certainly makes you mindful while you are performing the duties that are required to be done and as accountabilities change. They are here to ensure we continue to practise the protocols correctly, further adding to the point of ensuring the tikanga and kawa of the marae are also maintained and performed correctly.

2.41 I have witnessed first-hand contentious issues being put to one side so as not to interfere with the tikanga and kawa functions of the marae. In November 2009, a 36-year-old key community figure was violently struck and killed. As I attended his tangihanga, seated on the paepae two along from me was the father of the man who struck the victim, killing him. The speaker before me spoke on his behalf, delivering his apologies for the actions of his son. Because of tikanga, this exchange was able to take place. Knowing the victim and his family personally, while they were understandably upset, allowed this exchange to occur. Uncomfortable as it must have been for the father of the accused and his family, they understood, like everyone assembled, the responsibility to observe tikanga and kawa of the marae. There were hundreds assembled on the marae that day. From what I observed, the family of the accused were welcomed and hosted as everyone followed and adhered to the tikanga of the whare, marae and tangata whenua charged with the responsibility of maintaining the correct conduct and procedures.

2.42 As Chief Executive of a Māori organisation, I ensure staff have unlimited leave for tangihanga. There is no stipulation of closeness to the deceased. If they think they need to attend, they attend. All that is asked from the institution is the work that was required to be done during the period of absence is done and managed. While there is a real risk this can be abused, what helps mediate this risk is the concept that those who shaped and informed tikanga are present today. There is an obligation through tikanga that we must be seen to be present at tangihanga. As a leader of an organisation, under tikanga, I am required to attend tangi where staff members have passed (let alone this being the right thing to do). As is expected at times, I have been held to account for not caring enough for their loved ones during the pōwhiri process. Having tikanga and kawa allows for challenging conversations to occur – it helps set the rules that govern the behaviour.

2.43 At times, changes are required to the order of events that occur when entering marae. To explain this, I present the view that tikanga is not changing – rather, it is the performativity. I describe tikanga as having two elements: intent and performativity. While I cannot think of a time we would change the intent of tikanga, taking the view of Professor Sir Pou Temara that tikanga is underpinned by the gods would further suggest we would never change the intent. However, the performativity we must. Otherwise, we become fixed, locked and unable to evolve and be responsive. An example of this (also described in Section 1) can be seen very early on in pre-Tūhoe history where an early ancestor attacked a war party and changed their appearance to resemble the slain war party and waited until dusk to visit the marae the war party was from. As was expected, the marae assumed the party entering was the war party that had departed earlier. By the time they realised the deception, it was too late and the marae was attacked and fell. From this point forward, it was agreed pōwhiri within Tūhoe would not occur in the dark (Personal communication, 1995, John Tahuri, Mahue Tawa: Rotorua).

2.44 Critical to the functioning of the marae are the people represented in the whare. These are the key identities who connect to the families and ultimately on to the iwi. Today, many of us no longer live in our marae as we once did. Instead, they have become places to hold significant events on and meeting places for the hapū and iwi. While many do not live within or near our marae, the responsibility to be present is still important. One must be seen to be present at events pertaining to the iwi. A concept still used today to describe connection and commitment is ahikā. This is explained in Section 1 of this paper and revisited and elaborated here.

2.45 The concept and term are taken from an old practice from a time when families would move from one settlement to another, driven by either weather or the availability of seasonal foods. During these times, fires were lit and kept alight for the duration of the stay within each settlement. There was a science to keeping fires alight at night by 'tamou' (banking), where the ash was taken smothering the glowing embers before going to sleep. In the morning, the ash was carefully removed, re-exposing the embers again to air. Dried kindling and fuel were supplied to the fire, and it would continue to burn. Terms such as 'umara i te ahi' (don't be frivolous with fuel for the fire) noted the importance of maintaining fuel to ensure the fires could be kept alight the entire duration of stay. However, when it was time for the families to move, the fungus that grows on tawai was harvested. The fungus called 'puku tawai' would continue to grow until falling to the ground after becoming too heavy (see Figure 6). The puku tawai absorbs the water and sap from the tawai, and being waterlogged, it is heavy. While wet, it resembles a large bar of soap and is very dense and slippery, and it is taken and dried (see Figure 7). When it is dried, it resembles polystyrene and is very light. The now dried puku tawai is taken and placed into a hole at least a metre deep, where an ember from the fire is placed onto the puku tawai. Immediately it begins to smoulder, melting and embedding itself into the puku tawai. The puku tawai is then buried, taking great care to make sure the hole is airtight. The place is marked and will remain there until the families return the following season. Upon return, the puku tawai is dug up and placed into the fireplace, whereupon with re-exposure to air it will begin to smoulder. With dried kindling, the remaining puku tawai will flame back to life. The fire from the previous season has started the fire for this season that will continue to burn the entire duration of the stay, and the fire from the previous season was started from a puku tawai from its previous season. This illustrates the analogy captured in the term ahikā being a reference to someone's currency to claim occupation of land in times when occupation could be taken to nowadays being referred to as someone's currency to adopt leadership functions for the hapū and iwi.

2.46 Implicit in the concept of ahikā and being seen as playing your part in the upkeep and functioning of the whare and marae is the notion of obligation. As members of a collective, we each have an obligation as individuals to ensure we are supporting the collective. A key part of this obligation is to ensure connections are maintained and enhanced – connection to each other, to the past, to the environment, to the knowledge system and to the gods. Through the practice of whakapapa, the familial connections to the whare are maintained and mapped over time. What is required by kaikaranga and whaikōrero is to draw the whakapapa connections to the visiting group and our purpose of the meeting. Maintaining the connection to the practice required to conduct affairs on the marae reduces the risk of people forgetting or changing processes because of not knowing.

2.47 The system of obligation is best explained using the term 'matemateāone'. There is no direct English translation to this term – it speaks to servitude and obligation. As a

descendant of Te Urewera and raised within Te Urewera, I have a yearning to continually return. Having my 'pito' (umbilical cord) placed within a tree along with others of the family physically connects me to my landscape where I must ensure I am present to continually remind the environment of Te Urewera that it is still of value to me and that I still need it to survive. If I do not maintain a connection to Te Urewera, it will think it is no longer needed or valued, and in doing so, the mauri of Te Urewera will die. To ensure this does not occur, I continue to harvest food, rongoā, be present and engage in practices to ensure the physical connection and familial connections are maintained and not lost.

2.48 While the practices of ahikā and matemateāone describe the physical connection to space and place, it also refers to the cognitive connection to the thought processes used within the marae and whare. While many issues are not taken to the marae to be dealt with, the processes in which they are addressed, however, still follow the conditions expected on the marae or within the whare.

2.49 An example of this was seen when an employee was being investigated for suspected serious fraud, serious enough to merit the involvement of the Serious Fraud Office. In the early stages of the investigation, a well-regarded elder and leader of the tribe accompanied me to meet with the individual to make sure the individual was OK. It was to determine if what was being accused did in fact happen and for them to let us know if so, so we could help and work through it. We were given an assurance everything was in order, which we subsequently discovered was not the case.

2.50 This individual belonged to a neighbouring tribe. The fraud resulted in the institution being out of pocket of a substantial sum of money as well as significant reputational damage. It was agreed by the governance entity of the institution that a delegation of myself and another senior leader of the iwi associated with the institution who also had iwi affiliations to the accused attend the next scheduled meeting of the accused's tribal governance entity. As we prepared to enter the room, the elder and leader accompanying me outlined our tactic saying it was to be a low-key approach. I would respond to the mihimihi at the beginning and he would address the purpose. It was worth mentioning that, by this stage of the case, that fraudulent behaviour had been discovered. What was not known was the extent of the consequences, and as such, the Serious Fraud Office had formally opened a file and was investigating.

2.51 Upon entering, we saw seated around the room 30 of the iwi and community leaders, including the spouse of the accused and many close familial connections to the accused. The room was full of tension and uncomfortably silent for a large group within a confined space. Once seated, we were addressed and welcomed as per tikanga. The leader who accompanied me was positioned just behind me while I responded to the mihimihi. As I was sitting, he pulled himself to the table, looked at the 30 leaders seated around the table and room and said: "You owe me [stating the quantum of money that was lost], I want my money back'!"

2.52 Papers were being shuffled and suddenly spots became very interesting, drawing many eyes to unseen points of interest directly in front of where they sat. After several minutes, the elder who welcomed us stood, following tikanga, and thanked us for coming and letting them know what we wanted and asked they be given time to discuss and come up with a response. The meeting immediately broke for dinner and we were invited to join. We did so briefly and then returned to the institution, with me learning a whole new meaning to low-key approaches. Several weeks later, a formal request was made to the

tribal leaders of the governance entity of the institution requesting an audience. This was granted with the meeting date set.

2.53 The iwi of the accused arrived and was hosted by the governance leaders who were also the iwi leaders. The purpose of the meeting was in response to the point raised in a low-key manner to them previously. The neighbouring iwi arrived and apologised for the harm that had been done to the institution, stating they did not hold the iwi of the institution to account for any of the behaviour of the individual or the actions we had taken and needed to take to work our way through the case. They were clear they wanted the process to continue through the legal system without damaging the relationship at the iwi-to-iwi level. The leaders from the institution supported and thanked the approach, stressing that, while the individual was a member of their tribe, the institution did not hold them to account and did not blame them for their actions. The iwi of the institution was clear to point out they did not want the actions of the individual to cause harm to the iwi-to-iwi relationship. To cement this commitment, a pounamu taonga was presented (see Figure 8), named by the neighbouring iwi under the processes of he hohou i te rongo.

2.54 This pact stands firm today. The shift from the individual to the iwi was seamless. My governance leaders immediately responded by engaging the iwi. Our first task was to notify the iwi of what we wanted, in a low-key manner of course. Then the neighbouring iwi, as they requested, met to discuss at length their response. While the fraud was committed by an individual not representing the iwi they belonged to, it was the institution who raised it to an iwi issue. Being Māori, it did not want harm to the iwi the person belongs to via an unintended consequence. I am pushing the boundaries a little here in raising the issue as one of the unsaid outcomes of he hohou te rongo is that it is never to be raised publicly again, having been sealed in agreement and a commitment of all parties.

2.55 Another example of he hohou te rongo being used was when my great-grandfather arranged the marriage of a niece, known as pākūhā, during the 1930s. Several years into the marriage, after having children, the husband started abusing his wife. The hapū turned to my great-grandfather to deal with it, as he had arranged the marriage. As the years went by, the abuse continued, with the final straw being, in a fit of anger, the husband was heard to have said he would "eat their children". At this point, a delegation from the hapū arrived on my great-grandfather's doorstep seeking redress. This now required my great-grandfather to find an acceptable pounamu heirloom to address the slight to the hapū of his niece on behalf of the hapū of the husband. Having to source the heirloom and present it in front of both hapū of the wife and husband raised the abuse that was happening in the family into the community, where, if people were unaware of the actions of the husband prior, they were now, drawing on the weight of public opinion to help curb the behaviour. Additionally, the couple and their children were now required to live with my great-grandfather and my great-grandmother as an added measure – perhaps to ensure my great-grandfather did not have to search for another pounamu heirloom.

2.56 We see again the concepts drawn from tikanga in the placing of rāhui – restricting access for some time to a particular site. In December 2019, Whakaari White Island erupted, tragically killing 22 people, with two bodies never recovered. Immediately, the iwi placed a rāhui over the region. It was humbling to see this adhered to by the entire community – Pākehā, Māori and commercial entities alike. Where I live is directly opposite the river mouth meeting the sea. It is a popular swimming spot and right next to this is the boat ramp. During the period of the rāhui, no one swam, and despite the heat of a very warm December, no fishing vessels, commercial or private, moved. As Chair of the Economic

Development Agency for the three local councils, I could see first-hand the cost this was having on the commercial industries that relied on access to the sea, and yet, despite the financial burden, it was honoured. In fact, during meetings with councils over this period, before the rāhui was put in place by the iwi, it was expected. In fact, local agencies were waiting for the communication to come from the iwi.

2.57 A commonly performed waiata composed by Mihi-ki-te-kapua is a good example of a rāhui not being followed. The song *Taku Rākau* was written as a result of Mahia, the son of Mihi-ki-te-kapua and Hikawai, being killed in the Pāpuni district in 1819, resulting in a rāhui being imposed over the area. At the time, Mihi-ki-te-kapua and Hikawai's people relocated to Maungapōhatu to live. After a year, Hikawai and his people wanted to return home to their lands in the Pāpuni and Ruakituri region. The issue was that Mihi-ki-te-kapua was still grieving for their son, remarking: "Taihoa e hoki koi kai koutou i ngā para o taku tamaiti" – do not return yet, you may unwittingly eat the remains of my son. Unfortunately, Hikawai and his people did not listen to the plea of Mihi-ki-te-kapua, who subsequently travelled through Tūhoe to raise a war party to avenge the breaching of her rāhui. An interesting point to note here is that her marriage to Hikawai of Kahungunu was arranged by her father Te Āihurangi as a tatau pounamu to settle the disputes between Kahungunu. Unfortunately, Hikawai was killed as people rallied to the call of Mihi-ki-te-kapua. During these battles, she composed the waiata *Taku Rākau* as a morale booster to ensure those answering her call did not become despondent, drawing a comparison to the rākau kahikātoa, being a hardwood used for the creation of taiaha (not to be mistaken for kahikatea), and drawing reference to the shark that continues to fight with its dying breath, meaning to fight similarly to ensure the land is not left alone.

Taku rākau ē

Tau rawa ki te whare

Ka ngaro a takahi ē

Te whare o te kahikātoa

He ngau whakapae ē

Hei whakapae ururoa e hau mau nei

Kei waho kei te moana

Kāore aku mihi ē

Aku tangi mo o koutou

Mau puku ko te iwi ē

Ka mowai tonu te whenua

E takoto nei

(Mihi-ki-te-kapua composition, circa 1820s)

2.58 I know of a local iwi dealing with an interesting situation concerning an incident that occurred in the 15th century. The incident unfolded with a key leader of the iwi at the time being accused of causing the untimely death of members of the tribe who hatched a plan to leave the individual marooned on an island to die. Having been left marooned, the tribe miscalculated the resourcefulness of the individual, who made it back to shore before his would-be incarcerators. Upon facing them, he uttered a saying that was to be the punishment for iwi in their attempt to kill him.

2.59 Five centuries after that incident, the tribe is now meeting to address the words that were said and placed as a punishment to the iwi. The current leaders of the iwi have begun tracking through history to review the treatment the tribe has received and incidents that have occurred over time as being connected to the punishment delivered by the ancestor in the 15th century. The episode speaks to the notion of time being different here. While the incident occurred five centuries ago, the actions are still felt today, and while the iwi are yet unresolved as to what they will do, the general sentiment is that sufficient time has passed to meet the punishment served over the iwi. It is now time to move on from the statement left over by the tribe as a millstone – the sentence has been served and met, and it is now time to move forward.

2.60 This section of the paper was presented here to provide an overview for whare and marae as the complex that houses tikanga and kawa. These houses were created by the gods and reinforced by the continual use of the ancestors as anchor points for us. They hold the ancestral memory of the tribe, connecting our practice to the ancestors and ultimately to the gods. To understand what tikanga is, we have to explore the history and knowledge systems of te ao Māori.

SO WHAT IS TIKANGA?

2.61 To conclude this section of the paper, the word tikanga simply means to 'be correct'. Puhi Iopata[4] defines tikanga as the set of rules that defines all that is correct in the Māori world. It ensures the processes that are required to engage with the marae are followed correctly. It outlines the accurate way in which areas of work must follow and the order schools of learning must adhere to. It sets the guidelines for all things. Inherent within tikanga are the values and beliefs of Māori. Through tikanga, the connection to the activities and processes established by ancestors are continued. These rules are laid down by the elders and leaders and must be followed by the iwi.

2.62 Tikanga is a set of guidelines that ensure we remain connected – to our past, each other, our knowledge system, our beliefs and our environment. It establishes our 'world order'. Through te ao Māori, a different world view is described. It describes the past as the days that 'hang in front' – 'i ngā rā o mua' – where we focus on the past to help inform our decisions for the present – 'ināianei' – and help inform the days that are yet to descend upon us – 'i ngā rā e heke mai nei'. This concept of looking to the past to inform the present is important – it connects us as people to our known world, and tikanga provides the rules of how we navigate this world correctly.

2.63 The connection to the known world of Māori is through Rangi and Papa, where all genealogical things of Māori are drawn from and are connected to. By following the genealogical descendants of Rangi and Papa through their children of Tāne, we are connected to the forests, flora and fauna. Similarly, through Tangaroa to the seascape, through Tāwhirimātea to the environmental winds and through the other siblings to the components that they are charged with creating or protecting. In maintaining these connections to the known Māori world, the connection to our world order is established where, through tikanga, the rules are expressed as the rituals and protocols that must be

4 Meeting held at te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi on 30 June 2022.

followed. This ensures we do not forget the connections that we as people have to our entire natural world.

2.64 Maintaining a connection to our natural world is maintaining a connection to each other. Immediately, when we introduce ourselves, we will geographically locate ourselves: "Ko Pūtauaki taku maunga. Ko Ōhinemataroa taku awa." Next, we will make known our familial connections: "Ko Mataatua taku waka. Ko Toroa te tangata." This is followed by the collective I associate to: "Ko Ngāti Awa te iwi". This is done to allow those that are present to draw their own geographic, familial and collective connections to you and to build a connection from their physical and cognitive spaces and places to connect us together. The key function here is demonstrating a connection between each other and ultimately to all things within te ao Māori. Returning again to the imagery of the whare, we see this concept of maintaining connections to all things reinforced and illustrated.

2.65 The decision to use whare as an example to illustrate tikanga is deliberate. It is premised on the early cosmological accounts of Tāne and/or Tāwhaki acquiring knowledge from te Toi-o-ngā-rangi. Having acquired the receptacles of knowledge from the creator, it was then stored in whare to be accessible. While how this was achieved and by whom is unclear (some present Tāne while others present Tāwhaki), there is an acceptance that knowledge accessed from the atua was stored in whare.

2.66 Taking the position that whare held knowledge accessed from the atua, we have presented whare as the anchor point and our 'ground zero' of knowledge and subsequently tikanga that emerges out from mātauranga, whereby the rules in accessing, storing and recording knowledge were early examples of tikanga. Deliberately located in the whare are examples that connect us to our past, carefully constructed to express the examples of how we connect to Ranginui expressed as te tāhuhu – Papatūānuku – the very base the whare sits upon. Connecting Ranginui and Papatūānuku are the heke representing the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Connecting these atua to us are our ancestors of more 'recent' times portrayed as poupou. Deliberately, it is at their feet we sit and locate ourselves.

2.67 We metaphorically sit within the embrace of our parents. It is to them we turn for guidance. As with our parents, they are the conduit to the time before we arrived on this earth, and through us the children, we are the conduit for them into the future when they leave Te Aotūroa and become tūpāpaku and take up the place along the walls of our whare as poupou. That is deliberately portrayed as peering into this world from another world.

2.68 Not only do the whare connect our cosmological accounts to the present, but it illustrates our connections to worlds beyond the world we live in. As explained in Section 1 of this paper, reinforcing this concept are the repetition designs visible on the tāhuhu – there is no clear beginning or end, and the patterns simply exit either end of the whare, demonstrating there is a time before us and there is a time after us and we are simply here in this moment in time – a moment in time that is connected to the past, present and future.

2.69 The whare is the portal that connects us to past and present worlds outside the physical worlds. Through the whare is the example of how we are to live in a connected world. Recorded through whakapapa, we can map the evolution of how knowledge within whare has been presented visually and used through the rituals of practice captured through the pōwhiri process.

2.70 Within te ao Māori, often the comment is made that Māori think and act holistically – that you cannot pull an element out on its own and examine it to truly understand it. Getting the full understanding of the concept requires it to be located in its holistic environment – it needs to sit alongside all other elements that operate within te ao Māori. Demonstrated through the construction of whare is an example of how the Māori world view can exist and operate effectively. The construction and naming of parts and functions of the whare are deliberate and model how the holistic world of te ao Māori operates and functions.

Figure 1. The space to the left of the house (the right-facing side of the whare) is where the paepae is located. (Image: Wiremu Doherty, 4 March 2017: Te Whaiatemotu Marae, Ruatāhuna)

Figure 2. Within the mahau, represented on the tāhuhu, here are Rangi and Papa. (Image: Wiremu Doherty, 4 March 2017: Te Whaiatemotu Marae, Ruatāhuna)

Figure 3. The pare. Note the central figure representing Hine-nui-te-pō. In moving into the whare, we are entering another world, a world that connects us to our gods and ancestors. (Image: Wiremu Doherty, 4 March 2017: Te Whaiatemotu Marae, Ruatāhuna)

Figure 4. Whakawae. Note the repetitive figure. (Image: Wiremu Doherty, 4 March 2017: Te Whaiatemotu Marae, Ruatāhuna)

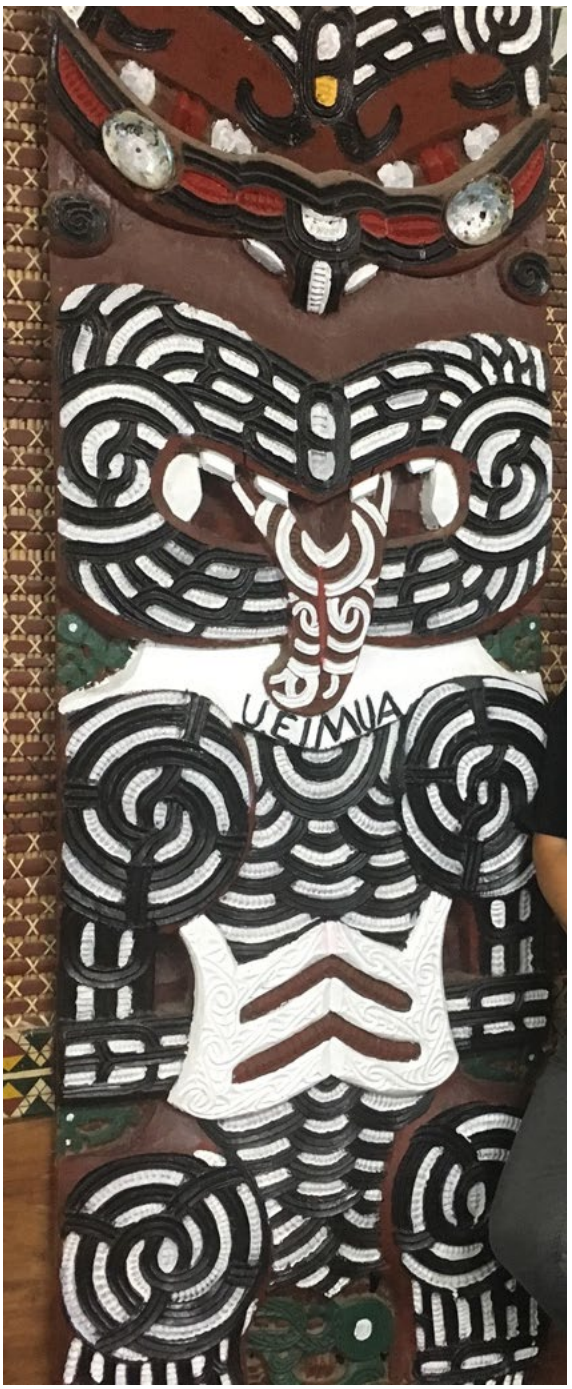

Figure 5. Poupou. Note the mouth and shoulders do not fit onto the panel, demonstrating these ancestors are looking into this world from another world and what we see is framed through the matapihi they are looking through. (Image: Wiremu Doherty, 4 March 2017: Te Whaiatemotu Marae, Ruatāhuna)

Figure 6. Note the tāhuhu and the repetitive design as it connects to the poutuarongo in the centre of the rear wall. As this is a larger house, behind the poutokomanawa in the foreground is the poumataaho (Image: Wiremu Doherty, 4 March 2017: Te Whaiatemotu Marae, Ruatāhuna)

Figure 7. Puku tawai wet, ready to be collected.

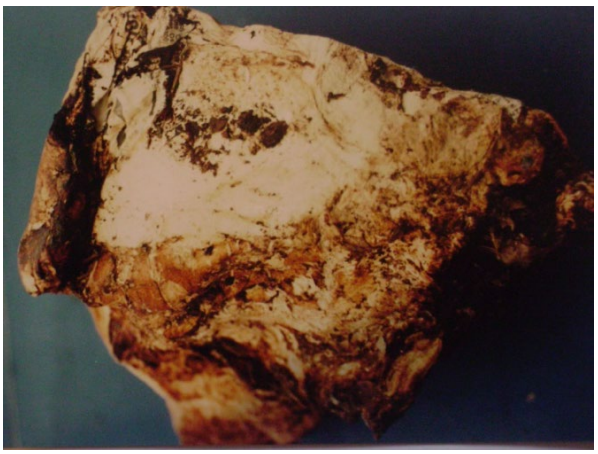

Figure 8. Puku tawai dried, ready for burning.

(Image: Wiremu Doherty, 2002).

Figure 9. Taonga presented to an institution as part of he hohou te rongo.

SECTION THREE

Tikanga as a system – foundations of tikanga

3.1 The description of whare has been provided in Section 2 to show where mātauranga is drawn from and created within te ao Māori. As noted, captured within whare is a demonstration of the creation of the known world and all knowledge associated with the establishment of it. Displayed within the whare are detailed accounts of where knowledge was drawn from and how it operates within our day-to-day lives as a lived knowledge system. Carefully folded into the application of mātauranga is tikanga – examples of how it is expressed and used will be provided in this section of the paper. The key foundational principles of tikanga in operation showing the linkage to mātauranga that connects to the whare will be provided here.

3.2 Illustrated through whare is the creation of the known world to Māori. All the knowledge that is used and applied within te ao Māori is drawn from the examples expressed within the whare. Mapped here is the entire world – inanimate, animate, human and non-human. All is mapped carefully showing the linkages to all things. Captured within its construction is a recorded account of the creation of the known world, with Ranginui represented as the tāhuhu of the whare and the heke representing the children of Rangi and Papa. Connected to the poupou are the more 'recent' ancestors associated to the whare. At their feet is where we are located as the living. The feet of the poupou are grounded in Papatūānuku, connected to Ranginui through poutuaroro, poutokomanawa, poumataaho and poutuarongo, as illustrations of the pou that Tāne used to separate Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

3.3 The examples expressed through the whare when defined and explained are the bases for the knowledge system of mātauranga that operates within te ao Māori. It is not only symbolically that we place ourselves at the feet of our ancestors – it is from them we draw our points of truth that define mātauranga. The house is more than a house – it is a living entity. As expressed earlier, there is a different notion of time at play here. The ancestors represented in the whare are 'alive' – their presence and activity that has shaped the knowledge system that we live by are assembled here to hold us to account. Being located at their feet, we are accountable to them and we are required to ensure the practice and performance of mātauranga are correct. Having the authors of the known world present changes the accountabilities.

3.4 Tucked within mātauranga is tikanga. As stated earlier in this paper, tikanga is simple and complex. Simply, tikanga guides us to be true and correct in our application of

mātauranga. Its application, however, is not simple. – it is complex and requires a different lens as stated within the Ranga Framework to view mātauranga. Tikanga exists and is interwoven into all things of mātauranga – it speaks to a set of relationships that must be maintained and an obligation to remain connected to all things. Connection to all things as demonstrated within the whare must be maintained – connection to each other, to living and non-living, to past and present, to the environment, eventually drawing linkages to the gods.

3.5 While tikanga is embedded into all things, there are some key fundamental principles of tikanga. To further explain what tikanga is, a summary of the foundational (or fundamental) principles of tikanga will be provided, accompanied with an explanation that links the practice to mātauranga and to the whare.

3.6 The following concepts will therefore be covered in this section:

- Whanaungatanga
- Whakapapa
- Mauri
- Mana
    - Mana whenua
        - Ahikā
    - Mana wahine
    - Mana tāne
    - Muru
    - Hohou te rongo
- Tapu
- Noa
- Kotahitanga
- Ea
- Matemateāone
- Utu
- Manaakitanga
    - Pakiwaitara
- Kaitiaki
- Rongo
- Kawa
- Karakia

WHANAUNGATANGA

3.7 The notion of things being connected is important to te ao Māori. Through whanaungatanga, the relational connectedness is mapped and noted. This concept reminds us we must be aware there are relational elements that exist between things that must be understood and referenced. The representation provided by the whare here shows the entire Māori world view is connected. Mapped through the tāhuhu as Rangi; the heke, the children of Rangi and Papa; the poupou, as the ancestors; with us positioned deliberately at their feet demonstrates what our whanaungatanga to our past, ancestors, gods, and elements created by the gods are to us.

3.8 When manuhiri arrive and are welcomed onto the marae, there are linkages drawn here to make the connections. Through the karanga, the first linkages are drawn to those that have passed and are represented in the whare, calling them forward to meet and welcome the loved ones that the visiting manuhiri bring forth with them. This is in reference to that we each carry with us our loved ones, while it may be the memory only. Within this context, they are treated as though they are present and are among us. Through the karanga process, our loved ones are called forward to meet and are assembled around us so that, when we eventually meet our counterparts of today, our loved ones have connected. Through whaikōrero, connection to the purpose of the event you are attending and the people that are assembled must be made. To not do so is to fail the fundamental function of the whaikōrero. It is more than giving a speech – the name indicates what is required: ‘whai’ – connect/follow; ‘kōrero’ – speech. The connections that must be made here are to those of the house, living and present, to those assembled living and present. As presented in Section 1 of this paper, the deliberate naming of the ngahere is a reminder that we have a relationship to that section of our environment. This is again represented through Tāne being the originator of rākau and later people through Hine-ahu-one where, through these familial connections, we are related.

3.9 A key part of people coming together is the notion of whaka-whanaungatanga – the process of getting to know each other – while through the pōwhiri process, this is done to draw connections to the ancestors associated to the whare. Nevertheless, when we meet, we must do this. Here, you will hear people reference their mountain, river, marae and significant ancestor, tribe and subtribe. This is being done to allow us to geographically locate who we are meeting and cognitively understand where they are from through iwi, hapū and ancestors. This allows us to begin to draw connections between each other to form the whanaungatanga/link that is required. Tikanga here requires whaka-whanaungatanga to be undertaken when we meet each other.

3.10 While it is important we make the linkages between us as people, it is also important it is done when we enter the lands and territory of someone for the first time, where the process of te uruuru-whenua must be performed. This process requires us to introduce ourselves to the landscape and people associated with the territory. Acknowledging the territory and lands is largely conducted through pōwhiri now. At times during the pōwhiri process, we will hear speakers referring to the whare, wharekai, marae and significant sites in their whaikōrero – this is an indicator the speaker is visiting for the first time.

3.11 The importance of maintaining the relational components with our environment is as equally important as maintaining relationships with each other and our ancestors. This is reinforced by the points raised in the first section of this paper regarding the deliberate naming of the realm of our forests as ngahere. This compound word was intentionally

selected by our ancestors in that it reminds us we are connected to forests and must ensure we never forget that we are connected. The connections that the name ngahere is referring to are the descendants of Tāne that are located within our forests where, through the genealogies of 'their' creation through Tāne, we are connected. This is further mapped through the naming and actions of the plants. The naming of kauri again is reminding us we are related; the actions of pirita through its function within the ngahere demonstrate we need to be connected as is forecast by its name, 'connect as one'. The deliberate and intentional use of names for components within the ngahere demonstrates whanaungatanga links needed to be made to the environment, our landscapes and seascapes so that connections can be maintained. The terms ahikā, matemateāone, mana, kaitiaki and mauri all speak to components of maintaining connections to landscape and seascapes. These specific terms will be covered later in this section of the paper.

3.12 Through whanaungatanga, the work of noting the relational intent tikanga does is seen. A point made previously in this paper is that there are two components of tikanga that must be understood: intent and performativity. Through whanaungatanga, the intent of ensuring all things within te ao Māori are connected and understood is the primary function of whanaungatanga. Examples of this are seen through the pōwhiri, mihimihi when groups meet, whaka-whanaungatanga and karakia. The primary function of these processes is to ensure relevant connections are made.

WHAKAPAPA

3.13 Whakapapa maps the sequential order of events. With regard to people, whakapapa maps the genealogical layers that exist in families. Through whakapapa, the connections to each other within the community are recorded and noted. It is through whakapapa that the concept of whanaungatanga is recorded and mapped. An important component of whakapapa is that someone can maintain all the familial connections of the collective to ensure there is a record of who is related to whom and how. As well as maintaining the connections to people who are present today within the collective community of the whānau, hapū and iwi are also the connections to ancestors who have passed, ultimately drawing connections all the way back to Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

3.14 Whakapapa ensures the connections to each other and to past members of the families are recorded and noted.

3.15 In addition to noting the familial connections within the genealogical tables of who is related to whom, their traits, personality and activities they were involved in are also noted and mapped. While this helps in retaining the vast number of names (and particularly when similar names are used through the generations) and the personality and traits they engaged in to help differentiate them, it also helps with keeping the memory of them alive. Mapped through whakapapa is the sequential order of events as they occurred with regard to the practices of the collective, cumulatively recorded as the knowledge system for the iwi. Important events are noted, and who and what part they played is recorded and expressed through whakapapa as the layering of when it occurred, where it occurred and who was involved is noted and recorded. When these events are recorded and noted, they help provide the rationale for why a particular process was done.

3.16 Through whakapapa, connections are made to people, activities and places. Genealogically, whakapapa links the past and present of the iwi. Through the activity that

occurs, the lessons and the learnings are cognitively recorded through whakapapa. Mapping the evolution of practice and processes over time, it records what the practice was, notes the changes that have occurred and why it was changed and then establishes the new process moving forward. An example of this is seen in the changes Tūhoe have made to their pōwhiri process noted earlier as a result of the marae falling to the attack of the war party entering the marae at dusk. Tūhoe no longer allow pōwhiri to occur at night. Location is also noted, as well as noting what occurred and where it occurred. The marae that fell as a result of the dusk attack is noted within the Tūhoe records of history. Similarly, we see again an example of this in the naming of Whakatāne. While versions differ within the region as to who performed the task of securing the Mataatua waka properly, nevertheless, as a result of that action, the phrase "kia whakatāne au I ahau" was uttered – give me the strength of a man. From that incident, the name we now use for the town was uttered for the first time.

3.17 While whanaungatanga notes the importance of ensuring all elements are connected, whakapapa records and demonstrates how the connections are made. The rationale that defines what parts of the house fit together are made through whakapapa. From the tāhuhu as Rangi and the heke as the children of Rangi and Papa connected to the poupou, whakapapa links them. The familial connections that authored the known world connected through the poupou are the recent and more local ancestors represented to ensure the connection to Rangi and Papa is not lost. Deliberately hung between the poupou are those who are associated with the whare who have passed. They are hung here as they now reside in the world that the ancestors, represented through poupou, live within. They have now joined the realm of our ancestors. They are who will be referred to when hosting visitors onto the marae and who we meet when we enter the whare.

3.18 The importance of whakapapa is seen at play within karanga and whaikōrero during the pōwhiri process. Within the karanga process, the appropriate links must be made to the welcoming group to connect them to those iwi and hapū connections of the marae. If the kaikaranga from the marae is not aware of the iwi and hapū connections of the manuhiri, it is the role of their kaikaranga to notify the marae and the kaikaranga from the marae who is assembled among them. This is also for the benefit of the speakers who will follow conducting whaikōrero. During the karanga, exchanges are made to those that have passed of both groups – they are called upon to be present. An important component of the whaikōrero process is whakapapa links must be acknowledged and commented on. If the purpose is a tangihanga, the familial connections of the person lying in state must be made and drawn to the group that is visiting. If there have been members of the visiting group who have recently passed, they too will be mentioned here.

3.19 With regard to tangihanga, whakapapa determines who can speak and who can't speak. Direct relatives of the deceased are not allowed to perform karanga or whaikōrero. These groups are termed 'kirimate'. The tikanga component that is operating here is connected to the notion that, once a word has been uttered it cannot be 'un-uttered' – the concept of sorry does not exist here, hence the use of mokomoko on poupou to represent the spoken word. Within this instance, tikanga stipulates those that are closely related to the deceased do not speak as they will not be in the appropriate frame of mind to speak and the risk of them saying something that is inappropriate is greatly increased. To safeguard this from occurring, tikanga prohibits close relatives from speaking or performing karanga. An interesting issue that is unfolding now is how close is close? In some places, the decision of three generations separation is sufficient distance, while some who are

distantly related but in fact are very close to the deceased and are equally impacted by their passing should not speak either.

3.20 Through whakapapa again, the order of who should perform whaikōrero and karanga is decided. Generally, it is the tuakana – the eldest – who are required to perform the duties of whaikōrero and karanga. Typically, while your parents are still alive, you do not perform either of these duties – to be seen to do so would be seen to be belittling the importance of your parents. While this is not so rigidly held to now, the sentiment still remains that the performance of these two duties is not undertaken lightly and they are important functions that must be performed correctly for the iwi.

3.21 With regard to the performance of the karanga, strictly speaking, those that can still produce whakapapa were forbidden through tikanga. To explain this requires a breakdown of the terms used to define females, explained to me by my kuia. Young girls were referred to as 'tamāhine'. As they moved into adolescence, they were referred to as 'kōtiro' (they are looking), as is suggested by the word 'tiro'. When they have found what they are searching for, they are wāhine (females that are carrying), as suggested by the words 'waha' and 'hine'. This is until they become 'kuia' – kua kūtia te mate mārama (they no longer menstruate). It is therefore those who are no longer able to bear children who were to perform the duties of the karanga. The tikanga concept that is at play here is to ensure that the next generation is not put at risk by exceptions taken to what someone has said in performing karanga. This concept is taking the view that words uttered in anger can cause harm. While the anger will be directed at the individual performing karanga, the impact is to their children. To ensure the child-rearing parts of women were not exposed to this risk, through tikanga, therefore, only kuia were permitted to karanga.

3.22 The wider view or fundamental role of tikanga is to ensure connection is maintained with all things – each other, past and present, all elements of the environment – animate and inanimate. Whanaungatanga highlights the fact things must be connected; whakapapa shows and maps how things are connected.

MAURI

3.23 While whanaungatanga and whakapapa note and detail the connections that are made with all things, mauri speaks to the distinctive nature all things have. All things have mauri, animate and inanimate. Through mauri, the unique nature of elements is recognised. Another way of expressing mauri is using whakapapa. Within whakapapa, elements are ordered in the sequential order of events that created them. However, these elements are not mutually exclusive of each other – they do not exist within a vacuum. As is identified by whanaungatanga, all elements must be connected. Mauri is the component that connects and binds all elements together. As is suggested and forecasted with the name, it is reminding us we are related.

3.24 Captured within this term is also the purpose of each element. By way of explanation and as noted earlier in this paper, descendants of Te Urewera have a responsibility to maintain a physical presence and be seen to draw resources from Te Urewera. If they do not, the mauri of Te Urewera will die. It will think it is no longer of value or importance to its people and therefore of no importance. There is an obligation being referred to here. While mauri describes the distinctive character of all things, it also notes the importance of what we are required to do to enhance and support the mauri of all things. That is, we must be

present and be seen to be engaging in all manner of practice and processes of te ao Māori.

3.25 Another anecdote from my kuia with regard to accessing the rongoā qualities from the rākau within Te Urewera was that no rākau was given gifts of healing all things. Each rākau had been given a component – to give all the gifts to the one rākau would potentially create the risk of that rākau becoming arrogant. Each rākau therefore had an important part to play, and collectively they all held the solutions to heal our ailments.

3.26 As my kuia aged and her eyesight began to fail, I was tasked with sourcing the relevant plant matter she required. I was given strict instruction to first introduce myself to the rākau, state my purpose and outline what the ailment was and who it was for before I harvested what I was after. To not do this was to upset the mauri of the rākau. Again, an example from my kuia illustrated this: if someone was to come up behind us unannounced and yank out a clump of hair, our body becomes startled and angry – we are not mauri tau, we are angry. However, if we make ourselves known and explain what we are going to do, the other party is prepared and less likely to be startled and become angry. To my kuia, simply plucking leaves and removing bark unannounced to the rākau will produce a similar result we experience as people – the rākau needed to be informed of our presence and asked for permission to ensure the mauri of the rākau was aligned to what we were requiring.

3.27 The traditional processes of gathering kererū also noted that the element of the mauri of the bird needed to be catered for. This process started from the very outset before gathering parties departed by not stating they were going to hunt or get kererū. To say they are going to hunt is to invoke the actions of 'pūhore' – very closely aligned to the idea of 'counting one's chicken before they hatch'. To state we are going to hunt is being presumptuous. Rather, we should state that we are going in the hope we will be provided with kererū gifted to us by Tāne. You would refer to 'te matau manu', inferring you are hopeful. While the kererū are fat and ready to be gathered, they are referred to as 'whaturua', where the concept here is that, through the rituals of starting the season, the request is made to Tāne to make available the 'body' of the bird, and the mauri therefore remains within the ngahere to continue to grow and reproduce. Strict protocols of disposing of the feathers of birds that were dispatched were required. If kererū were to see their feathers scattered and blowing around in the wind, they would depart and never return: ka heke ngā manu ki Tiritiri – the birds will depart for Tiritiri never to return.

3.28 Captured within the mauri of the kererū and rākau were a set of processes that must be maintained. In maintaining the processes required to harvest kererū and rongoā, we demonstrate the importance of needing them to support our lives and, in doing so, maintaining the mauri of the kererū and rākau.

3.29 As stated previously, mauri speaks to the purpose but it can also be placed onto things by tohunga for certain periods of time. Objects through karakia by tohunga can be given a particular purpose that must be honoured by all. Rāhui pou are examples of this. These were physical indicators that a series of extraordinary conditions have been put in place over the region and/or territory the pou is indicating (the concept of rāhui is covered more fully below as we look at the concept of mana). The mauri initiated here by tohunga is prohibiting access to resources or restricting access for a period of time.

3.30 Returning to the imagery of the whare, where we are located as the living within Te Aotūroa is deliberate. Through us, we maintain the connection to all things – past, present,

animate and inanimate – whereas through whanaungatanga, we need to note the connections; through whakapapa, we state the connections; and through mauri, we ensure the distinctive nature of all is seen and used.

MANA

3.31 Here, we will look at the following:

- Mana whenua
- Mana wahine
- Mana tāne
- Muru
- He hohou te rongo
- Rāhui

3.32 The concept of 'mana' speaks to authority that is granted by the collective. The connection to the collective is mapped through whanaungatanga and whakapapa. Through this, collective authority is granted to the order in which processes are conducted and events are to be supported, through to the elevation of people to maintain order for the collective. The individuals who are afforded the will and support of the people will be those recognised as holders of the knowledge required to maintain the integrity of the knowledge and processes of the people. To explain this concept, we look at six subsets of 'mana' to draw and illustrate the expressions and intent that sit behind the concept of mana.

Mana whenua

3.33 This area of mana refers to those that have power and authority to access and occupy land.

3.34 Within Tūhoe, reference is made to land from Toi and Pōtiki; the authority is drawn from Tūhoe – 'na Toi rāua ko Pōtiki te whenua, na Tūhoe te mana'. While our connection to the land is drawn from Toi and Pōtiki, it is the actions of Tūhoe that have gained the will and support of the collective in granting him the mana and authority. The obligations required by mana whenua were to be present upon the lands, reinforcing the importance the land played in providing sustenance for the wellbeing of the people. Inherent within mana whenua is the obligation of the collective to maintain a connection to the area where they are residing, ensuring the maintenance of the knowledge systems of te ao Māori are used, followed and adhered to. If the presence is not seen to be maintained, it can be usurped by others. Reinforcing the connection the collective have to the land is done through the naming of sites, rivers, ridgelines, hills and mountains. The narrative contained within these names will be who was involved, what occurred and why. This all adds to completing the narrative that explains the connection of the collective to the land that gives them the mana to reside and draw from the available resources located there. The detailed accounts that are retold through the narratives are those that are maintained and captured through whakapapa.

3.35 An example of this is captured in the naming of the site Tarapounamu. Living in the early 1700s was an ancestor, Tamatea-kaitaharua. Tamatea was gathering kererū with the use of a 'tao' – a long spear made from young tawa. Fastened to the end was a sharpened

greenstone point as a blade, referred to as 'tara'. This name was taken from the sharp spikes found on the spine of the tuatara, hence the name, tara. The tara point of the tao is said to have broken off and become lodged into the kererū. Tamatea, not wanting to lose his prized greenstone blade, pursued the kererū from within Te Urewera all the way out to the coast where he eventually dispatched the bird on the slopes of Pūtauaki mountain located within the Whakatāne region. Since this incident, Tarapounamu has been used to refer to this peak within Te Urewera.

3.36 As covered in Section 2 of this paper, the concept of ahikā was used to describe one's occupation over a piece of land. To maintain mana whenua, it required people to be present and actively seen on the land – the analogy drawn from the term ahikā is taken from the concept one must be present to keep the fires alight.

Mana wahine

3.37 Mana wahine, speaks to the authority and importance of women and the roles and functions that are performed and maintained by them. A fundamental function of tikanga is to ensure all things are connected, practised and maintained intact for the future generation. Of vital importance is to prepare as best we can the foundations for the next generation. A key part of this is wāhine. Through the language again we see the importance given to wāhine. The womb of a human is referred to as 'kōpu' or the 'nohohanga tamariki'; for animals, it is referred to as 'ewe'. The distinction made here is to elevate the sanctity of the human body to that of non-human. Again, we see this in use of the word 'slim' or 'skinny': the land is referred to as 'tūpuhi'; people are referred to as 'whīroki'. Through mana wahine, the distinctive roles and purpose of wāhine are described and made visible.

Mana tāne

3.38 Similarly, mana tāne speaks to the important elements required by men to perform and maintain in accordance with the knowledge system of te ao Māori. An important component of mana tāne is to support and enhance the mana wahine and vice versa. Captured in the distinction of mana wahine and mana tāne is the importance of the two elements: one is not more important than the other, they are of equal importance. Each is required to ensure the survivability of the iwi to ensure the collective continues to flourish. Insights again are seen here when we view the language, as in the descriptors 'hine' and 'tāne'. To explain this concept, we once again return to the lessons and examples demonstrated through rākau. The term given for pollen is 'nehu' – taking the wider view, that pollen is technically the sperm of plants. In returning to the terms for male and female in Māori, we see 'tāne' drawing the inference that the role of the male is 'ta i te nehu' – to implant nehu – and 'hine' as 'hi ake i te nehu' – meaning to draw in the nehu.

Muru

3.39 We turn now to look at the authority that is granted by the collective through mana to claim reparation for a transgression that has been committed through the concept of muru. When muru is undertaken, it is an example of someone or an entity applying their authority over another to seek compensation. This can be through the removal of rights over land, coveted hunting spots and/or a payment of some kind to be made. The enforcement of decisions made through muru required the support of the collective to serve and maintain. It also required those that had transgressed to accept they had indeed broken rules, otherwise dispute and conflict would result.

He hohou te rongo

3.40 Folded neatly into muru is the element of seeking redress for the wrongdoing and settling the issue, and allowing the collective to continue to live and move on from the incident was the desired outcome. More explicitly, the concept of conflict resolution is best captured in the construct of 'he hohou te rongo' – to find or make peace. When he hohou te rongo is required, a transgression of mana has occurred. The best outcomes sorted through he hohou te rongo were ones that were binding into the next generation – marriages were sought as a good outcome between conflicting groups. Through the union of the marriage and future children, the responsibility of both parties was required to ensure the raising of the children was done in accordance with the knowledge systems of te ao Māori. Each party now had a responsibility and a duty of care for the children.

3.41 The two examples supplied earlier resulted in the communities agreeing a transgression had occurred. In the case of the arranged married, the community had decided the father was failing in his duty to appropriately care for his wife and children. The mana of the wife and the children had been broken here. Therefore the community intervened, requiring my great-grandfather to sort out the issue. As he had arranged the marriage, it was his responsibility to seek a way forward.

3.42 As in the incident of the neighbouring tribe, through association, the individual who had transgressed their tribe felt it necessary to come forward to ensure the actions of the individual did not unwittingly create an issue between the two tribes. Both of these cases were committed by individuals. However, the impact of their actions was felt by the collective in that the collective now required a course of action to be taken.

3.43 In the examples of he hohou te rongo provided, it was not only the mana of an individual that needed care, it was the mana of the collective. While the breach of mana is conducted by the individual, it is the collective that the person is associated to that is held responsible.

Rāhui

3.44 When a significant incident has occurred, the region will have a rāhui imposed. A rāhui is a restriction with certain conditions that must be followed and adhered to.

3.45 To impose rāhui requires an authority to firstly impose it and secondly to have it enforced or recognised. The rāhui is a set of conditions that will be imposed for a set period as in the scenario supplied earlier when Whakaari erupted, resulting in multiple fatalities. A rāhui was placed on activity within the sea and coastlines, and gathering of food was prohibited while the conditions of the rāhui were in place. This will only work if those imposing the rāhui have the mana and authority to impose rāhui. Within the Whakaari incident, the rāhui was imposed by Ngāti Awa. Ngāti Awa are the recognised mana whenua of the region with the authority to impose the rāhui – they did, and everyone respected and followed it.

3.46 The example provided earlier of Mihi-ki-te-kapua is an example of a rāhui not being followed. As a result of her son being killed in a particular area, she imposed a rāhui on the area while she mourned the loss of her son. This was adhered to for a while, where the issue contested was the duration of the conditions imposed. Ultimately, with her in-laws returning to conduct activity in the area, her son was killed while she was still grieving, resulting in a war party being raised to avenge the transgression of her rāhui. Imposing

rāhui requires mana – if you did not have the mana, you could not enforce the conditions of the rāhui, therefore failing to impose it.

3.47 In returning to the whare, we see the mana of the whare is upheld by the collective who give voice to the histories stored and represented in the whare. Again, the placement of us as the living at the feet of our ancestors connected to the cosmology of the known world of te ao Māori is deliberate. It reminds us we have an obligation to maintain the appropriate practices and relevant knowledge drawn from the walls of the house, the pakiwaitara. It is through us, the living, that we give expression to the knowledge and systems represented in the whare. The mana of the whare and the collective is maintained and enhanced by the collective adhering to it, using it and ensuring it is accessible to the future generations who will in time assume the leadership roles within the collective for their generation.

TAPU

3.48 While whanaungatanga, whakapapa, mauri and mana all speak to ensuring a connection to all elements is achieved and maintained, tapu is the regulator of the actions in maintaining the connections. To not perform the relevant practices and processes stipulated by the knowledge system of te ao Māori is to breach tapu. All things within te ao Māori have tapu. This concept speaks to the action required to be conducted to maintain the intent and purpose of the functions within te ao Māori. Tapu speaks to the sanctity that is required to be adhered to and followed in conducting the procedural elements in maintaining tikanga. To not follow the appropriate processes required by tikanga is viewed as breaking the rules. Such a breach is considered tapu, and if not addressed appropriately, consequences can befall those responsible.

3.49 The application of tikanga through the pōwhiri process is described as kawa (this concept is covered in more detail later in this section). Professor Sir Pou Temara describes kawa as a set of processes wrapped in tapu. To not follow the procedures stipulated through pōwhiri is considered tapu – you are breaking the rules that have been put in place to maintain the intent. As a regulator, tapu is considered as the enforcer to ensure the appropriate procedures are followed. The procedures will have been acknowledged and recognised by the collective, reinforced by those individuals who have been granted the mana to lead and determine what is appropriate and what is not. At a very recent tangi, an incident occurred where an individual attempted to speak but was not seated appropriately in order on the paepae. He was seated in the second row where he was challenged by Professor Sir Pou Temara to desist as his actions were in breach of the kawa. We were located on the manuhiri side, with Professor Sir Pou Temara challenging the speaker. In support of Sir Pou, the kaikaranga from the tangata whenua of the marae stood, and together, the person was ordered from the marae. The actions of the individual in this instance were seen as an attempt to breach the kawa of the marae – an action considered tapu and needing to be stopped.

3.50 Sites that are considered tapu can still be accessed as long as the appropriate processes have been followed. Generally, burial places are considered tapu. People can enter these places safely as long as they adhere to the appropriate protocols. For example, we must not take food into these places, and upon leaving, we must ensure we have cleansed ourselves with water to ensure the residual effects of the people laid to rest do not ‘latch’ onto us and interfere with our mental state. The sites people are buried in are considered

sacred and not to be disturbed. Places where people have been killed are also deemed tapu and require protocols to be performed over the area to remove the tapu. This entails karakia and a cleansing of the site to ensure there are no residual effects left by the wairua (living soul) of the person departing this world where they can do harm to unassuming people travelling through the area later.

3.51 At times, part of the process would require restrictions to be imposed for a set period of time through the practice of rāhui. Through rāhui, restrictions could involve no access to the resources from a particular region for a period. Where someone has been killed, the restrictions are imposed as a mark of respect to the person and their family, and when sufficient time has passed to mourn the person appropriately, the rāhui is lifted, therefore removing the tapu placed over the area.

3.52 The processes and procedures conducted on the marae and within the whare are tapu. As stated by Professor Sir Pou Temara, kawa is procedures wrapped in tapu. Furthermore, the accountabilities are increased when operating within the whare, as the authors of the knowledge systems and processes are present and 'alive' here, waiting to hold us to account if we falter in conducting the current order of events.

3.53 Through tapu, regulations can be imposed over an area, people and objects. When this has occurred, there are strict processes and procedures that must be followed.

3.54 When my kuia was young, she would be asked by her father to select and harvest the various plants for rongoā, as he eventually became blind. During these periods, she was not to speak to anyone or deviate from her task until it was complete, as she was operating under the laws of tapu until she had secured what it was she had been sent to achieve.

3.55 When tapu has been placed over a site, to access it must include addressing the appropriate karakia and process in order for safe access. Walking unannounced into a marae that is not ours is considered tapu; we cannot turn up and simply knock on the door and enter – the appropriate processes of pōwhiri must be engaged and applied in order for us to meet the people, past and present, associated to the marae correctly.

3.56 Tapu operates where strict processes are required and if not followed – unknowingly or otherwise – harm will befall those responsible. Therefore, great care is taken to ensure this does not occur. This does not mean the procedural processes cannot be changed – they can. However, they require those that have been granted mana and require the will of the collective to agree for the purpose of change, in doing so understanding why the current process was initiated, with an agreed rationale to change the current practice. This can be seen in the example provided earlier in this paper of Tūhoe adapting pōwhiri to no longer allow its occurrence at the onset of nightfall.

3.57 When an item is considered tapu, care must be taken to ensure food is not brought near it, as food is seen as the opposite of tapu, being considered 'noa' (this concept is explained more fully next). At times, food is used to remove tapu from a thing or site. When my grandfather built our home – it was considered a modern intervention in the 1930s – rainwater could be collected from the roof of the house for potable water. This was a cause for concern, as food cannot be lifted above a person's head. I'm not sure how my koroua overcame this issue, but many karakia were performed at our home to ensure no harm would come to pass.

NOA

3.58 As noted above, tapu operates where strict processes are required, and not adhering to these processes will result in harm. Noa is the opposite – it is considered safe, with no issue occurring if processes are not maintained. The concept of noa speaks to a state of calm and safety within the collective. In a state of noa, there is general acceptance and no polarising views at play and no requirement to be mindful of strict protocol procedural issues that need to be maintained. Food is considered as an element that can make things that are tapu noa – this is important as it is too difficult to live in a constant state of tapu.

3.59 An example of this is seen at every pōwhiri. At the beginning of the process, manuhiri and tangata whenua are tapu until we go through the process of meeting each other. This requires our ancestors meeting first, followed by us – the culmination and cumulative actions of our ancestors. The final component of this process is to share a meal. The sharing of food here is required to ensure the conditions of tapu are removed so we can return to the relative safety of noa and calm.

3.60 This is seen again when the whenua (placenta) of a newborn baby is returned to be buried in the tribal lands as a way of physically connecting them to their significant space and place. Where the whenua is buried, a hāngī stone is placed directly on top of it and is also buried. As the whenua is part of the human body, it is considered tapu, and therefore where it is buried becomes tapu. The hāngī stone is placed on top of the whenua to nullify the tapu, thereby making the place noa.

3.61 Food and things used in the preparation of food were considered elements that could return things to a state of noa. Strictly speaking, the last meal shared with the collective after a person has been laid to rest was to welcome the wharemate – those who have stayed with the body night and day for the duration of the tangi – back into the world of the living. This is because, while they are performing the functions of the wharemate, they are considered to be in the world of those that are passed and were not to share food with people of the living during this process, instead eating in the middle of the night, secluded away from the general public. The last meal of the day of the funeral was considered a celebration to welcome them back into the living, removing the requirement of eating in seclusion and conditions of tapu, to return them back to a state of noa.

3.62 While within a state of noa, the conditions and processes required by tikanga still needed to be maintained and adhered to, as in the case of completing the pōwhiri process. While the collective could relatively go about their regular activity freely, the conditions stipulated by tikanga and maintained through tapu still needed to be followed. By following the processes within the whare, elements are moved from tapu to noa and from noa to tapu. The conditions that need to be maintained to ensure tapu is not broken are mapped within the whare and so too are the processes in removing tapu to return to a state of noa. Generally speaking, Tāne and Tūmatauenga are the guiding principles that are used on the ātea of the marae. It is from Tāne that all manner of knowledge is drawn, and from Tūmatauenga, the unpredictability of human nature. Since we have no idea what someone is going to do next, the unpredictability of people is represented through Tūmatauenga. Within the whare, it is considered the realm of Rongomaraeroa – the god responsible for peace. All practices required to ensure peace is achieved are the responsibility of Rongo. While a state of noa is different to a state of peace, nevertheless, the two go hand in hand. Upon entering the whare, you are required to offer sanctuary under the conditions of Rongo. To fail to do so is considered tapu, as you are breaching

one of the fundamental operational conditions of the whare and in doing so moving from a state of noa to tapu. To return to a state of noa will require meeting the conditions of maintaining the conditions of Rongo to again return the whare to a state of noa.

3.63 The process of he hohou te rongo, muru and utu (this is covered further on) are mechanisms to return the collective back to a state of noa by seeking a resolution to the transgression that has occurred. What is important here is that transgressions must be seen to be addressed and those responsible held to account. To not do so would result in factions forming within the collective, threatening the very notion of maintaining a connected community and producing a state that is not noa. Therefore, transgressions need to be seen to be addressed to ensure there is an acceptance within the collective and in doing so produce a state of noa.

KOTAHITANGA

3.64 This notion of kotahitanga is a fundamental component of te ao Māori. Kotahitanga speaks to the collective, of being one, ensuring the connections that bind the collective iwi are important, captured and expressed through whakapapa. Whakapapa is an important component. It too, like tikanga, permeates everything within te ao Māori. Whakapapa, as it pertains to people, maps the genealogical generations of families to each other across the tribe and historically to the ancestors that link to the tribe.

3.65 The notion of kotahitanga also speaks to the single truth of understanding the origins of the collective. Here, kotahitanga speaks to the shared understanding of the historical accounts that were performed by ancestors that collectively create a historical account of the tribe. There must be a collective acceptance of the version of accounts, particularly when these accounts track back to the creation of the known world. When we map and track the exploits of our ancestors, whakapapa helps establish a chronology of events and practices that are critical to mapping the knowledge systems of the iwi. Here, whakapapa maps the epistemology of the collective. It maps when a particular practice occurred, where it occurred and who the critical participants were.

3.66 This draws in the third important component of whakapapa. Through its chronology of events, it notes where it links the people and the practices of the people to the landscape and in doing so to the people. Three key components are connected through whakapapa: people to each other and to the ancestors who passed; people to their landscape, noting the significant sites where incidents occurred; and through this mapping how each of these events has been wrapped into the knowledge system for the collective iwi. Whakapapa is the binary that helps maintain the connectivity of all things within te ao Māori. Through whakapapa, a shared understanding is mapped and presented.

3.67 The notion of a shared understanding is important. Tikanga too sits within this concept in that tikanga needs to be accepted and acknowledged by the collective, where the rules that must be followed upon entering in and out of the whare strictly follow the tikanga rules that the collective iwi have decided upon and maintain. The concept of the whare provides the collective, iwi, hapū and whānau with the facility to demonstrate the processes and practices of tikanga as they pertain to the operating and use of the whare complex. The entire system that dictates the use of the whare and the wider marae complex is governed by tikanga.

3.68 In a wānanga held at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi on 30 June 2022, Dr Turuhira Hare commented that tikanga helps determine who does what when the collective meet on the marae. It provides an existing framework that is understood and accepted by the collective, removing the room for personal vested interests to be drawn into who should do what on the marae. Through tikanga, it outlines what needs to be done and how it is to be done and even provides guidance as to who is most appropriate to conduct the rituals that must be done.

3.69 While whakapapa links people to space and place and the evolution of the knowledge system, whanaungatanga speaks to the relational matters that must be maintained to ensure there is a connected collective. A point made earlier is that tikanga speaks to a set of relational processes that must be practised to ensure all is connected. Kotahitanga speaks to this essential concept – that fundamentally tikanga speaks to the notion of maintaining a connectedness between all things.

3.70 When we look at the whare, it is an example of this – the very nature of its creation and how it is constructed model this connection to all things within te ao Māori. The late composer Dr Hirini Melbourne composed a widely sung waiata illustrating the critical work the whare does to connect us, not only as a communal meeting space, but also points to the knowledge folded into the construction of the whare as examples and guides to help maintain the intent of being connected.[1]

Ko Ranginui e tū ake nei, hei tuanui	*Ranginui stands above us, a roof*
Ko Papatūānuku e takoto nei hei whāriki	*Papatuanuku lies beneath us, a mat*
Ko te reo me ngā tikanga hei tāhuhu	*Language and tikanga forming the ridgepole*
Ko te iwi hei poutokomanawa	*And the people the main support*
Ko te whare whakahirahira o te iwi e	*This is the most important house of the people*
Hei whakairi i nga tūmanako	*Is for hanging the hopes*
I ngā wawata i ngā moemoeā	*The aspirations and the dreams*
Ko tēnei te wā o te wao nui tūtakitahi	*This is a time of the forest to meet as one*
Ko tēnei ko koe ko Tānewhakapiripiri	*This is you, Tane whakapiripiri*

3.71 Taking the theme used by the late Dr Melbourne, we see the different sections of the whare are described as each playing a critical component in showing and modelling important elements from te ao Māori. The main ridge pole, the tāhuhu, being referred to as Ranginui and Papatūānuku as the mat at our feet help build the analogy of the house representing our entire world where we as people are safely nestled between Ranginui – tāhuhu and Papatūānuku – papa/whāriki, expressed using our imagery and concepts as the rules determining processes and rituals. Dr Melbourne, however, uses the analogy that te reo Māori and tikanga are the tāhuhu of the house. Similarly, when analysing the tāhuhu, we see it has a repetitive design where there is no beginning or end. This is intentional – it reminds us that there is a time before us and there will be a time after us and that we are here simply for this time.

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1 Approval has been given from the late Dr Melbourne's family to use the waiata.

3.72 Continuing with the theme captured in Dr Melbourne's composition, we see the main support pole of the whare, the poutokomanawa – described as the collective people, is fitting and profound in that it is the poutokomanawa that connects to the tāhuhu – Ranginui and Papatūānuku. with 'Papa', drawing out the meaning that it is through our whakapapa we trace our connections to our past and ultimately the creators of our world. This house is a physical representation of connecting people assembled in the house to the ancestors represented in the carved pou connected to the representation of the atua Māori through the heke of the house that ultimately connects to Ranginui. It is within the presence of the ancestors and atua and creators of our known universe that the aspirations and desires of the people are presented and shared, where Dr Melbourne draws the analogy that the house is made of elements from all parts of the forest. The reference here is to the house being a conduit and a facility for the people to meet as one.

3.73 The imagery and themes used in this song help highlight the deeper meanings that sit within whare. Using whare as a concept to explain tikanga is natural and fitting. It is natural in the sense that the very practices undertaken to seek the agreement of the collective to build and then who to represent in its construction are all governed by tikanga. It is fitting in that the building of these complexes can only be achieved by an agreement of the collective hapū and iwi. The important point to make here about tikanga is that it has to be accepted by the collective – the will of the people through iwi and hapū.

3.74 Tikanga is in everything – it covers all elements of te ao Māori, a point made by Dr Turuhira Hare at a wānanga held at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi on 30 June 2022: "I find it hard to explain and define tikanga as it is in everything I do."

3.75 About the whare, it is the combined efforts of the collective in wanting a whare that is important to ensure the physical labour required to erect these buildings is available. Secondly, it requires the collective minds of the iwi to come together to agree on what particular events and accounts of the iwi. At times, neighbouring iwi will be represented in the whakairo, tukutuku and heke that will adorn the building; so too through the names of the complex and buildings.

3.76 Continuing the theme of the collective, an important feature to note here, mentioned by Professor Sir Pou Temara at the same wānanga in June, is that the wharenui is a single-room building, one that everyone from the collective can enter and be in the presence of the atua and ancestors that performed the historically important deeds for the collective. There is no hierarchy here, as described by Professor Sir Pou Temara – all are welcome and have access. By its mere nature, the single room represents the importance of the collective being able to meet as a collective of their time and being able to see the important feats of the ancestors through to the atua that collectively created the known world to te ao Māori.

3.77 Therefore, the construction of the whare, the purpose of the whare and the practices that occur within the whare are expressions of maintaining a connected entity to ensure we have kotahitanga.

EA

3.78 The concept of 'ea' speaks to conditions being met and issues resolved. Within the concepts of he hohou te rongo, muru and utu, the agreed-to decisions that have been determined through these processes are considered as ea.

3.79 Contained within this principle is an obligation and speaks to an action that is required. At a meeting held in Rotorua on 28 May 2022, Professor Taiarahia Black recounted an event of his childhood that demonstrates the notion of ea in operation. Professor Black's father was a member of the 28th Māori Battalion that was constituted during the Second World War. Upon his return, he settled in Kawerau with his wife and his mother to raise his family. One evening, the Chaplain of the 28th Māori Battalion Canon Wi Huata, the Company Commander Pita Awatere and a tribal leader, also a member of the Battalion, John Rangihau called upon the Black family. Professor Black vividly remembers the immediate transformation of his dad back to a soldier of the Battalion in seeing his Commander and Minister. The Commander immediately went to Professor Black's grandmother seated in the kitchen, lowering himself to his knees and apologising to the kuia who had lost sons to the campaigns of the 28th Māori Battalion. After a few moments, Professor Black's grandmother said: "Kua ea" – enough, it is settled. The Commander acknowledged, as the leader of the Battalion, he had a duty of care for those under his command and was apologising to the mother of men he had lost through active service.

3.80 With regards to the issues that were settled through the process of he hohou te rongo, the act and the taonga that were presented were considered sufficient recompense for the transgression that had occurred. Hence, settling the affair is another expression of ea. In the earlier section covering noa, the action required to be seen by the collective in addressing issues when accepted by the collective is also another expression of ea. The amount of time a rāhui is imposed over an area is determined by the length of time required for the incident to be sufficiently acknowledged and the agreed-to time served. This is considered ea.

MATEMATEĀONE

3.81 There is no direct translation for this concept of matemateāone. One component of it refers to the pursuits of the ancestor Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga in his efforts to gain immortality by attempting to kill Hine-nui-te-pō. In his failed attempt, Hine-nui-te-pō is said to have stated to Māui: "As a result of your actions you will from here ever after be born and perish; *ka mate a ao ne koe* – you will continue to die from here evermore." However, the concept is much more – it speaks to the notion of obligation and servitude.

3.82 An expression of this term is the yearning one has to return to a place or to reconnect with people they have not seen for a while. The concept of giving your best to host your manuhiri is another expression. Within the whare, the left-hand side as you enter is referred to as the taraiti – this is where the hosts of the whare assemble. The right-hand side of the whare is called the taranui – this is the larger side of the whare given for the use of manuhiri.

3.83 This concept is there to remind and reinforce the maintenance of connections – connections to each other and connections to the environment. As mentioned previously in the explanation of mauri, the connection to the landscape must be maintained to ensure the mauri of the landscape is sustained and endures. Descendants of Tūhoe must maintain

a presence within Te Urewera. As an individual, I have a responsibility to my collective to ensure I play my part in being present on the landscape, continue to practise the processes of entering the ngahere and continue to draw support through food and medicinal components. In maintaining these processes, I am showing the ngahere it is still of importance and value to me. If I do not do this, its mauri dies. To ensure this does not occur, I need to be present. Similarly, in being present and maintaining the practices, I am exposing my children to the knowledge, processes and commitments required here so that, in their time when I am no longer of Te Aotūroa, they will continue to fulfil the requirements in keeping the connections alive. This concept is another expression of matemateāone.

3.84 At its core, it speaks to the notion of needing to be cared for and to care. The physical connections of returning whenua (placenta) and pito (umbilical cord) to the tribal lands was a way of physically connecting us to our tribal lands and the people that are resident there. Through this concept, the obligation of care is expressed – to care for and nurture each other, to maintain a connection to the environment and to continue to practise the systems of te ao Māori.

UTU

3.85 The concept of utu is the action undertaken for reciprocity. The outcomes achieved and agreed upon through the processes of he hohou te rongo, muru and pākūhā can be viewed as utu being taken. When utu is being undertaken, the other elements of mana and ea need to also be considered. To extract utu requires mana, both on behalf of the collective that is making the demand and similarly from those being made to make payment. If those making the demands don't have the wherewithal to enforce their demands, the likelihood of it being enforced is low. The collective making the demands needs to be able to enforce them. When we look at Mihi-ki-te-kapua feeling aggrieved her in-laws were returning to the lands, her son had been killed before she had stopped grieving his loss and she raised a war party to seek retribution. The act of seeking retribution here is considered an example of utu, as Mihi-ki-te-kapua had the wherewithal to raise a war party. Being willing to take up arms to defend her course of action made it possible for her to seek utu. Without the will and support of the people, she would not have been able to achieve the outcomes she desired.

3.86 With regard to ea, the retribution being sought needs to be sufficient in that the reprisal is accepted by the collective in fulfilling the utu. Where utu has been taken, the reasons why and how it was claimed are noted and recorded into the history of the people. If these incidents are significant, they will be represented within the whare, either through the action itself or by identifying primary individuals responsible. Where the collective has had to make payment of kind, this is folded into the historical accounts of the collective and more than likely discretely folded into the imagery of the whare.

MANAAKITANGA

3.87 The concept of manaakitanga speaks to an obligation to ensure we show a duty of care to all things, to each other, to the environment, to the knowledge system, to the past and to the gods. While whanaungatanga and whakapapa speak to maintaining connections, this concept speaks to the notion of care and compassion. Through manaakitanga, we

must demonstrate a level of care, and the underlying function of the pōwhiri process is that we must host our manuhiri.

3.88 Great care is taken to ensure every effort is expended to ensure visitors are well cared for during the duration of their stay. To not care for your manuhiri is seen as a slight, not only to those who are present but to all who associate with the marae, including those past and present. This is a situation no one wants to see, least of all be the cause of. To ensure the marae is able to fulfil the requirements of manaaki requires the will and support of the people. The marae requires the collective to be present and knowledgeable in maintaining the kawa of their marae. There are many tasks at play here. People are required to ensure the protocols in entering the facilities are adhered to, and hunters and food gatherers need to be mobilised to secure food to feed the manuhiri. All these tasks require the collective to function as a cohesive unit.

3.89 The maintenance of a cohesive unit operating within the marae requires leaders in various roles working together to ensure the manuhiri are cared for under the conditions of manaaki. While the manuhiri are engaged in the rituals outlined by the kawa of the marae, the wharekai is busy preparing the meals that will follow and leaders are deciding what will be served immediately following the conclusion of the processes on the marae or within the whare. Timing is important – you do not want the manuhiri waiting around to be fed. Pressure is on those leading in the wharekai to ensure a meal is ready as soon as manuhiri have completed the protocols, and even more important is that there is enough food for all. Often, within some wharekai, as people are getting ready to depart, the following statement is made: "kare i puta mai te ihu o te poaka" – we are yet to see the nose of the pig to be served. This sentiment is shared to acknowledge the hosts in ensuring food was plentiful throughout the duration of the stay.

3.90 A duty of care is needed by the tangata whenua to ensure the marae has people present and able to fulfil the requirements of manaakitanga. Ensuring the protocols stipulated through kawa are known requires the collective to regularly and frequently gather. This concept speaks to a commitment of servitude to maintain and be present at such events – you have to be seen among the collective. The responsibility of the collective is to ensure the appropriate processes and practices of tikanga are adhered to and maintained. Every effort must be done to ensure the processes and rituals outlined in kawa through tikanga are regularly performed to ensure people remain current with the practices.

3.91 A core component of the whare is to provide a space where the collective can host and perform the functions of manaaki. The coming together as one to perform this task reinforces the concept of kotahitanga – being united and connected to each other, to the past, to the landscape and to the knowledge that resides among the iwi.

3.92 Through manaakitanga, the notion of care – for one another, for the histories that relate to the collective, to ensure the processes and rituals that have been laid down by the ancestors are maintained and performed and to ensure the collective can access the knowledge – is what explains the provenance of the collective. Uniting and connecting these elements is the concept of whakapapa, the binary that connects all – people to people, people to ancestors, people to knowledge and people to landscape.

3.93 Not only does the whare provide the facility to conduct principles of manaaki to manuhiri but it also demonstrates a duty of care is also required to ensure the processes and knowledge stored there are cared for. Stored within the walls of the house are the

detailed accounts and activities performed by the ancestors. The term 'pakiwaitara' is used to describe stories from te ao Māori. It's fair to say these stories have been loosely generalised as myth and/or legend – simpleton stories to entertain children and not to be taken too seriously. However, when analysing the term pakiwaitara, we see that it too is a compound word: paki (story) and waitara¬ (from the wall of the house). When we pause and reflect on this, it is describing stories that are taken from the wall of the house – these are the escapades and activities that the collective has agreed are important enough to be captured and represented in their whare, where we can be assured these are not mere myth or legend. These are in fact accounts of ancestors that have been recorded as important events that must be remembered by the iwi and told to future generations. The analogy of selecting a book from a shelf of a learned library comes to mind here when a story is selected from the wall of the house to be told to reinforce a point or simply to be told to ensure the next generation know the accounts are stored here.

3.94 The term matemateāone also implies a duty of care is required to ensure we are present to manaaki the land and environment so that we are demonstrating what is provided for us here is valued to safeguard its mauri from dying. Through manaaki, we are required to demonstrate a duty of care to show the importance of valuing what is offered from the land and wider environment.

3.95 By expressing our continued reliance on the environment and accessing the accounts that are stored within the whare via pakiwaitara and detailing the accounts of the ancestors shared and retold to ensure they are retained, we are completing the obligations of manaakitanga. As expressed through matemateāone, the obligation to be present and serve to support the collective maintaining its connections through whanaungatanga, bound by whakapapa to ensure kotahitanga is achieved, is to manaaki the wellbeing of the collective.

KAITIAKI

3.96 Kaitiaki speaks to the obligation of guardianship to maintain a duty of care for process, people and environment. A kaitiaki can take the form of a person, a creature or an object. This concept, like the other principles, works to support mana, mauri, tapu, whakapapa, whanaungatanga and matemateāone. With regard to mana, those individuals who have mana granted as experts in a particular area of practice by the collective are considered kaitiaki – as guardians to ensure the practice and knowledge they are knowledgeable in is maintained and passed on to the next generation.

3.97 The role of the kaitiaki is to protect and ensure the appropriate processes and procedures are used when entering spaces and areas kaitiaki are located. The concept of kaitiaki speaks to the spiritual world view of te ao Māori. This is a world that presents the view that those who have physically passed from this world maintain their essence or spirit – they are considered to still be alive among us and present. Since their physical presence is no longer present, their presence and influence has not changed from when they were alive.

3.98 People who are considered to have kaitiaki are termed 'kikokiko'. A kikokiko can be anything and is considered to be your spiritual guardian. Again, returning to the lessons shared by my kuia, animals that were drawn to people were clues to what a person's kikokiko could be. Interestingly, many will not know what their kikokiko is. However, those that are drawn to cats have a high likelihood of having cats, for example. An early indicator

you have invoked someone's kikokiko is through dreams – if you dream you have been bitten by a cat, the chances are you have upset someone who has a cat as a kikokiko.

3.99 The role and function of kaitiaki were to ensure the spiritual elements were maintained and, where procedural elements were required, were performed correctly. Through kaitiaki, the connection to the spiritual components was maintained and supported.

RONGO

3.100 Arguably, rongo is not considered a principle of tikanga. Rather, it is a function. Rongo is a state of peace and calm that is achieved through the principles of ea, noa and mauri. As noted earlier, when explaining noa, Rongomaraeroa was responsible for notions of peace and goodwill and was responsible for the behaviour within the whare. This realm was considered the domain of Rongomaraeroa, which required peace to be maintained within the whare. The use of the term rongo within the concept of he hohou te rongo is deliberate. Again, this state is providing guidance when conflict occurs to seek the pathway that leads to achieving rongo.

3.101 When elements of ea, noa and mauri have been achieved or are operating, it is considered to maintain notions of rongo.

KAWA

3.102 The description provided by Professor Sir Pou Temara of kawa being a set of rules bound in tapu is a good explanation. Kawa and tikanga are two linked concepts. Kawa is derived from tikanga, which is the set of rules defined by tikanga. Where kawa is seen to operate is within the processes and procedures of entering marae. The purpose or intent for entering the marae is consistent with Māori. The consistent components here for all Māori is that there will be two groups coming together – manuhiri and tangata whenua. Each will acknowledge the ancestors of both groups, and procedures of karanga, whaikōrero and hongi will occur. This is directed by tikanga. The how of these elements is guided by kawa.

3.103 Region to region will differ on how they will perform the tasking of bringing the two groups together. Clear examples of kawa are seen within the order whaikōrero is conducted. Some regions start with tangata whenua, exhausting their speakers first and then handing the 'rākau' – the speaking function – to the manuhiri to work through their speakers. This process is referred to as pāeke. Other regions prefer to alternate – tangata whenua begin, then alternate to manuhiri, where the only condition here is that tangata whenua must open and close the speaking. Where it looks like the manuhiri have more speakers than the tangata whenua, the tangata whenua will pass the rākau to the manuhiri to exhaust their speakers and return to the tangata whenua to complete the whaikōrero duties. This process is referred to as tau-utuutu. These two methods in performing the functions of whaikōrero are examples of kawa.

3.104 Both Distinguished Professor Sir Hirini Moko Mead and Professor Sir Pou Temara describe kawa as a set of rules that are bound by sacred conditions expressed as tapu. Professor Sir Pou Temara to expresses kawa as a set way of doing things that has the support of the people to enforce it and is to be practised and applied into everyday events. Kawa defines the rules of engagement, where Distinguished Professor Sir Hirini Moko Mead explains a transgression of kawa is punishable.

KARAKIA

3.105 Karakia are the incantations that are conducted in accordance with tikanga. Through karakia, connections are made to the gods and significant ancestors to seek guidance, protection or help. The art of karakia is connected to the kete uruuru rangi or uruuru tipua or kete tuauri where this kete is stored within the poutuaroro of the house, located in the centre of the front wall as we enter the whare.

3.106 The performance of karakia is conducted by a tohunga specialist trained in the arts, drawn directly from the kete uruuru tipua. Through karakia, connections are made directly to the gods and the authors responsible for creating the known world of te ao Māori. A key function of karakia is to connect to the wairua. The concept of wairua speaks to another world in operation around us, as outlined in the creation of the whare by Tāne. He ascended to other worlds to access the kete of the wānanga, and through the construction of poupou, looking into us seated within the whare illustrates this other world. Finally, through the concept of kumama, an awareness and an understanding of another world was understood by te ao Māori. It is through karakia that connections are made to these worlds. Because of this, karakia was considered a tapu practice – one that required the utmost care to ensure the procedural matters were conducted correctly.

3.107 All practices within te ao Māori required karakia – seeking guidance to ensure positive outcomes are achieved and ensuring all manners of protection are sought and wellness to all is requested.

SECTION FOUR

Tikanga as lived

4.1 This section of the paper will focus on examples and expressions that show tikanga operating today as a lived component. It will show the connection to the inception of concepts and processes that are used today in the application of tikanga. In demonstrating tikanga in operation today, a recap of where we are with what is tikanga is provided here first.

4.2 The word 'tikanga' simply means to be correct. Puhi Iopata (Wānanga, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, 30 June 2022) describes tikanga as the set of rules that defines all that is correct in the Māori world. It ensures the processes that are required to engage with the marae are followed correctly, it outlines the accurate way in which areas of work must follow and the order schools of learning must adhere to and it sets the guidelines for all things. Inherent within tikanga are the values and beliefs of Māori. Through tikanga, the connections to the activities and processes established by ancestors are continued. These rules are laid down by the elders and leaders and must be followed by the iwi.

4.3 In its simplest definition, tikanga is a set of guidelines that ensure we remain connected – to our past, each other, our knowledge system, our beliefs and our environment. It establishes our 'world order'.

4.4 Through te ao Māori, a different world view is described. It describes the past as the days that 'hang in front' – 'i ngā rā o mua' – focusing on the past to help inform our decisions for the present – 'ināianei' – and help inform the days that are yet to descend upon us – i ngā rā e heke mai nei. This concept of looking to the past to inform the present is important – it connects us as people to our known world, and tikanga provides the rules for how we can navigate this world correctly.

4.5 The connection to the known world of Māori is through Rangi and Papa, where all genealogical things of Māori are drawn from and are connected to. By following the genealogical descendants of Rangi and Papa through the children of Tāne, we are connected to the forests, flora and fauna. Similarly, through Tangaroa to the seascape, through Tāwhirimātea to the environmental winds and through the other siblings to the particular components that they are charged with creating or protecting. In maintaining these connections to the known Māori world, the connection to our world order is established. This is where, through tikanga, the rules are expressed as the rituals and protocols that must be followed, ensuring we do not forget the connections that we as people have to our entire natural world.

4.6 Equally as important as maintaining a connection to our natural world is maintaining a connection to each other. Immediately when we introduce ourselves, we will

geographically locate ourselves: "Ko Pūtauaki taku maunga. Ko Ōhinemataroa taku awa." Next, we will make known our familial connections: "Ko Mataatua taku waka. Ko Toroa te tangata." This is followed by the collective I associate to: "Ko Ngāti Awa te iwi." This is done to allow those that are present to draw their own geographic, familial and collective connections to us, to build a connection from their physical and cognitive spaces and places.

4.7 Again, we see this concept repeated in the deliberate naming of the placenta as 'whenua' and land also as 'whenua'. When the child is born, the placenta connected through the 'aho' to the parent is taken and buried within the ancestral lands. Firstly, this is done to return the placenta to the whenua – it has completed its task in sustaining life while in the womb. It is now time to return it to the whenua – earth, who now takes on the role of the placenta. Secondly, by returning the placenta to the whenua, it physically connects the child to its landscape to enable the child to build their cognitive connection to their landscape. Later, when the remaining umbilical cord detaches from the newborn, this is also taken and placed within a tree or some place safe within the tribal lands. Here again we're returning the thread that connected the child while in the womb to the mother, and the placenta (whenua), having served its purpose, is now to be returned to the land to physically connect the child to the tribal land and to ensure the child, when grown, will never forget or lose their love and connection to their tribal lands.

4.8 During pregnancy, we also see reference to interesting concepts that refer to awareness of a time and place before we arrive in the present and of a place when we ultimately die and pass from this world. This notion is captured within the word 'kumama'. Kumama describes the unborn child collecting food provisions for the journey it knows it is about to embark on. This manifests itself in the mother as food cravings, as the unborn child is seeking that particular food to sustain them on their journey into this world. Interestingly, we see this concept again when a person is about to pass from this world. They too crave a particular food or taste. Again this is referred to as kumama, as the person knows they are about to embark on a journey and they too are making provisions to sustain them on the next stage of their journey as they pass from this world.

4.9 This notion of another time and space is also seen within the wharenui. Poupou, within our wharenui, often have the image running off the edges of the poupou. One may think the artist made an error on their dimensions where the image does not fit onto the timber selected for the carvings. Rather, what is being portrayed here is that the carved ancestor is looking through a window from another world. The ancestor is framed by the window.

4.10 When we connect this idea to the notion pakiwaitara (paki – story; waitara – wall of the house) where our records of history are recorded in our wharenui, the term pakiwaitara itself has a more profound meaning, certainly more than a mere myth or fairy tale that it is often referred to as. We can extrapolate from the term pakiwaitara in that they are stories taken from the wall of the house and in that the histories captured in the poupou and the tukutuku panel are being referred to here – it is the histories that are important. The notion of time is different here – it is not linear. The ancestors that are portrayed in the poupou are still relevant and maintained as though they are still very physically present in the here and now. We are still accountable to them to ensure we maintain the processes and practices they practised and, in some instances, created.

4.11 It is within this world that tikanga operates and guides us to be tika – correct in our purpose, true in our purpose and true in our actions.

4.12 The following is an account of the pōwhiri process. Captured within the processes and practices here are good examples of tikanga at work, guiding and directing the function of pōwhiri. It is in maintaining tikanga that the process of pōwhiri is undertaken.

PŌWHIRI

4.13 The protocols that are used and performed when entering the wider complex where whare are located are determined by tikanga, termed pōwhiri. The process of pōwhiri is a concept that is performed by all Māori. While some of the processes may differ from tribe to tribe, the intent or purpose as to why the protocols are conducted are largely consistent.

4.14 There will be a host, termed tangata whenua, waiting to welcome and host the visitors, termed manuhiri. The visiting group, which is termed an ope, will assemble at a designated gateway leading onto the marae ātea, the term used to describe the courtyard in front of the whare. At this stage, the visiting group is led by the females of the group, performing the karanga. This is a concept that is only conducted by women. The cue for the visiting ope to proceed onto the marae ātea is given by the kaikaranga for the tangata whenua who, when seeing the visiting ope is ready to enter the ātea, will call to the visiting group using the oratory skills of karanga. Once the initial call is made by the tangata whenua, the manuhiri kaikaranga will respond and in doing so slowly lead the visiting group on the ātea. Within the karanga, details about the meeting are stated and acknowledged. If the purpose of the meeting is for a tangihanga, reference is made to the person and states whakapapa connections. The manuhiri will introduce who they are, which iwi and hapū are present within the ope, and reference to any organisation that may be present is also made here. Regardless of the purpose of the meeting, through the karanga, the ancestors that hang on the house, those that are represented in whakairo, photos that hang within the whare, those that have laid in state on the marae, are remembered and called forward to be present. Similarly, all the loved ones of those assembled are called to and welcomed. Again, we can deduce the role of the karanga by analysing the name, ‘ka’ – to and ‘ranga’ – weave, extrapolating the wider meaning that the karanga weaves and connects us to our past and present.

4.15 After the karanga exchange, the ope will be assembled directly in front of the house where the group will pause and remember those who have passed. Here, there is a change in that the women have led the ope onto the marae, led by the karanga of the tangata whenua. This is the transition from leading to playing a support role of the whaikōrero, which is led and conducted by men. This again is dictated by tikanga. Once seated in the designated seating, the front row is exclusively for men, in particular, those who are going to speak. This is an exchange that, like karanga, follows strict rules and order. The speaking is started by the tangata whenua where the flow and order of speaking are as important as who speaks. An easy way of determining the speaking order is to think of the speaking order resembling a stream where the flow starts from the whare. Normally, the tangata whenua first speaker will be sitting closest to the whare where the kōrero flows from the house to the first speaker and continues moving away from the house, concluding with the tangata whenua speaker sitting furthest from the whare where the speaking is then transferred to the manuhiri to respond. Here, the flow starts from the furthest speaker from the house and travels back towards the whare where the last speaker for the manuhiri is the person sitting closest to the whare. This model presented here is termed ‘pāeke’. A variant of this is ‘tau-utuutu’ where the tangata

whenua speak first, the manuhiri speaker replies and so forth. This interchange continues until all the manuhiri have spoken. This process will start and finish with the tangata whenua.

4.16 A key concept that is managed through tikanga here is ensuring every effort is made to safeguard the future generation. This concept draws directly from the notion that the spoken word cannot be undone – once a statement is made, it cannot be undone or unspoken. Connected to this idea are some words that can be used to heal and make people feel great and similarly can be used to cause harm. This is a world view that believes words have power and utterances can cause harm, particularly when emotions are running high – which is often the case during pōwhiri. Coupled with this, it is the marae ātea where debate and challenge are encouraged to settle affairs. While not ideal, physical altercations are known to have taken place here. While the safety of those assembled is important and care is taken to ensure people are safe, the greatest efforts are taken to protect future generations. Here, we see that karanga was to be conducted by kuia – the term is about 'kua kūtia te mate mārama' – the monthly cycle ceases to occur. This is where only females who have gone through menopause were permitted to karanga to safeguard someone taking offence and, through the spoken word, jeopardising the future children that the women could bear. Again, this is reinforced by women not conducting whaikōrero – only men perform this ritual of pōwhiri.

4.17 Concluding every whaikōrero, traditional songs or chants were performed termed 'mōteatea'. As outlined by Professor Black, these are compositions composed hundreds of years ago, capturing the mode and tone of the collection of their times. What is interesting to note here, is that these songs are performed on the ātea. In examining the word we find 'mō' (¬for) – for the ātea.

SECTION FIVE

Examples of tikanga elements

5.1 To conclude this paper, the illustrative examples of tikanga that have been provided will be presented here again. The purpose of doing this is to provide a more detailed account of each of the incidents and the breaches of tikanga that have occurred and how, through tikanga, these incidents were resolved.

HE HOHOU TE RONGO

5.2 An example of he hohou te rongo occurring in recent times was seen when an employee in a tertiary provider committed fraud that was investigated and successfully convicted by the Serious Fraud Office. What was interesting in this case was how the iwi of the convicted person approached the founding iwi of the tertiary institution where the fraud occurred. The iwi had no connection to the activity of the person convicted of fraud, other than simply being the iwi the person belonged to. Nevertheless, the iwi of the individual still felt they had an obligation through tikanga to approach the founding iwi of the institution to ensure the iwi-to-iwi relationship was not marred by the actions of the individual. Despite the iwi not being aware of the actions of the individual committing fraud, the iwi recognised there was a responsibility within tikanga required of them as being the collective the individual belonged to. The iwi were demonstrating their commitment to their individual tribal members. A delegation of leaders from the individual's iwi formally notified through tikanga their intention to arrive and present a pounamu taonga as a tatau pounamu to hohou te rongo between the two iwi.

5.3 Upon arrival, the delegation was welcomed in accordance with tikanga where the taonga was presented and subsequently named. It is important to note here that, when the tatau pounamu was undertaken, the investigation was still in the early stages and the full extent of what had occurred was yet to be revealed. In fact, at this time, conviction was not even considered a potential outcome. What was paramount to the iwi of the individual was that no harm be done to the iwi-to-iwi relationship. This taonga sits within the institution's boardroom along with other taonga that have been gifted to the institution.

5.4 This example has been shared here as an illustration to show that concept of he hohou te rongo is still being practised today. The example that follows is one that occurred in the early 1930s, where the responsibility of the collective and individual is consistent and can be seen clearly.

Historical examples of he hohou te rongo

5.5 In the 1930s, my great-grandfather arranged the marriage of a niece, known as pākūhā. Because it was my great-grandfather who arranged the marriage to a husband from a neighbouring iwi, he had become responsible for the couple. Several years into the marriage after the children had been born, the husband started abusing his wife. The hapū turned to my great-grandfather to deal with it as he had arranged the marriage. As the years went by, the abuse continued, with the final straw being, in a fit of anger, the husband was heard to have said he would "eat their children". At this point, a delegation from the hapū arrived on my great-grandfather's doorstep seeking redress. This now required my great-grandfather to find an acceptable 'pounamu' heirloom to address the slight to the hapū of his niece on behalf of the hapū of the husband. Having to source the heirloom and present it in front of both hapū of the wife and husband raised the abuse that was happening in the family into the community, where, if people were unaware of the actions of the husband prior, they were now, drawing on the weight of public opinion to help curb the behaviour. Also, the couple and their children were now required to live with my great-grandfather and my great-grandmother as an added measure, perhaps to ensure my great-grandfather did not have to search for another 'pounamu' heirloom.

5.6 Because it was my great-grandfather who arranged the marriage, it was his responsibility to address the behaviour and support the couple with their children to ensure the elements of whanaungatanga were maintained.

PŌWHIRI

5.7 As explained earlier in this paper, pōwhiri is an example of tikanga. It outlines the conditions in which tangata whenua address and welcome manuhiri. The conditions of welcoming and hosting manuhiri through pōwhiri must be followed and adhered to. Also stated previously in this paper is the comment that pōwhiri helps mediate people's behaviour and allows personal opinions to be put aside to ensure the tikanga is maintained and welcoming to manuhiri.

5.8 I have witnessed first-hand contentious issues being put to one side so as not to interfere with the tikanga and kawa functions of the marae. In November 2009, a 36-year-old key community figure was violently struck and killed. As I attended his tangihanga, seated on the paepae two along from me was the father of the man who struck the victim, killing him. The speaker before me spoke on his behalf, delivering his apologies for the actions of his son. Because of tikanga, this exchange was able to take place. Knowing the victim and his family personally, while they were understandably upset, allowed this exchange to occur. Uncomfortable as it must have been for the father of the accused and his family, they understood, like everyone assembled, the responsibility to observe tikanga and kawa of the marae. There were hundreds assembled on the marae that day. From what I observed, the family of the accused were welcomed and hosted as everyone followed and adhered to the tikanga of the whare, marae and tangata whenua charged with the responsibility of maintaining the correct conduct and procedures.

5.9 The people in attendance during the pōwhiri may not have agreed to having in attendance the family of the young man who killed the person lying in state on the marae. However, the principle of following and adhering to tikanga was more important. The next example is an occasion of what can happen when someone tries to breach the rules of pōwhiri.

BREACH OF TAPU

5.10 This incident occurred at a recent tangihanga in Whakatāne when a person who was not seated on the paepae attempted to speak. Normal practice dictates that, before the ope is welcomed onto the marae, the women will decide who will respond to the call (respond – as in this instance, we were manuhiri) and the men will decide who will speak and in doing so identify who will open and who will close, with the closing speaker laying down the koha.

5.11 On this occasion, as the person lying in state was a well-known figure locally and nationally and had been involved in many national discussions and debates, the ope was very large – there were nine speakers. We were all seated in order of speaking. Professor Sir Pou Temara was the sixth speaker, followed by District Court Judge Hemi Taumaunu, then me and concluded by our closing speaker. However, after Professor Sir Pou Temara had delivered his whaikōrero, an individual leapt up from the row of seats behind us, bringing forward with him a chair and proceeded to sit on the chair to speak. He completely ignored the requests for the paepae to stop as he was not seated within the paepae and was breaking the order of speaking that is stipulated by the kawa of the marae.

5.12 Two things were being challenged and broken here: the kawa of the marae and tapu. As stated previously within this paper, Professor Sir Pou Temara described kawa as a set of principles wrapped in tapu. Within all marae, there is a strict order of speaking. The tangata whenua start with the person seated nearest the whare, and this flows in order moving away from the whare until such time as those identified by the tangata whenua have all spoken. The rākau metaphorically describing the speaking now transfers to the manuhiri to speak.[1] Here, the speaking will begin with the person seated furthest from the whare, proceeding in order with speakers seated closer to the whare. The analogy here is that the whaikōrero comes off the house and flows away as it moves through the tangata whenua and must circle back to the whare as it starts with the manuhiri speaker seated furthest from the house and flows back to the whare, ending with the last speaker seated closest to the whare.

5.13 To disrupt this order is a serious breach of protocol, as it is seen as interfering with the orderly flow of speakers. Secondly, having this protocol helps mediate the behaviour of people in attendance to ensure only those that should speak do so and stops people who get swept up in the occasion and decide to speak out of turn. What tikanga is mitigating here is the spoken word as it is considered tapu in that a spoken word cannot be unspoken.

5.14 As illustrated previously in this paper, mokomoko can be found carved into the mouth, tongue and chest of poupou. This is to represent the spoken word as a ngārara mokomoko to my tribe (and many others) – one of our most powerful guardians that can be used to heal or do harm. Therefore, the risk of someone saying something out of character because emotions are running high is a risk tikanga that ensures we do not do.

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1 Described here is pāeke, where all the tangata whenua speak and then all the manuhiri speak. The other speaking order is tau-utuutu – this is where, consistent with pāeke, the tangata whenua open, then the speaking alternates between tangata whenua and manuhiri until all the manuhiri have spoken and the last speaker returns to the tangata whenua to close.

5.15 Returning to the tangihanga in Whakatāne, seated two seats away from me, I could feel Professor Sir Pou Temara vibrating with rage. At first, he asked the speaker to desist – who was now seated in his chair in the middle of the ātea, left leg folded with his left ankle resting on his right leg just above the knee, leaning back and proceeding to speak about Prince William and Prince Harry – no relevance at all to the person lying in state, simply issues that were of concern to him.

5.16 Upon Professor Sir Pou Temara's request, the speaker turned slightly towards us, indicating that he had heard. However, he continued on. At this stage, Professor Sir Pou Temara was reminding the person that they were in breach of our tikanga and kawa of this marae and to please desist. The speaker continued. Having exhausted all rational means, as a last resort, Professor Sir Pou Temara stood and struck the seated speaker several times with his tokotoko. Upon this action, the kaikaranga from the marae stood from her seat at the foot of the left-hand amo of the house as you face it and added her voice for the speaker to desist and also leave the marae immediately. A very burly young man, who clearly could have physically removed the speaker, approached him and respectfully and quietly addressed the seated speaker: "Sir, you have been asked to leave immediately, please do so." Thankfully, the out-of-turn speaker, now standing and holding his chair, complied and left.

5.17 Returning to his seat, Professor Sir Pou Temara instructed District Court Judge Hemi Taumaunu seated between us that he could now speak, and things returned to normal. After Judge Taumaunu spoke, I was the next speaker. Having made an opening statement in my whaikōrero, I was about to place my right foot to the left and then step to the right to place my tokotoko. I glanced down, and emerging from within the grass looking directly at me was a large mokomoko. Quickly, I shifted my weight to my left foot and stepped that way instead to where the mokomoko walked forward a short way, stopped and turned to look at me, eerily making direct eye contact with me. My brain and mouth were doing two different things at this time – it was important I did not whati (put the brakes on) my kōrero, but I was seriously concerned with the mokomoko. It watched me for most of the duration of my kōrero; it would walk ahead, stop and look directly at me for a period of time, then turn its head, walk forward, stop and look directly at me, until it disappeared under the concrete pad that the wharenui was built on and where, in the mahau (veranda) of the house, the body was lying in state. What is amazing is that no-one else saw it. I was expecting to hear sounds of alarm of people seated behind me. Afterwards, in sharing the kōrero with Professor Sir Pou Temara, he informed me he had seen it as well.

5.18 I don't think it was coincidence at all that the strongest of our talismans showed up after the incident of the person trying to breach our kawa.

RĀHUI

5.19 Contemporary use of rāhui is becoming more frequent, and from my local experience, it is being followed and adhered to. In December 2019, Whakaari erupted, tragically killing 22 people, with two bodies never recovered. Immediately, the iwi placed a rāhui over the region, and this was respectfully adhered to by the entire community – Pākehā, Māori and commercial entities alike. During the period of the rāhui, no-one swam, despite the heat of a very warm December, and no fishing vessels, commercial or private, moved. The

entire commercial and recreational use of the moana and river was adhered to by the community.

5.20 As Chair of the Economic Development Agency for the three local councils, I could see first-hand the financial cost this was having on the commercial industries that relied on access to the sea. Despite this, the rāhui was honoured. In fact, during meetings with councils over the period before the rāhui was put in place by the iwi, it was already expected, and local agencies were waiting for the communication to come from the iwi. A few points worth noting here – the local government agencies were expecting the iwi to impose the rāhui and were waiting for it, and the second critical component to note is who was imposing the rāhui. If the person(s) do not have the support of the people, there is a high chance the conditions of the rāhui might not be followed. In this instance, it was the leaders of the iwi who initiated the rāhui, which was honoured without question.

Historical example of not following or adhering to rāhui

5.21 A commonly performed waiata composed by Mihi-ki-te-kapua is a good example of a rāhui not being followed. The song *Taku Rākau* was written as a result of Mihi-ki-te-kapua and Hikawai's son Mahia being killed in the Pāpuni district in 1819. This resulted in a rāhui being imposed over the area. At the time, Mihi-ki-te-kapua and Hikawai's people relocated to Maungapōhatu to live. After a year, Hikawai and his people wanted to return home to their lands in the Pāpuni and Ruakituri region. The issue was that Mihi-ki-te-kapua was still grieving for their son, remarking: "Taihoa e hoki koi kai koutou i ngā para o taku tamaiti" – do not return yet, you may unwittingly eat the remains of my son. Unfortunately, Hikawai and his people did not listen to the plea of Mihi-ki-te-kapua, who subsequently travelled through Tūhoe to raise a war party to avenge the breaching of her rāhui. An interesting point to note here is that her marriage to Hikawai of Kahungunu was arranged by her father Te Āihurangi as a tatau pounamu to settle the disputes between Kahungunu. Unfortunately, Hikawai was killed as people rallied to Mihi-ki-te-kapua's call. During these battles, she composed the waiata *Taku Rākau* as a morale booster to ensure those answering her call did not become despondent, drawing a comparison to the rākau kahikātoa, being a hardwood used for the creation of taiaha (not to be mistaken for kahikatea), and drawing reference to the shark that continues to fight with its dying breath, meaning to fight similarly to ensure the land is not left alone.

Taku rākau ē

Tau rawa ki te whare

Ka ngaro a takahi ē

Te whare o te kahikātoa

He ngau whakapae ē

Hei whakapae ururoa e hau mau nei

Kei waho kei te moana

Kāore aku mihi ē

Aku tangi mo o koutou

Mau puku ko te iwi ē

Ka mowai tonu te whenua

E takoto nei

(Mihi-ki-te-kapua composition, circa 1820s)

5.22 The last example provided here is the term ahikā. The purpose of re-illustrating ahikā is that it is a great example of how lessons and cases are drawn from the environment to shape and inform our practice and our knowledge system.

5.23 The term is consistent in that it is a compound word: 'ahi' – fire, and 'ka' ¬– burning. Occupation is described as that one's presence must be maintained and being seen to assert one's rights. The base concept is drawn from the use of 'puku tawai' – a fungus that grows on tawai trees. It absorbs water and continues to grow until it becomes too heavy and falls to the ground, where it has a consistency like soap. This fungus was collected and dried and used when the iwi was getting ready to move to another location, which was largely stipulated by the availability of seasonal food or shelter from inclement weather.

5.24 Within these earlier settlements, the art of maintaining a fire was paramount. This was before modern fire-lighting implements were available. The practice of 'tamou i te ahi' – banking down the fire in the evening so the embers were still smouldering for the morning, and terms such as 'te umara i te ahi' ¬– the general sentiment being do not be frivolous with fuel for the fire were all created. There is in fact an entire body of knowledge here as to how to keep the fire burning.

5.25 The fires within these communities never went out, and great skill and knowledge were used to maintain these fires. When the community were getting ready to relocate to the next settlement, an ember was taken from the fire and placed into the now-dried puku tawai, which has a similar resemblance to polystyrene. The ember would smoulder and melt its way into the dried puku tawai. Taking note to be sure the fungus was smouldering, the fungus was then buried. Particular attention was given to ensure the depth was just right so that no air could reach the smouldering fungus, suffocating it.

5.26 The spot where the puku tawai was buried was noted. When the community returned to the settlement the following season, they would prepare dry kindling in the fireplace and retrieve the puku tawai buried the previous season, whereupon re-exposing it to air, it would continue to smoulder. The ember from last season's fire would then be used to start the fire that would burn continuously for this season, hence the name 'ahikā'.

5.27 This helps illustrate that one's connection to the land is linked to the ever-eternal smouldering puku tawai, where it requires fuel and air from the land to ensure it stays alight.

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