Ruia, ruia, tahia, tahia

Me pēhea ngā wāhine o Te Aupouri e pupuri i tou mātou Aupouritanga i tēnei Aō Hurihuri?

How do Te Aupouri wāhine retain and maintain our Te Aupouri identity in the revolving world?

Judith Ann Riki

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Declaration

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This thesis will be saved and stored at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and made available for future students and researchers to read and reference.

Judith Ann Riki

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Ngā Whakataikiha/Acknowledgements

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi engari he toa takitini
My strength is not mine alone but mainly the tribe's

Abstract

The **tāmata**/woven floormat is used as the theoretical framework for this study. At its centre, is the journey of **ngā wāhine o Te Aupouri ki Te Kao/ Te Aupouri** women navigating the landscape that shapes their lives. It is acknowledged that most Westernised theories do not understand and cannot explain **Māori** experiences and the experiences of **wāhine Māori**/**Māori** women. **Kaupapa Māori** theory is deeply embedded within **mātauranga Māori**/**Māori** knowledge and is fundamental to **Māori** knowledge. **Kaupapa Māori** theory provides the cultural analysis that explains and transforms current inequities that face **Māori**, the indigenous people of New Zealand.

It is suggested that the education system, Christianity and government policy influenced T**e Aupouri** people relocating to urbanised areas in **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand and overseas. Through confronting the issues such as root shock and social toxins in their new locations, the study will reveal that these issues are not new but have reappeared in other guises to further colonise **Te Aupouri**. Regardless of assimilation, **Te Aupouri** maintained and in some cases re-established cultural initiatives by telling their stories in recentring, rewriting, re-righting and reclaiming themselves.

This thesis provides further discussion about **Māori** diaspora and how **ngā wāhine o Te Aupouri ki Te Kao** / **Te Aupouri ki Te Kao** women retain and maintain their engagement and cultural identity away from our tribal area. Like **Kaupapa Māori** theory, the **tāmata** recognizes the pedagogy of **whānau** which involves responsibilities, obligations and expectations to the collective. Three groups of **Te Aupouri ki Te Kao** women have been identified to gather evidence, they are **Te Aupouri ki Te Kao** women who are living eleswhere, **Te Aupouri ki Te Kao** women who lived away from **Te Kao** for a number of years and returned, and **Te Aupouri ki Te Kao** women who have never lived elsewhere but in **Te Kao**. With their full permission, their names have been used throughout this project. The **kaikōrero** stories are visible, their voices are heard and validated. Throughout the interviews, the **kaikōrero** controlled their stories and selected the information they wanted to gift to the readers. **Tēna koutou mo ou koutou roimata aroha e/** we acknowledge you for your tears of love**.**

Te Wāhanga Tuatahi

Te Whakatūwheratanga/ the clearing of the pathway. A time to decide whether the floormat will be plain or patterned.

Te Aupouri, acknowledges the Creator and a request for guidance in any undertaking. Our elders said that this cultural practice has been adopted since the time of our **tūpuna**/ancestors. Prayer unites everyone and **Te Aupouri** believe to settle and prepare for the purpose that lies ahead. Daily objectives are set and made public so that progress in the undertaking can be monitored, and the completion date met.

Simmonds (2009) reminds us the **kōrari** /flax plant has been provided by **Papatuānuku**/the earth mother. The flax characteristics have drooping or upright spears suitable for weaving mats, food baskets, baskets or ornaments. The quote aptly describes **Te Aupouri ki Te Kao wāhine**/**Te Aupouri ki Te Kao** women and how they navigate their daily lives in the revolving world. During the weavers' deliberations, they decide whether the mat will lie in the **marae** or in a home, and whether the flax mat would be coloured, patterned or woven in its natural colour. This conversation sets the direction for this undertaking.

Theories are the stories. Te Aupouri has many stories about the **whaea tupuna**/ancestresses, about **whakamoemiti**/Ratana services of thanks, our childhood and the weaving of the **tamata**/floormat. The stories make up the data. Smith (1999) comments "theory has oppressed indigenous peoples in many ways".

Ruia, ruia, tahia, tahia,

Kia hemo te kākoa

Kia herea mai te kawau korokī.

E tātaki mai i tana pūkoro, whai karo,

He kuaka mārangaranga,

Kotahi te manu i tau ki te tāhuna, tau atu, tau atu, tau atu

Awaken, be alert, we must gather flax,

Bind the strong fibre to make a rope and secure it to the resting perch of the shag

do not falter we are moving into the throat of the enemy

like the godwit we are in flight

the footprints of the leader will show the way

Follow one after the other

Tūmatahina directed the words above commanding the overwhelmed tribe to gather flax and plait it into a lifesaving flaxen rope. In present day, orators have used the whakatauki to announce Te Aupouri presence at the event. The same motivating cry has echoed down through the centuries for our people, encouraging them to work together, to take advantage of the opportunities that come their way in order to make a living, for their survival.

After the rope was woven and secured to a rock used by shags, to perch on the opposite shore, the people made their way to safety. Throughout **Te Aupouri** history the tribe has needed to be steadfast in the face of the opposition. The tribe has fought neighbouring tribes, Pākehā and the state to retain its land. **Te Aupouri** continues to strategise in all areas for themselves and our future. By following in the footsteps of inspirational leaders like **Tūmatahina** successive generations navigate their way through life.

The statement is about my maternal cultural identity, it is **Te Aupouri**. This tribal saying retains my connection to our ancestors, the past, the present and the future. In order to understand the present, it is important to briefly tell our past. Crown policies that violently disrupted and continue to affect **Te Aupouri** lives are interwoven into the story. It is about honouring **tūpuna**/ancestral resilience and telling our truth. As Freire[1](1972) puts it, 'each man wins back his right to say his own word, to name the world'. This study is about **Te Aupouri**, it is about me.

Te wā o ngā Tūpuna/ the period of the ancestors

Te Aupouri relationship with the Crown has always been unfriendly. Before the invaders came to **Te Hiku o te Ika**, **Te Aupouri's** worldview was focused on survival. **Tūpuna** leadership was communal and their word was **tapu**/sacred. **Iwi tūpuna/**tribal ancestors predicted the coming of foreigners to our land. Decisions were made by **rangatira**/chiefs, and they lived according to **tikanga/**protocol. Te Tupuni and Te Kaaka, Te Ikanui and Tihe's sons, occupied **Te Kao** and its boundaries with a strong hand. Te Tupuni and Te Kaaka eventually lived at Tawhitirahi until Te Tupuni's death when he was eventually buried at Roimata, one of the ancestral burial grounds in **Te Kao**.

Tribal knowledge overheard by a younger member during the conversations of our **whaea tūpuna/**ancestresses that if ever one is asked, '**I ahu mai koutou i hea**? Where did you come from? **meinga atu**/you are to reply, **i konei anō mātou mai ranō**/we have been here from the beginning'. The male line of **Te Aupouri** genealogy descended from **Mamari, Ngati Ruanui,**

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[1] P12 Freire operates on one basic assumption: that man's ontological vocation (as he calls it) is to be a subject who acts upon and transforms his world, and in doing so moves towards ever new possibilities of fuller and richer life individually and collectively.

Te Ikanui and others. But the female line is from here. The main ancestress of **Te Kao**, of **Pārengarenga** is **Te Amongāriki**, the cupholder of the Gods. **Te Amongāriki** resides just above **Kahutai** and **Horoiwi**, she commands **Parengarenga**. She and Te Ihupango the first are the parents of **Tihe** and **Kohine**, who were Te Ikanui's wives. **Te Amongāriki** travelled to Wharo to collect her grandchildren Tupuni and Te Kaaka, **Tihe** and **Kohine'**s children because other members were competing for the land. Although she had genealogical ties, **Te Amongāriki** had to prove that her grandchildren were present and swam on her return.

Amalgamation and Assimilation

The 1841 Colonial Land Claims Ordinance was 'put in place' to ensure that the sale of Iwi lands was 'above board.' Amalgamation and assimilation were the main aims of colonial policy after the signing of **te Tiriti/**the Treaty of Waitangi. Colonisers, William Hobson, Henry Williams, and James Busby translated the draft in to **te reo Māori/Māori** language. They were mainly from England who systematically set about imposing their foreign framework on our **tūpuna/**ancestors. Initially, they set up the Native Land Act and then the Native Land Court in 1862. This decision granted the colonisers, the power to code **Māori** land ownership by identifying the owners and transforming communally owned land held under customary title into individual title. **Māori** land ownership would become 'assimilated into British law.' Since land is the foundation of identity as **tangata whenua**/the people of the land, this law was the most destructive, resulting in an alienating effect on **Māori**. According to elders, **te kōti tāhae whenua** the Native Land Court responsible for land theft and later renamed as the **Māori** Land Court pitted **whānau** against **whānau**. These disagreements continued after the court cases and into the community.

Elders say that our great grandparents' attended **hui whenua/**land meetings throughout **Te Hiku o te Ika**. The agenda of their concerns were about their decreasing landholdings. Whilst our **tūpuna/**ancestors were meeting, our **whaea tūpuna** /female ancestors were the sentries and maintained watch on the marae. They informed **kaumātua** male elders if they were not happy with proceedings. Prior to **hui whenua**/land meetings the **tūpuna**/ancestors strategized spending the night at a place before travelling the next day. Throughout the journey they prepared.

Our grandparents' generation travelled hours for employment. At the time drain digging and clearing of the land were the main forms of employment. The entire **whānau**/family would be away working at the gumfields for long periods of time. Children were frequently absent from school. Poor living conditions also contributed to disease, sickness and sometimes death. **Kaumātua**/male elders travelled as far south as Mangamuka, they would stay a few days and later return to **Te Kao**. In the meantime, our **whaea tūpuna** /female ancestors were left to care for the **whānau**/family and oversee the operation of the farms. Some of the farms in **Te Kao**

were leased from the **Te Aupouri** Trust Board. Dairy farming was the main form of employment in the sixties. By then Mr and Mrs Watt, Scottish schoolteachers had arrived in **Te Kao** and Mr Watt and Judge Acheson advised **iwi**/the tribe about dairy farming. As well as seafood, large gardens and orchards supplemented the **Te Aupouri** diet. Knowledge was succeeded to the younger generations.

Mātauranga a iwi/tribal knowledge about where the seafood can be gathered is protected and known to different **whānau**/families. Originally, the food gatherers selected members for their willingness to learn **tikanga**/tribal protocol, follow instructions and show respect to the environment. **Whānau**/families continue to live and gather **kaimoana**/seafood according to the moons, winds and tides. Tribal members know according to the winds, and the cloud formation, whether it is suitable to go fishing either on the West coast at **Waka te Haua**/Bluff or the **Tokerau** /East Beach. **Tikanga o Kaitiakitanga**/ practices of guardianship still exist, and **taiāpure mātaitai**/tribal fishing grounds are known by **whānau/**families. Values of **manaakitanga**/caring and **aroha ki te tangata**/consideration for others were strong and existed and people shared their produce with neighbouring **whānau**/families or as their donation for **hui**/meeting at the marae.

Te whakatakoto i te kaupapa/setting out the purpose

This thesis emphasises the significance of remaining engaged with one's tribal identity wherever you live. It relates not only to strengthening our tribal ties and teaching future generations **te reo o Te Aupouri** and **tikanga**/tribal dialect and cultural protocol, maintaining the responsibilities, expectations and obligations of being a member of **Te Aupouri** but also about self-esteem, health and wellbeing. **Te Aupouri** living either in **Te Hiku o te Ika/**the tail of the fish or elsewhere make sacrifices to ensure they remain connected. These decisions create challenges for everyone concerned.

The main aim of this thesis is to talk about how **Te Aupouri** women maintain and retain our **Te Aupouritanga**/tribal identity in **Te Aō Hurihuri**/in the revolving world. **Te Aupouri** women have been selected as the **kaikōrero**/participants in this thesis to begin recording and keeping our stories alive for our **tamariki**/ children and **mokopuna**/grandchildren.

A paucity of research exists about **Te Aupouri** women in fact the stories about our **whaea tūpuna**/ancestresses are not as visible and known as our **tūpuna**/ancestors. There are theories that tell us why this invisibility exists. One of the aims of this thesis is to honour our **whaea tūpuna/** ancestresses and to celebrate their resilience and commitment. To talk about **Te Aupouri** women we need to ask:

- What has contributed to not knowing about our **whaea tupuna/**ancestresses' stories?
- How do we know?

- What do we need to do now?
- Why is it important to know our **whaea tūpuna** ancestresses' stories?

Ethnography

Colonial rule created a dichotomy of the researcher as the knower and the colonized as ignorant. This research project disrupts everything about this statement and writes from a position of the **kaikōrero**/speaker not only being central to this study but commanding the direction of the research, inserting **Te Aupouri reo me ōna tikanga**/**Te Aupouri** dialect and its cultural practices from the beginning to the conclusion of this work.

The model of access to this research arose through presenting three lines of investigation. The first proposed a model of academic communication within and outside of the **wānanga**/ learning spaces through using different presentations of knowledge, in several discussions with our cohort **whānau**/peers who started this work at the same time and sharing our insecurities, and reflexivity about our studies with our personal discoveries. This exchange of ideas continues to this day.

The second line was about selecting the theories, methodologies and methods because all these elements of research from the West could not fully understand or describe **Te Aupouri wāhine**/womens' lives. Researchers were encouraged to take from the Western theory and **Kaupapa Maori**/when **Māori** and Western theories aligned a similar outcome.

The third line of investigation considers the views of the **kaikōrero**/speakers for the future of **Te Aupouri**. The tribal members who choose to live elsewhere are encouraged to return home and to learn about how to **manaaki**/care for others. A critical element of being **Te Aupouri** is to hear the dialect being spoken everywhere. The challenge required of us is to teach **Te Aupouri** descendants '**Ruia, ruia, tahia, tahia'**.

Kupu Māori/Māori vocabulary

Throughout this project, **Māori** vocabulary is highlighted, and these words positioned to not only acknowledge their importance as the first language of our **tūpuna**/our ancestors but also in recognition of te reo **Māori** as one of the official languages of **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand.

Critical theory and **Kaupapa Māori** theory begins this chapter with a discussion about the different factors that continue to affect **Māori** and how and why this has happened. Section two discusses the Theories of **Māori** identity, and the importance of tribal identity.Section three is about the effects of colonisation and assimilation on the family unit and how education as a colonising tool disperses family and the impact this has on culture and the heritage language. Section four is a discussion about Diaspora. Departure, dispersal, dislocation, transmigration elsewhere and being individualized creates challenges for everyone who has lived collectively.

For **Te Aupouri**, it is about retaining and maintaining tribal identity in their new environments. Finally, this chapter concludes with examples of Counterstories.

What do the theories have to say?

The principal elements of **kaupapa Māori** and critical race theory will be described in this section and have been selected to focus on the colonizing practices of the Western world. Critical theory was considered because of its central focus on the notion of emancipation. Bishop (1996) and Pihama (2001) uses critical theory as an example of a framework that can work theoretically for Māori "given that it is located within the experiences and knowledge of **Māori**." While critical theory is not "transformative for **Māori**," Pihama (2001 as cited in Milne, 2013, p90) suggests that when **Māori** use critical theory as a tool, alongside our own tools" it provides "transformational potential"

Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa Māori theory was created to challenge the dominance of the traditional worldview in research about **Māori**. Non**Māori** researchers came from a deficit position that disrespected and belittled **Māori** ancestors and benefitted the researcher. So much so, that **Māori** continue to distrust researchers today.

Kaupapa **Māori** theory is the advancement of **Māori** aspirations to set the context in preparation, thinking, values, **tikanga** and views of the world and provide the foundation for **Kaupapa Māori**. Pihama (2001) reminds us **Kaupapa Māori** predates us all in living years and is embedded in our cultural being Taki (1996). **Kaupapa Māori** theorizing is not a new phenomenon. It connects **iwi/**tribe, **hapū/**subtribe and **whanaungatanga/**relationships. Nepe (2001) states the conceptualization of **mātauranga Māori** is distinctive to **Māori** society whose derivation is from **Māori** epistemologies and include complex relationships and ways of organizing society Pihama (2001).

Rangimarie Mahuika (2008) reported that with the researched becoming the researchers their experiences of marginalization, cultural inferiority and immobilizing oppression are similar and their evidence includes resistance and liberation and the possibilities for transformation. **Kaupapa Māori** theory must, in her view, both analyse and challenge unequal power relations that exist both between the colonized and colonizer, which are internal issues to **Māori** communities. Theory provided by **Māori** women about themselves is important in considering their life experiences and whilst looking at **Mana Wahine/Māori** women's influence to examine the political and cultural position of **Māori.** Further to that Pihama (2001) comments that the experiences of **Māori** women are influenced in extreme ways by our experiences of the oppression and suppression of **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga**/**Māori** language and its customs.

Kathie Irwin (1992) states the experiences of **Māori** women and the control of theorizing the experiences by **Māori** women is important. She encourages **Māor**i women to take what is useful from Western feminism and to frame **Māori** women's theories within **Māori** epistemologies, **te reo me ōna tikanga/Māori** language and cultural protocol. She maintains that whilst **Māori** women are positioning themselves within **Te Aō Māori**/the **Māori** world they are providing critical analysis and much needed research into what is happening now for **Māori** women and what they are determining to be important aspects of **Māori** theories.

While adherents to **Kaupapa Māori** have developed different aspects of this theoretical framework in a range of disciplines including health Barnes (2000), Pihama (2003), and accounting McNicholas (2003) the political dimension of **Kaupapa Māori** theory is central in order to intervene in the hegemonic discourses that surround **Māori**. Smith (2002) foregrounds the political nature of **Kaupapa Māori** when she says, "**Kaupapa Māori** theory emerges out of practice, out of struggle, out of experience of **Māori** who engage struggle, who reject, who fight back and who claim space for the legitimacy of **Māori** knowledge".

Chilisa (2012) states **Kaupapa Māori** can be summarized as research that (1) is related to being **Māori**, (2) is connected to **Māori** philosophy, (3) takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of **Māori** language and culture, and (4) is concerned with the struggle for autonomy of the **Māori** Smith (2000).

Mana Wahine Theory

Mana Wahine/Māori womens' influence is important to this thesis and how it reports **Māori** women's diverse experiences and the struggles they confront daily. The role of **Mana Wahine/Māori** women's influence involves the researcher centring **Māori** women in any analysis and presenting a more positive insight of the world of **Māori** women regardless of where they have chosen to live Irwin (1992), Winitana (2012). Smith (1992) adds

"**Mana Wahine** theory needs to 'make our difference visible' and to

theorise our experiences in ways which make sense for other women".

Māori women academics have contributed and are continuing to inform **Mana Wahine** theory. Irwin (1992 as cited in Winitana 2014, p. 80) states:

Mana wahine theory is a powerful Indigenous women's theory, a theory. We **Māori** women can define, develop and control our own

theoretical base, so, theory becomes a tool that we can use for our own

interests. '**Mana Wahine**' as a theory is a very important tool for

Māori women to understanding ourselves.

Irwin (1992 as cited in Pihama, 2001, p. 232) further explains that

"whilst **Māori** women are positioning themselves in **Te Aō Māori** / the **Māori** world and developing their own theories they are to take from

the Western theories that do not suit us and critically analyse them into what is happening for **Māori** women now and what **Māori** women

themselves determine to be aspects of **Māori** feminist theories".

It was agreed that

"any theory that engages racism, sexism, capitalist exploitation and

homophobia, like the **Mana Wahine** theory, will ultimately

be beneficial for all **Māori** not just **Māori** women" (Winitana, 2014, p. 81) and these provide **Māori** women with a framework that emancipates them from racism, sexism, poverty and other oppressions (Pihama, 2001, p. 234).

Critical theory

Critical theory has been selected as one of the theories for this section of the chapter. It critically analyses the education system and schooling for **Māori** and later society. It relates to the subject and context of this study.

Critical theory began in Germany in the early 1920s, amongst a group of intellectuals known as the 'Frankfurt School'. The name, 'The Frankfurt School' was taken from its location of this group within the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt. The central work of the Frankfurt School of thought related to engaging with ideas of Karl Marx and with his social theories related to society. Some of these early influential theorists, while sympathetic and supportive of many of Marx's ideas, were also critical of his inability to fully explain the existing social conditions and to transform them. One of the important concerns of critical theorists and subsequently an identifying feature of critical theory is the emphasis placed on bringing theory into

practice and vice versa; the dialectic of theory and practice is seen as being mutually significant in the ongoing evolution of both concepts.

Critical theory is viewed as a complementary Western research approach of **Kaupapa Māori** (Freire, 1972), (Jones, 1980), (Smith G. 1997), (Smith L. 1999). Critical theory is essentially concerned with social change through the exposure of unequal power relations, this is a common theme within **Kaupapa Māori** research. Leonie Pihama (2001) asserts that **Kaupapa Māori**

aligns to critical theory in that both approaches expose underlying assumptions, concealing power relations that work towards the continued oppression of **Māori**.

Further to this, (Love, 2004 as cited in Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) states "Firstly, critical theorists believe, much of reality is socially constructed. Second, this reality most often constructed and known is based on the silencing of subordinated peoples. Naming or giving voice to the reality of subordinated peoples interrupts the power of the dominant group to name reality for others. This in turn, helps to transform the structures that produce and reproduce domination and subordination".

Critical Race theory

Love (2002) states

"Critical race theory was developed as a race based oppositional scholarship in the late 1980's because of the failure of traditional rights litigation to produce racial reform that could change the subordinated status of people of colour in the US society" Crenshaw (1999), Delgado (1995), Fernandez (2002), Solórzano & Yosso (2000b), Taylor (1998 p. 228).

The transformation of those "structural and cultural aspects of education that maintain a subordinate and dominated racial position in and out of the classroom is a primary goal of critical race theory" (Solórzano & Yosso 2000b, p. 25).

Critical race theory reveals how the dominant race functions to construct rules, norms, standards and assumptions that appear neutral but that systematically disadvantage or subordinate racial minorities (Vargas 2003, p1).

Delgado & Stefancic (2001) offer two beliefs they think are shared by most critical race theorists: (1) that critical race theory exposes racism as "the usual way society does business," and that this supposed "ordinariness" makes racism difficult to address. (2) "our system of white-over-color ascendancy serves important purposes, both psychic and material." They suggest that because racism "advances the interests of both white elites (materially) and working-class people (psychically) large segments of society have little incentive to eradicate it" (as cited in Milne, 2013, p. 91).

"Indigenous peoples have, in many ways been oppressed by theory (L.T. Smith, 1999, p. 38). Specific theories drive research questions, research methods and the selection or design of research tools".

Bishop (2005) states

this traditional research approach as "social pathology". There has developed a social pathology research approach in **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand that has implied in all phases of the research process, the inability of **Māori** culture to cope with human problems and proposed that **Māori** culture was and is inferior to that of the colonisers in human terms. Further, such practices have perpetuated an ideology of cultural superiority that precludes the development of power sharing processes and the legitimization of diverse cultural epistemologies and cosmologies (as cited in Milne 2013, p90).

Race and racism are placed at the centre of the analysis (Fernandez, 2002). The experiential knowledge of subordinated people is privileged and made central. By placing race and other socially constructed categories at the centre of the analysis, a key theme of naming one's own reality or the notion of voice, emerges in critical theorists' work (Solórzano & Yosso 2000b).

Critical Race theory challenges dominant ideology that supports the deficit theorizing prevalent in educational and social science discourse" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002a, p156).

Critical race theory takes a transformative approach, asserting that through knowledge and critique of how race operates "to mediate and colour the work we do", researchers can reconsider the practices, methods, approaches, tools of data collection, and modes of analysis

and dissemination of results so that research promotes justice and is respectful and beneficial to racial minorities (Chilisa 2012, p65).

Traditional claims of "neutrality, objectivity, colourblindness and meritocracy as camouflages for the self-interest of dominant groups in American society" are challenged by critical race theorist scholars (Delgado Bernal & Villalpando 2002, p170).

 "They insist on subjectivity and reformulation of legal doctrine to reflect the perspectives of those who have experienced and have been victimized by racism" (Delgado, 1988).

"Critical race theorists posit that any "story" that claims to include or refer to the lives of subordinated peoples are incomplete until it considers
and includes the voices of those people who have lived the experience of subordination" (Delgado 1988, Solórzano & Yosso, 2001).

"Critical race theory represents a paradigm shift in discourse about race and racism in education by challenging existing methods of conducting
 research on race and inequality (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

Tribal Critical Race Theory

"Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) emerged from critical race theory. Whilst Critical Race Theory claims racism is prevalent in society, TribalCrit highlights that colonization is widespread in society while also acknowledging the role played by racism (Brayboy 2006, p. 430)".

Eurocentric thinkers dismissed Indigenous knowledge in the same way they dismissed any socio-political cultural life they did not understand they found it to be "unsystematic and incapable of meeting the productivity needs of the modern world" (Battiste, 2002, p. 5).

Indigenous identities have become regulated by governments to meet their interests rather than those of the people who take up the identities (Brayboy 2006, p. 431).

The policies of the United States toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, white supremacy and material gain. Williams' (1987, 1989) works shows these policies allowed White settlers to rationalize and legitimize their decisions to steal lands from the Indigenous peoples, who already inhabited them. It demonstrates the differences in

the ways White settlers and Indigenous peoples viewed the relationship between people and land.

White settlers assumed that because a group of people were rooted to the lands they did not necessarily properly "own" the lands thus leading to Indigenous peoples being dispossessed of lands that held not only life sustaining properties but also spiritually sustaining properties. The "removal" of tribal peoples by the U.S. government was justified by arguing that Indigenous people needed to be moved "for our own good".

White supremacy is viewed as natural and legitimate and it is precisely through this naturalization that White supremacy derives its hegemonic power (Brayboy 2006, p. 431).

An overview of TribalCrit can be summarized as (1) Colonization is endemic to society. (2) U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, white supremacy and a desire for material gain. (3) Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of their identities. (4) Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination and self-identification. (5) The concepts of culture, knowledge and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens. (6) Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation. (7) Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions and visions for the future are central to understanding

the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups. (8) Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being. (9) Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work toward social change (Brayboy 2006, p. 429). Tribal philosophies, values and beliefs such as community and cooperation are recognized as important by TribalCrit. Stories and oral knowledge are honored by TribalCrit as real and legitimate forms of data and ways of being. Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory. Stories serve to orient oneself and others toward the world and life. Cora Weber Pillwax (as cited in Battiste, 2012, p. 25) says "Stories…are to be listened to, remembered, thought about and meditated on. They are not frivolous or meaningless no one tells a story without intent or purpose".

Likewise, Basso (2002) argues stories are moral tools with psychological implications in that they remind individuals of ways of being, and they stalk those who step out of line in perpetuity. These stories do not have to be told by accomplished academics or writers; rather, the stories valued by TribalCrit are the foundations on which communities are built.

Many Indigenous peoples have strong oral traditions, which are used as vehicles for the transmission of culture and knowledge. The form and content of these stories, however, differ from the types of knowledge privileged by educational institutions (Brayboy 2006, p. 439).

Oral stories remind us of our origins and serve as lessons for the younger members of our communities; they have a place in our communities and in our lives (as cited in e.g. Basso, 2000; Battiste, 2002; Olivas, 1990). They also serve as guideposts for our elders and other policy makers in our tribal communities (Brayboy 2006, p. 439).

Stories as "data" are important, and one key to collecting the data is "hearing" the stories. There is a difference between listening to stories and hearing them, and this is central to TribalCrit. Listening is part of the going through the motions of acting engaged and allowing individuals to talk. Hearing stories means that value is attributed to them and both the authority and nuance of stories are understood (Brayboy 2006, p439). When stories are heard they lead the hearer to explore the range and variation of possibilities of what can happen and has happened (Basso, 1996, 2000; Battiste, 2002, Burkhart, 2004; Medicine, 2001; Williams, 1997). Stories are the guardians of cumulative knowledges that hold a place in the psyches of the group members, memories of tradition and reflections on power. Hearers ultimately understand the nuances in stories and recognize that the onus for hearing is placed on the hearer rather than the speaker for delivering a clearly articulated message.

Brayboy (2006, as cited in Burkhart, 2004, p. 440). TribalCrit scholars expose structural inequalities and assimilatory processes and work toward debunking and deconstructing them; it also works to create structures that will address the immediate and future needs of tribal peoples and communities.

Critical Race Theory argues that racism is endemic in society, TribalCrit emphasizes that colonization is endemic in society while also acknowledging the role played by racism. Much of what TribalCrit offers as an analytical lens is a new and more culturally nuanced way of examining the lives and experiences of tribal peoples since contact with Europeans.

Theories of Identity

What is cultural identity? Several authors provide their definitions about identity and that identity is fluid because of that person's environment.

The individual adapts according to the social, economic and political climate of the time. Identity involves all the values, attitudes and beliefs of a collective that an individual is born in to.

Māori and non-**Māori** views of what is important about identity differ conceptually, but many seem uncertain about the applicability of Western psychological approaches to **Māori** experience (Durie, 2002; Lawson-Te Aho, 1993; Love, 2002 for discussions). When **Māori** have been the subjects of psychological research several **Māori** academics have expressed dissatisfaction with the methodological techniques used to examine **Māori** as subjects of study (see Cram & McCreanor, 1993; McCreanor, 1993a; Stewart 1997 for discussions). Some **Māori** view psychology as culturally inappropriate for **Māori** because 'it' has been used as an instrument devised by the 'dominant power' to legitimate the oppressive treatment of **Māori** by **Pākehā**.

Māori identity in traditional society was socialized by the family. The **whānau**/family was based on kinship ties, shared ancestor and it provided an environment within which certain responsibilities and obligations were maintained Durie (1994). Through their capacity to provide **whakapapa**/ genealogical ties to each of the structures, certain responsibilities and obligations were maintained Barlow (1991). With reference to the life in **Hawaiki**/original home islands and mindful too of the challenges of a new environment **Māori** developed new oral traditions that retained the links to 'Hawaiki' by maintaining the stories and genealogical knowledge Moeke-Pickering (1996).

Tribal structures of **whānau/**family, **hapū/**subtribe, **iwi/**tribe and **waka/**canoe provided a model in which **Māori** could undertake their political relations enriched by their traditions and

strengthened by their tribal identity Moeke-Pickering (1996). Cultural practices such as language, kinship obligations and traditions were fundamental to the socialization of **Māori** identities (Broughton, 1993; Rangihau, (1977) These types of accounts provide a template from which **Māori** "lay claim to an identity underpinned by a philosophy and value system which reaches back through the centuries and definitions for the future" (Durie 1989, p. 14).

Socio-historical contexts in contemporary society impact upon contemporary '**Māori** identity' in that they provide **whakapapa**/meaning literally a 'genealogical narrative composed of layered tribal stories about ancestors Te Rito (2007). Being **Māori** is about growing up in a **Māori** community; earning apprenticeships by observation, participating; learning the k**awa**, customs and traditions that are part of belonging to a tribal group Rangihau (1977).

Ngāpuhi elders and ancestors' occupation of the land was predicated upon their genealogical lines of descent. Sadler (2014) says from the time of their arrival here, all their settlements were maintained, and they could not be separated as such. Within the traditions, stories, traditional songs and proverbial sayings, we are intrinsically and intimately connected to our resource and all our lands.

Māori identity derived from a common ancestor, cultural traits such as l language; tribalism; land ownership and **tūrangawaewae**/a place to
stand was important Walker (1989).

Conducting one's self in a way that honoured the communal harmony of the **whānau**/family**, hapū/**subtribe, and **iwi**/ tribe the opportunity was accorded for an individual to achieve a sense of social standing, social acceptance and a clear identity Barlow (1991).

The early colonial narrative

Māori identity presented a different perspective for **Māori** women. The prevailing attitudes of the early English immigrants were underpinned by assumptions about the inferiority of **Māori**, and the comparisons of **Māori** with the lower working classes in England. The period of 1815-1847 was marked by imperialist, colonialist attitudes and the 'Chritianising' and 'civilising' policies of the missionaries (Jenkins & Mathews, 1998, p. 87).

The work of the missionary wives as educators in the mission schools further entrenched this inferiority, who attempted to exact social control of **Māori** women and girls Fitzgerald (1994). **Māori** men developed a form of 'sexism' against **Māori** women that was perpetrated by

colonists and as Winitana (2014) contends it continues to deny **Māori** women their rightful place in tribal decision making.

Māori men were sought by the colonial government when they wanted to speak to **Māori** and this is evidenced in the predominance of male signatures affixed to the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 (Mikaere, 1994, p. 151). Rei (1993) confirms that even though thirteen women so far have been identified as signing the Treaty, there may be more. This is because as Mikaere (1994, cited in Winitana 2014, p. 60) further points out:

Māori names like the language are generally gender neutral," and it is
difficult to tell how many more **Māori** women may have signed the Treaty.

Over time people have come to assume they were all men.

Missionary influence

The Mission schools were abandoned from the late 1850s as the Land Wars gathered momentum and by the mid-1960s **Māori** schooling was placed under state control. The aim of the state in 1879 was to assimilate **Māori** children into **Pākehā** culture through actively discouraging **Māori** language, belief systems and culture Jenkins & Matthews (1998). The emphasis on Europeanising the **Māori** people is evident in the 1880 Native Schools' Code. A small number of **Māori** denominational boarding schools among them were the **Māori** girls' schools of Queen Victoria (1846), St. Joseph's (1867) and Hukarere in (1875). Schools for Māori boys included St. Stephen's (1845) and Te Aute (1854) were established prior to 1880. The intention of the church was that on leaving school, Māori youth would take their newly found lifestyle back to the **kainga**/home. With the teaching of new ideas, worshipping God and practising Pākehā ways that the **kainga**/homes would be quickly transformed, paving the way for assimilation of **Māori** into **Pākehā** society Jenkins & Matthews (1998).

The church and the state viewed **Māori** women as critical agents of change in a move from what they saw as an older **Māori** world to the more modern world heralded by the arrival of the Pākehā settlers. Church documents and manuscripts show that it was the **Māori** girls, rather than **Māori** boys who were charged with bringing about the transformation of **Māori** society. The colonial curriculum for **Māori** became a means of establishing and perpetuating political inequalities. The curriculum was a civilizing tool, as a source of labour and an instrument of control Jenkins & Matthews (1998).

The Pākehā population had increased exponentially and in power. Land wars affected **Māori** tribes to varying degrees evidenced by land conflicts with colonial governments determined to acquire land, conflicts resulting in land confiscations, genocide, destruction of food resources, re-locations to reservations, added to pandemic diseases Walker (1990), Wiri (1994 as cited in Winitana 2014, p. 60). These tools of oppression were to have a devastating effect on **Māori** sense of tribal identity. Following the rapid **Māori** urbanization of the post-World War 2 period the revitalization movement blossomed in the 1970s and 1980s and political consciousness in **Māori** communities intensified Bishop (1996). In the late 1980s and 1990s this consciousness has featured the revitalisation of **Māori** cultural aspirations, preferences and practices as a philosophical and productive educational stance and resistance to the hegemony of the dominant discourse Bishop (1996). At the beginning of the 1980s, **Māori** demonstrated total dissatisfaction with the mainstream schooling and established alternative schooling options. In the beginning they were organized and managed without state funding. Teachers were unsalaried. **Māori** parents fully supported these options and overlooked their own negative schooling experiences. The first parent funded **kōhanga reo, Te Kōhanga reo o Kōkiri te Rāhuitanga** was established in Otara in 1981(pers. com Ropata-Riki 2017); in 1987 **te reo Māori/ Māori** language was recognized as an official language; in 1987 **Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi Marae** and the **wharekura** were established in West Auckland.

The **whānau** project that operated during the nineties continues to be influenced in a range of ways. Smith (1997) confirms

that our identity is irrefutably tied to our **whakapapa**/genealogical foundation. It is embedded in a **whānau/**family and **hapū/**subtribe-based view of the world, an epistemology, or body of knowledge and experience, which marks out the boundaries and the geography over which our collective struggles, as **Māori** women are fought.

However, when urbanization took place for **Māori**, issues arose regarding the maintenance and retention of identity. Affordability for some **Te Aupouri** members to return to **Te Kao** for tribal events was not always possible or attending **Te Kao** Tamaki fundraising evenings in Auckland. Cheaper public transport was not readily available on their return journey home and living in an Auckland suburb away from other **Te Aupouri** members meant it was not possible to continue speaking the **Te Aupouri** dialect. For some it has taken a while for **Māori** to reconnect and not become isolated and marginalized. Marginalisation exists whether **Māori** live in their tribal community or an urbanized context. Marcia Tucker (1970 as cited in McIntosh 2005 p.7) argues that marginalization is:

'that complex and disputatious process by means of which certain people and ideas are privileged over others at any given time'.

It is a process that is centred in power relations; as power shifts, any group can find itself ignored, trivialized, silenced, rendered invisible and made other. As a concept, marginalisation has developed out of the political struggles of many diverse groups: the struggles and experience of women, the indigenous, ethnic groups, the poor, immigrants, the mentally ill and sexual minorities are amongst those who have informed the way processes of exclusion are understood (2005, p40).

Diaspora theories

Diaspora, mobilisation, migration, transnationalism are conceptualisations in our **whakapapa**/geneaology. Peoples' cultural mobilisation from one location to another, their collective memory, vision or myth and the peoples' desires to retain the vision interested William Saffran. He believed the diaspora or diasporic event referred primarily to the Jews. Gonzalez (2010) says diaspora is a broad term employed to name and describe the experiences of departure by national, ethnic and religious collectives from an original homeland or reference territory to a foreign, 'new' land. Cohen endorses Safran's comments about Diaspora members committing the collective memory of the original homeland. Dufoix (2008) believed that diaspora is nothing more than displacement. So, dispersion and reducing the distance between the imagined homeland becomes a goal. Martin Sökefeld cautions the reader when applying diaspora to all migrants. He encourages diaspora members to accept their new status as a collective transnational community, to distribute this information and to persuade others to participate in actions designed to strengthen their diasporic character and status.

The social movement literature comment disaporas are particularly interested in opportunity structures, with an enhanced means of communication and a permissive legal and political environment. Associations, demonstrations and fundraising events are preferred in mobilizing practices in the neighbourhood and structures that feed into the importance of memory in history and the collective imagination of the group concerned.

The diasporic person can be one who dwells in a state of tension produced by binary juxtapositions of what is definitively: the there and the here, the old and the new, the true and the superficial, the constant and the changing (Gonzalez 2010, p35). This contentious space produces power relations that position the diasporic person in either side of inclusion or exclusion, us or them Sadarand Van Loon (2004). For some it can even imply 'L(o)sing' Teaiwa (2001) stringent classifications and the questioning of identity itself, especially for those who

may feel 'caught in the middle'. Diaspora lends itself to both the preservation and the transformation of a people, and to their (dis)continuities across time and space.

Te Aupouri who reside in other lands comment about a range of emotions and experiences they confront without the support of their extended family members and how these are managed. From the collective or extended family to the nuclear family context. These aspects are managed differently by individuals and their **whānau**/family within the environments they choose to live.

Migration

Māori Diaspora

In 2011 a survey report prepared for **Te Puni Kokiri** / estimated that nearly one in five **Māori** lived outside **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand and a significant number are born overseas. Increased scholarly and political attention to New Zealand's diaspora suggested implications of the so-called brain drain. Most **Māori** lived in the main cities of Australia, but there were also communities in the United Kingdom, North America, parts of Asia and the Middle East. As **Māori whānau** and communities became increasingly diasporic and transnational, questions arose as to whether **whanau/**family wished to retain and maintain their collective identity away from their tribal area and how their responses were to their current situations.

Māori living away from their tribal regions, mention their relationship with the dominant people of society in their host land is complex and often uneasy. They held a belief that they are not, and perhaps cannot be, fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it. They regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return to when the conditions are appropriate Kukutai (2013).

Māori in Aōtearoa/ Māori in New Zealand

Māori, the indigenous people of **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand have shown that they too are globally mobile. "The first phase of Diaspora in **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand happened in the mid-nineteenth century after World War II at the time of the loss of land and the urbanization of **Māori** in the mid-twentieth century. During Bishop's search for his family history it revealed 'an inexorable process of Europeanization' had overtaken his family which has proven to be insidious, approximately 150 years after the birth of his grandfather's siblings, the overwhelming dominance of the Pākeha lifestyle among the numerous sub-branches of his family testified to its pervasiveness" (Bishop 1996, p. 36).

Mobilisation for northern tribes occurred during the time of **He Whakaputanga/** The Declaration of Independence in 1830 (Pers. com. Parata, 2013) when **rangatir**a/chiefs held assemblies to discuss issues that affected them.

Although **Te Aupouri** elders understand that there are better opportunities overseas, some elders have concerns about tribal identity issues, and they are asking questions about whose role it is to provide succession planning for future generations?

With **Te Aupouri** diaspora, questions arise about a tribal member taking responsibility for teaching **Mātauranga a Iwi**/tribal **knowledge** about the **Te Aupouri** narrative Ruia, ruia to those members who do not live in **Te Hiku o Te Ika** or who do not return to **Te Kao** as often as permissible. What if these members living away from home do not want to know about Ruia, ruia?

How do they retain and maintain their tribal identity, and do they want to? 8.697 members of **Te Aupouri** were recorded in the 2013 Census, in 2006 9,333 members of **Te Aupouri** were recorded and 7, 845 were reported in 2001. 1.3 per cent of the total **Māori** population affiliated to **Te Aupouri** in 2013 and 32.2% **Te Aupouri** can hold a conversation **in te reo Māori** (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

Treaty settlements have created a different relationship not only between **iwi** but also with the Crown which brings economic, social and political implications. The changing face of **iwi** has brought this about with an understanding that is based upon the **iwi** specific understanding and knowledge base. Post treaty settlement relationships also recognizes that **iwi** too, will have to become more orderly. The migratory trends of **iwi** membership mean that **iwi** cannot rely on the **hunga kainga**/ residents containing most of the population (Carter 2013, p.1).

The **Māori** diaspora populations are semi-independent from their tribal homelands. They live in one place but desire to return home, to New Zealand or their tribal area. The diaspora **iwi** members do want to return because the opportunities in Australia far outweigh the challenges. Most noticeable too, are the influences on their values they have absorbed from their host nations (Carter 2013, p. 2). Whatever decisions the Australian government makes about immigration in Australia affects the position of New Zealanders in Australia, namely **Māori**.

He Manawa Whenua Conference

The He Manawa Whenua **Indigenous** conference held in Hamilton in July 2013, provided a range of learning opportunities, one of the keynote presentations was about the global warming effects on indigenous peoples. Dayle Takitimu a **wahine Māori /Māori** woman affiliated to, an Eastern Bay of Plenty tribe of the North Island of New Zealand delivered a keynote address about climigration and she informed the assembly that we were responsible for making each

other extinct. This event occurred because of global warming people would relocate to enable themselves and others to grow food. This cultural and locational dispersal created cultural dislocation, loss of identity, loss of stories and the reformulation of identity.

To understand **Māori**/ the indigenous people of **Aōtearoa/** New Zealand is to be aware of the theories and literature relevance. Since the 1970's **Kaupapa Māori** theory has been brought to our attention by mainly **Māori** academics as an alternative to Western theories. We will look at **Māori** identity.

What is Māori Identity?

Māori Identity

Māori identity reflects cultural traditions, values and behaviours of **Māori** People (e.g. Barlow, 1991; Karetu, 1979, 1990, 1993; Pere, 1979, 1988; Puketapu, 1979) and also **Māori** and non-Māori views of what is important about **Māori** identity differ conceptually, but many **Māori** seem dubious of the applicability of Western psychological approaches to Māori experience (Durie, 2002; Lawson-Te Aho, 1993; Love, 2002) for discussions. One of her challenges was 'settling upon a treatment of identity which enabled the concept to be studied within a psychological research paradigm and which accorded comfortably with a **Māori** worldview (Houkamau, 2006, p. 1).

Identity is defined by theorists in different ways and different dimensions (Houkamau, 2006, p 4, 5). Early theorists formed their ideas observing children who were exposed primarily to the ideas and behaviors of others in their families, they reflected their family of origin, raised in accordance with the activities and beliefs of those around them. The family was pivotal in forming a child's sense of me.

Cultural Identity Definition

In order to define cultural identity: First, it is important to note, that groups and individuals are mutually based on each other. Groups formed by individuals in turn influences individuals. Moreover, the identities, collective values and normative standardisations attained by the individuals are formed through communication between its group members. As an individual may have multiple memberships to different groups, cultural identity cannot be described as static but rather is constantly made to several possible group norms and values.

 (Hall, 1993, p. 222) was born into and spent his childhood and adolescence in a lower middle-class family in Jamaica informs us that since he has lived all his adult life in England, in the shadow of the black, diaspora – in the belly of the beast. He encourages us to think about identity as a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within not outside.

There are two different ways of thinking about 'cultural identity'. The first position defines cultural identity in terms of a shared culture, a collective of 'one true self' hiding inside the many other selves with a shared history and ancestry held in common. Cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us as 'one people,' with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and changes of our actual history (Hall, 1993, p. 223).

The second view of cultural identity belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical it undergoes constant transformation and is subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power.

Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past (Hall 1993, p. 225).

It is from this second position that we can properly understand the traumatic character of the 'colonial experience'. The ways in which black people, black experiences were positioned and subject-ed in the dominant regimes of representation were the effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and normalization. They had the power to make us see and experience ourselves as 'Other.'

'the past continues to speak to us. It is always constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth. Therefore, there is always a politics of identity.

Other factors also affect the behavior and communication of individuals but also as mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion. Individuals have membership of many groups.

 The membership of individuals to many groups implies that cultural identity is not a permanent state, but its emergence must be considered as ongoing process. This process takes place within and between various groups of which the individual is a member. The concepts of "thinking, feeling and behavior are provided by these groups partly consciously and partly unconsciously as a unique mix of "existence" is employed. Membership in various groups, and the resulting combination of standardisations thus contribute to an individual's uniqueness (Hansen 1995, p. 177).

Māori Identity History

Historically, **Māori** identities and groups were in a state of perpetual metamorphosis. The social groups that formed, reflected the ancestors and past events (Maaka 2003, p. 21) invoked to activate or deactivate certain relationships. Therefore, in this sense, identity affected social

organisation; when the former morphed, the other followed suit. **Māori** social organisation naturally underwent internal changes by being absorbed into other groups through warfare, familial discord, marriage, migration and settlement. Iwi were mostly conceptual communities that rarely congregated, and when called to, did so mainly for the purposes of intertribal or inter-regional war. By the end of the 18th century, hapū were the dominant physical forms of social organisation among **Māori**, being either autonomous units or subordinate to more powerful hapu (Maaka 2003, p. 23).

From the 1940's onward, mass migration of **Māori** from predominantly rural tribal centres were described by Maaka and Fleras as being detribalized in the sense that the tribe was no longer the central focus of their daily lived experience (Maaka 2003, iii, Maaka and Fleras 2005, p.72). This period of detribalization helped develop a specifically pan-**Māori** culture and enhance an ethnic **Māori** identity as its united **Māori** around the country through common experiences of migration, sociocultural alienation, socio-economic impoverishment and socio-political marginalization.

However, the transition form of de-tribalization to de-tribalization in the 1980's re-focused identity issues and development concerns from a common '**Māori** experience' to a particular 'tribal experience'.

(Maaka 1994, p. 314) argues that the detribalization period of **Māori** society in the 1980's and 1990's encouraged the infrastructural "freezing" of traditional **Māori** social groups.

Iwitanga or iwiness/tribal existence strengthened in this period as its signified **iwi** became a widely recognized and accepted representation of 'traditional **Māori** society'. Propelling the notion of **iwi ranga** is tribal awareness, knowledge and pride and the assertion of historic tribal difference within Māoridom, making a **Māori** identity seem peripheral to one's tribal 'true-self'.

A secure tribal identity is apparent from **Tina Ngaroimata Fraser**, a member of **Tūhoe**, a tribe located in the **Urewera**, eastern North Island of **Aōtearoa** now residing in Canada, indicating that it is possible to comment about her **Mātauranga ā iwi**/tribal knowledge from afar. She has retained and maintained her tribal identity by returning to her homeland regularly. The **piupiu**/ flaxen skirt has been chosen as her metaphoric framework to outline **Tūhoetanga/Tūhoe** identity 'it is a common symbol of being amongst the **Māori** people of **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand' as she also remembers her grandmothers and great grandmothers spending many hours in the hot sun and /or the cold damp winters weaving such beautiful belongings (Fraser 2014, p. 126). Because of many discussions with her younger brother Hohepa Tamehana, a seasoned performer, tutor, composer, song writer and choreographer of kapa haka, the **piupiu** framework

was the result, as her 'gifting back' to benefit their community. From the interviews she conducted amongst her people some of the common themes noted by the performers was that:

the **marae** is a good place for learning about tribal identity. It gives   people a sense of belonging to **whānau**/family and **whānaungatanga**/relationships. This is a place, for celebrating each other's achievements, while at the same time showing humility, (Fraser 2014, p. 122) and taking an opportunity to learn about matemateaone (the notion that people and place are synonymous).

Our identity is embedded within our tribal stories; the legacy of preservation and sustainability. The stories are passed down from one generation to the next (Fraser, 2014, p. 123).

 (Breidenbach and Zukrigl, 1998, p. 142) report that there are indications on the microscopic level, and at the individual level, which have developed a new relation of community, location and culture. Fixed geographic spaces are losing their importance as key points of reference with respect to identity and everyday life, and instead de-territorialised communities are linked by shared social, professional and private interests.

(Hauser, 2014, p. 2) says under the identity concept, there is a few permanently changing groups or collectives within cultures. Membership by birth is established in the family community there are also other groups in most societies where membership and identification from a specific age onward are voluntary and optional. (cf. Hansen 1995, p. 139). Through communication, specific standardisations are set by each group. Hansen states these standardisations apply to communication, thought, feeling, behavior and action. The interaction between the individual and the group is expressed by Hansen as follows: "On the one hand, culture [in the form of collectivized norms] is created by individuals but, on the other hand, it creates their identity" (Hansen, 1995, p. 213). Therefore, when individuals identify with specific groups and their values (in the form of normative, cultural standardisations) at the same time are shaped mentally by these very standardisations. By living these standards, they make them their cultural identity.

Māori identity is a history of struggle. Since European contact, this struggle has been revealed in different ways in the communities. The struggle is a lived experience and it happens at many levels not immediately accessible. **Māori** identity struggle and its effects have already been well-recorded. Over different periods of the last twenty to thirty years political and economic conditions have influenced identity.

Traditional identities have many inclusionary mechanisms that allow **Māori** to find a valued place for themselves, but they also present spaces for some exclusionary mechanisms.

We are aware that a significant number of **Māori** struggle to prove one's 'Māoriness'. We know that there are also several **Māori** who struggle to identify their tribal links and are ignorant of

their whakapapa. More **Māori** have been unable for a range of reasons to keep these connections alive. For many **Māori**, the inability to converse in **te reo**/the language which excludes them in different fora. This lack of ability is magnified in an environment where the language is being revitalized or spoken daily in the community. The sense of shame experienced by those non-speakers is very real.

Urban **Māori** too have become disenfranchised, disaffiliated from traditional tribal ties and thus seek ways of constituting a collective **Māori** identity that emphasizes ethnicity, class and locational interests over tribal allegiances (McIntosh 2005, p. 43).

Māori identity is also a marginal identity in **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand. In other words, traditional identity can draw on the marginal experience as a site of resistance and use that status to challenge the status quo and change that experience. The fluid identities also acknowledge a marginal status but seek to redefine it under their own terms. The third identity is economic and political is characterized by a marked marginalization where deprivation due to social, economic and political factors is entrenched and far-reaching.

Marginalisation

Marginalisation is a socio-political process, the peripheralisation of individuals and groups from a dominant, central majority (Hall et al, 1994). Marginalisation has developed out of the political struggles of many diverse groups" the struggles and experience of women, the indigenous, ethnic groups, the poor, immigrants, the mentally ill and sexual minorities are amongst those who have informed the way processes of exclusion are understood (McIntosh, 2005, p. 40). Three significant aspects beyond marginalization are now considered – hunger, homelessness and hysteria – these factors emphasise the ways in which imposed and distorting identities impact upon **Māori**.

Hunger speaks to the very real physical and psychological experience of need of food but also to a sense of desire, craving and loss.

Homelessness, in the absence of shelter and place and the effects of dispossession, loss of cultural anchor and enforced transience. Homelessness is a condition that creates suspicion. Poverty, alienation, overcrowding, unemployment and discrimination in the rental housing market impose **homelessness** in a very real way and increase stigmatization on an already stigmatized group. Cultural dispossession imposes yet another form of homelessness. In **Māori** society, social standing was and is determined by having both a place in a geographical sense and ties through blood and marriage to achieve a sense of self and

community. The dominant paradigm of **Māori** society argues that whakapapa/genealogy, establishes place and home. If urban defranchised **Māori** who have no sense of their **whakapapa** may find themselves culturally homeless, a potent element of a sensed alienation from both **Māori** and non-**Māori** society. Homelessness begins as a symbolic state and transforms into an actual state (McIntosh, 2005, p42).

Hysteria is seen as a social condition rather than a psychiatric condition. It is a useful concept in understanding how 'irrational' responses to marginal individuals are carried out and legitimated. It encourages society to view the pervasive media stereotypes, being deployed in a fashion that is conducive to ensuring responses which are then seen as 'natural'. Fear of the 'marginal and perceiving the least powerful people in society as the most dangerous then become rational responses (McIntosh, 2005, p.42).

National Identity

'Cultural affiliation' is the official definition of ethnicity used by Statistics New Zealand which measures ethnicity in terms of cultural identity or identities that people themselves choose. The New Zealand Government's annual Social Report (Ministry of Social Development, 2010) monitors the wellbeing of New Zealanders across ten domains, including cultural identity. Three indicators were used to measure cultural identity. The first indicator is explained by the rationale that "since television is the dominant cultural medium for most New Zealanders, it has a strong influence on how we see ourselves". The second indicator measure the health of **Māori** language as a central component of culture, "necessary for full participation in **Māori** society." and the third indicator is the proportion of people who can speak the first language (other than English and **Māori**) of their ethnic group. The 2010 report concludes that "Cultural identity outcomes are mixed" (Milne, 2013, p. 55).

Root shock

In the 1960s with the beginning of urbanization and the challenges associated for **Māori,** (Milne, 2013, p.16) discusses Mindy Fullilove's (2004) project that links this issue to cultural identity, using the gardening phenomenon of "root shock' to describe the impact of the dislocation of people from their communities, their cultures and identities – their very roots. An ecosystem in nature relies on achieving a perfect balance to its wellbeing and survival, and loss or change to any part of the ecosystem causes this to be disrupted, often permanently.

The same effect can affect groups of people who have been forced from their environments through policies of urban renewal, gentrification and racism. The impact and stress suffered through root shock can last for generations.

Social Toxins

With the idea of a society that is toxic to children and young people (Milne, 2013, p15) discusses the work of Garbarino (1995) and draws on a conceptual framework from Bronfenbrenner (1977) and ecological systems theory. The mere act of living in our society today is dangerous to the health and well-being of children and adoloscents … the social world of children, the social context in which they grow up, has become poisonous to their development Garbarino (pp. ix, 4). The elements of social toxicity are easy enough to identify: "violence, poverty and other economic pressures on parents and their children, disruption of relationships, nastiness, despair, depression, paranoia, alienation – all things that demoralize families and communities.

Indigenous storywork

Respectful story research is discussed by Jo-ann Archibald. She informs us that First Nations people use a collaborative approach to provide stories and/or to present stories in an Aboriginal language and/or to transform it into English. Their collaboration shows the interrelatedness principle at work (Archibald, 2008, p28). Researching elders highlights the need for researchers to be respectful toward elders and their cultural knowledge is a prime concern. "The most important qualities of culture are the language and stories. In oral traditions, telling stories is how we pass on the history and teachings of our ancestors. Without these stories, we would have to rely on other people for guidance and information about our past. Teachings in the form of stories are an integral part of our identity as a people and as a nation. If we lose these stories, we will do a disservice to our ancestors – those who gave us the responsibility to keep our culture alive" Archibald (2008 as cited in Hanna, 1995, p. 201).

To retain storytellers' personalities, respectful story research involves transcribing, translating and checking by Aboriginal language speakers of those communities and ensuring that the elders are heard speaking to us in their own words. Care is made to ensure that the cultural meaning and humour is not lost in the translation into the English language (Archibald, 2008, p.29). The transformation of the Indigenous oral language into printed text in both the Indigenous language and English, not only has the challenge of ensuring the accuracy of content and meaning from one language to another, but also must maintain the spirit of the oral language. "The oral tradition implicates the 'listener' [reader] into becoming an active participant in the experience of the story" Archibald (2008 as cited in Ruffo, p. 32). An interrelationship between the story, storyteller and listener is another critical principle of storywork.

(Sarris, 1993, p68) provides the reader with a framework for thinking critically about one's own historical, cultural and current context in relation to the story being told by using his personal life experience stories as examples. He further cautions Indigenous peoples about using textual frameworks that are acceptable in academe but result in disrespectful representations, or make us the objective "other," or create opportunities for sacred knowledge to be appropriated.

Gerald Vizenor also believes that the story listener must become a participant who is actively engaged with the story. Rather than listening passively he encourages listeners to listen by contradiction (1987, 300-301).

Purākau

Purākau provide a conceptual framework of representation that is relevant to research. (Lee, 2009, p. 5) admires the innovative work of international Indigenous scholars as well as **Māori** academics who provide the motivation to look ahead of conventional research methods and academic styles of documentation and re-turn to our own narratives, to experiment with literary techniques to research and disseminate knowledge in ways that are culturally relevant and accessible. **Purākau** offer a **Kaupapa Māori** approach to qualitative narrative inquiry; critical to this approach is the decolonizing process.

Majoritarian Stories

Majoritarian stories are the description of events told by members of the dominant group accompanied by their values and beliefs that justify the actions taken by dominants to insure their position (Love, 2004, p. 228). Majoritarian stories according to (Solorzano & Yosso 2002b) "generate from a legacy of racial privilege… indeed white privilege is often expressed through majoritarian stories. Delgado & Stefancic describe majoritarian stories as the "bundle of prepositions, perceived wisdoms, and shared cultural understandings persons in the dominant race bring to the discussion of race and which privileges people in positions of domination" (cited in Solorzano&Yosso, 2002b, p28). According to Delgado Bernal&Villalpando (2002) the dominant group justifies its power with stock explanations that construct reality in ways that maintain the privilege of the dominant group. Dominant narratives carry multiple layers of assumptions that serve as filters in discussions of racism, sexism, classism and so on. In short majoritarian stories privilege whites, men, the middle and/or upper class and heterosexuals by naming these social locations as normative points of reference. They also distort and silence the experiences of the dominated (Hunn, Guy, Mangliitz, 2006).

 (Mikaere, 2011, p. 69) provides a range of strategies developed by Pākehā to deal with uncomfortable truths. Another is the denial and distortion of the truth, for example, insisting

that colonization was an overwhelmingly positive experience for **Māori**. The obsession with looking forward also typifies the stance, indicating a desperate fear of being confronted with the consequences of what has been done in the past. (Mikaere, 2011, p. 69) further asserts, "Perhaps the most extraordinary tactic, however, is the **Pākehā** determination to assume the mantle of victimhood for example, by complaining that any initiative designed to assist **Māori** constitutes an unjustifiable assault on **Pākehā** rights".

White privilege

(McIntosh, 2013, p.1) comments "white privilege is an invisible package of unearned assets that a white person can count on cashing in every day, which has to remain "oblivious". It is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools and blank checks (McIntosh, 2013, p. 1). "Schooling provided no training of seeing herself as an oppressor, or an unfairly advantaged person, or as a participant in a damaged culture. I was taught to see myself as an individual whose moral state depended on individual moral will". My schooling followed the pattern my colleague Elizabeth Minnich has pointed out: "whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work that will allow them to be more like us". The article provides a list of fifty conditions of white privilege that are more then applicable to skin colour than to class, religion, ethic status or geographic location.

(Mikaere, 2011, p. 68) claims another strategy developed by Pākehā is the art of selective amnesia, which reveals itself in an apparent ability to conveniently forget vast chunks of history when it suits".

The government in the past also emphasized the need to put the difficulties of the past behind in order to forge a collective sense of nationhood. The hope was that the new century would be about 'perfecting our nationhood, banishing the demons from the past and cheering each other on as New Zealand citizens'. New Zealand must get its British imperial past behind it. **Māori** and Pākehā people are both indigenous people to New Zealand now.

(Solorzano and Yosso, 2002, p. 29) state:

Majoritarian stories are not often questioned because people do not see them as stories but as natural, acceptable parts of everyday life. Majoritarian attitudes carry layers of assumptions that person[s] in positions of racialized privilege bring with [them] to discussions of racism, sexism, classism and other forms of subordination.

Counterstories

Counter story-telling is a technique that has a tradition in the social sciences, humanities and law and it stems from critical race theory, which began around the mid-1970s. (Solorzano & Yosso 2002, p. 26) define counter-storytelling as "*a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told*". Counter-stories can be used to expose, analyze, as well as challenge deeply entrenched narratives and characterizations of racial privilege, sex, etc. In this sense, counter-stories can help promote social justice by putting a human face to the experiences of often-marginalized groups. This promotes their sense of social, political and cultural cohesion and teaches others about their social realities. With that been said, counter-stories don't always need to be created in direct response to majoritarian stories. In fact, some scholars warn that "*by responding only to a standard story, we let it dominate the discourse*" (Ikemoto, 1997; Delgado, 1989). Therefore, the simple sharing of views and experiences of someone outside of dominant culture can be enough to create a new narrative (Williams, 2004). For instance, while a narrative can support the majoritarian story, a counter narrative or counter-story, by its very nature, challenges the majoritarian story or that "bundle of presuppositions, perceived wisdoms and shared cultural understandings persons in the dominant race bring to the discussion of race" (Delgado & Stefancic 1993, as cited in Chilisa 2012, p. 66). These counter-stories can serve at least four theoretical, methodological and pedagogical functions: (1) they can build community among those at the margins of society by putting a human and familiar face to educational theory and practice; (2) they can challenge the perceived wisdom of those at society's centre by providing a context to understand and transform established belief systems; (3) they can open new windows into the reality of those at the margins of society by showing the possibilities beyond the ones they live and demonstrating that they are not alone in their position; and (4) they can teach others that by combining elements from both the story and the current reality, one can construct another world that is richer than either the story or the reality alone (Delgado, 1989; Lawson, 1995 as cited in Chilisa 2012, p. 67).

When gathering individual stories to form a counter-story, scholars suggest the importance of maintaining *theoretical* and *cultural sensitivity* (Solorzano and Yosso, 2002; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Bernal, 1998). Theoretical sensitivity refers to the special insight and capacity of the researcher to interpret and give meaning to data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Cultural sensitivity Bernal (1998) refers to the capacity of individuals as members of socio historical communities to accurately read and interpret the data. For Te Aupouri members living in Auckland, the creation and establishment of Te Kao Tamaki Association was necessary to continue the tribal storying.

Te Kao Tamaki Association

The 1970's was a time of **whanaungatanga**/relationships and keeping united for **Te Aupouri** members who had migrated to and resided in Auckland.

It also enabled members to continue hearing the dialect, the idiomatic expressions, wit and humour of **Te Aupouri** being spoken in safety. In the beginning, tribal members met regularly in each other's homes to maintain contact and to share life's challenges and solutions collectively. After the dissolution of the **Te Aupouri** Sports' Club, **Te Aupouri** set about establishing **Te Kao Tamaki** Association, an organisation consisting mainly of **Te Aupouri ki Te Kao** descendants. As well as other **Māori** from other tribal areas, friends were also welcomed to **Te Kao Tamaki** Association and they strongly supported the main features of the **kaupapa**/purpose, but the arrangement was reciprocal. The monthly meetings progressed further with **Te Kao Tamaki** Association supporting marae trustees with the upkeep of the marae in Te Kao.

Initially, members paid a registration fee to cover postage and at the time Conrad Hilt was the secretary. A hui/meeting was held at **Tatai Hono**, Symonds Street and the elders at the time Mahera Nathan, Te Umuroa and Lillian Wiki, Toro and Kohine Ihaka, Rawhiti and Tangi Ihaka, Tia and Angie Matiu, Heta and Phyllis Kapa, Taylor and Hapai Wiki, Te Ikanui Kapa, Waatahirama Kapa, Puti Murray, Tireiniamu Kapa, and our parents Pera and Josie Riki. These elders strongly supported the organisation and were visible at different functions.

The aims of **Te Kao Tamaki** Association were clear (1) to financially support marae trustees with the maintenance and upkeep of **Pōtahi marae** (2) to perpetuate **Te Aupouritanga** in Auckland (3) to assist the children of **Te Kao** school with their achievement of educational goals (4) to maintain the church buildings and their surrounds in **Te Kao** and (5) to assist with the maintenance of the **Toko i te Arawa** and **Tūtūmaio** cemeteries.

The fundraising events held at the Newmarket Railway Hall, Civil Servants, and Flag 500 mainly held at the home of Kohine and Toro Ihaka employed by **Te Kao Tamaki** Association not only enabled **Te Aupouri** to strengthen their kinship, but it also provided much needed capital for **Pōtahi marae** and lengthy, courageous discussion about each group responding to the others' requests. The expectations on both groups, involved people living elsewhere in **Aōtearoa/** New Zealand and **Te Kao** residents donating their personal time and energy to projects.

Te Kao Tamaki** members returned to **Te Kao** for major marae projects, as part of their responsibilities, obligations and expectations to the tribe providing much required extra labour at the marae. The building of the ablution block and the retiling of the **wharekai/**dining room in the early 1980s required a full complement of **Te Aupouri** skilled labourers who willingly donated their time to projects. The team was also strongly supported by the **ringa wera**/cooks in the **wharekai/**dining room who kept the team well nourished and cared for. I accompanied our dad Pera Riki, Taylor Wiki and Te Umuroa Wiki to Te Kao. It was a very educational

journey because my elders, two brothers Uncles Taylor and Te Umuroa told stories about their times working in different localities one of these being, in the Mangamuka Gorge. With much hilarity in their stories, they talked about travelling miles to find employment and spending weeks absent from their **whānau**/families.

Auckland Anglican Māori Club

Te Kao Tamaki Association was not the only counter-story established in Auckland. The Auckland Anglican **Māori** club, the 'Angies' was established in 1969. After relocating to Auckland from Wellington, the group's tutor, Kingi Matutaera Ihaka affectionately known as Matu, established the **kapa haka**/performing arts group, mainly because he wanted members to retain their cultural identity. The members represented most tribal groups in **Aōtearoa**/ New Zealand who resided in Auckland at the time, regardless of religious affiliation, members were welcomed to participate. A small group of **Te Aupouri** performed in this group. One of the group's first public performances was at the Avondale Racecourse for the first national **Kapa Haka** Polynesian Festival Competitions in 1972 now known as Te Matatini. The group's bracket was mainly composed by Matu around proverbs and themes from **Tai Tokerau**/Northland that described the members' lifestyles in the urban area. His compositions also challenged the government to recognize and improve the lives of urbanised **Māori**.

Employment at Southdown, Hellabys, Westfield, and Wilsons' Meats

During the 1960's to the 1980's most **Te Aupouri** in Auckland were employed at Southdown, Hellabys' and Westfield Freezing Works in Penrose. Employment was freely accessible. With Te Umuroa and Taylor as leading hands at Southdown, they were a force to be reckoned with. Te Umuroa being an apostle in the **Ratana** faith was the complete

opposite to Taylor a no-nonsense character. To supplement his teaching income our father, Pera also worked at Southdown freezing works during the school holidays and in addition meet the costs of our home. Later our brother, Reuben as a fourteen-year-old was employed at Southdown with our father during the school holidays. As well as the substantial salary at the time, other positive features attracted the "breadwinners" to the freezing works. Our uncles and cousins enjoyed regular communication in the **Te Aupouri** dialect and working alongside the extended **whānau** grouping also attracted them. They supported each other in crisis and regularly returned to Te Kao to support its residents.

Whilst the men were employed at Southdown, Waiheke Kite and Phyllis Cross, our aunties were employed at Wilsons' Meats, a small goods company closely located to Southdown. This company dealt with making sausages, luncheon sausage, packing bacon and hams. Both aunties

lived in the Otara neighbourhood. I was fortunate to have worked alongside these aunties during the school holidays and listen to them as native speakers of **te reo o Te Aupouri**/the Te Aupouri dialect. Employment enabled me to pay school fees, stationery and my school uniforms. The management of AFFCO encouraged the **Māori** and Pacific peoples as employees. It was whilst they were employed that **Māori** learned about unions, the management of workers and worker entitlements.

This section has examined the theory and literature which inform our understanding of **Te Aupouri** history, the sociohistorical events and the importance of cultural identity in **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand. The chapter has identified theories that inform the search for solutions for **Māori**. Constructs of race or culture and the many components of racism are made central and the need to provide a critical perspective in pedagogy and research. These elements are found in **kaupapa Māori** theory, critical race theory and tribal critical race theory. Finally, examples of **Te Aupouri** counter stories are provided.

Stories tells us about the speaker. Oral stories are important for many reasons; some are about the memory of the storyteller, to share the story for the listener to learn about an ancestor, to share history about a neighbouring tribe and to talk about the journey of **Te Aupouri** and its tribal organization since the speaker's return home from the urban area.

Te Wāhanga Tuārua

Kia tika te koti i te kōrari/Take care cutting the flaxblades

Conservation is at the base of this practice. Flaxblades are cut on the diagonal to enable the rain to run off the stub and ensure the root of the flax does not rot. The three central flaxblades of the flaxbush remain untouched. This is the **whānau**/family. The shoot of the flaxbush and its more mature leaves on either side are left at the flaxbush. This practice describes the careful selection of the flaxblades for the floormat. It is important to examine the whole blade to ensure the weavers are not wasteful.

In the seventies, Otara was portrayed by the media as having a bad reputation. Otara was misunderstood and it still is. Community members relied on each other for support. Streaming was practised at Hillary College until the whānau system was fully established.

Despite being trained at Auckland Primary Teachers' College with tutors Toby Curtis and the late Tarutaru Rankin, I have taught mainly in secondary schools with a high percentage of **Māori** students. These experiences include a large urban, co-educational, secondary school, two girls' secondary schools with religious characters and currently at a **whānau** based, culturally sustaining, critically conscious, socially just, bilingual secondary school. These schools all hold different philosophies and I relocated for the teaching experience.

All these schools approached the issues about teaching and learning differently, each school's special character was unique, organised differently to suit the students, ensuring coverage of the New Zealand Curriculum (NZC), the community expectations and meeting government policy. Teachers were aware that the NZC had challenges created solely by government policy and yet remained positive for the students in our care. Within the schools is **whānau**/family and how the schools present their interpretations of this conceptualisation. However, we are also reminded about the history of **Māori** girls' education, and about the location of **Māori** women in society.

Māori contact with the Western European education system has been characterised by tension between European teaching methods and Māori perceptions and performance. Their encounters of two different worldviews and ways of operating were sometimes contradictory. The relationship had some distinctive characteristics:

    Māori appreciation of literacy helped achieve new ways of communication and information gathering;

The Western European educational practices that were introduced to small, tribally based communities were products of large, industrialised metropolitan societies;

Pākehā and some **Māori** considered **Māori** failure within the European system to be the fault of **Māori** opposition;

Māori and some **Pākehā** suspected that European education was a tool of the colonial enterprise and that education on offer was irrelevant and inadequately delivered;

Pākehā disapproved of **Māori** and child rearing practices; and

Māori disapproved of the type of discipline meted out by mainly Pākehā teachers.

Urban migration

Urban migration did not occur until 1950. Auckland's **Māori** population grew at an annual average of 18.7per cent between the 1936 and 1945 censuses, likely towards the second half of this period. The **Māori** population dropped 14 per cent. But growth then dropped quite dramatically to 10.8 per cent between 1945 and 1951, before taking off again in the 1950s. It peaked in the 1960s when, despite high birth rates and plummeting death rates the rural **Māori** population decreased 14 per cent. Net urban migration continued less strongly through the 1970s, before dropping back towards stability in the 1980s…The World War Two "false start" tends to confirm that it was falling death rates and the resulting population explosion that caused urbanisation-not the other way round…The "push from the country stemmed largely from population growth, but also from changing aspirations among the young" (Gagne`, 2013, p. 29, 30).

The creation of Manukau City during the 1980s was a time of excitement and mixed feelings for several the Otara residents. Feelings of loneliness were expressed by some **Māori** after making the decision to live in the suburb. Otara was the least understood suburb in the country and intense, media scrutiny focussed on it. Manukau City Council observed the young families coming to buy homes and settle in Otara and the mayor at the time, Lloyd Elsmore and his councillors offloaded the rates to industry. Amenities were also built such was the demand of the community during the council consultation.

In the 1990's government policies implemented three major influences which seriously affected the working-class community of Otara. One of these was housing. The other two factors were education and employment. In 1994 Housing New Zealand was formed with its primary responsibility of managing state owned rental houses and property. There were approximately 4,000 State owned homes and flats in Otara. With the State owning just under half, the

remainder were either sold off to private investors or to long term tenants who had an option to buy or to move out.

The harsh reality for many of the families in Otara was that they were unable to afford the new rentals being charged and consequently, many were forced to move (Riki, 1997, p. 26).

Our **whānau** relocated from 56 B Johnstones Road, a State Advances three-bedroom, upstairs dwelling, to a four-bedroom home in Perth Street. Our neighbours' children, now adults of the original residents occupy their family homes and a few homes are rental properties. These adults continue the memories through their stories of living in Perth Street.

Throughout urbanisation and modernisation, "**Māori** did not cease being **Māori**. They searched for their own tribal members in social and other circumstances, such as at playcentres, in church congregations and sports clubs, and outside school gates". By 1960, **Māori** were mainly an urban people (Belich, 2001, p. 472). The assimilation or Hunn policy named after its chairman Jack Kent Hunn, continued until the 1960s which saw integration everywhere... (Harris, 2007, p. 144) summarises its main aspects. Schools were the 'nursery of integration'; housing a 'strong force for it'; employment a means of 'combining the races in all ranks of society'; and the object of land title reform was to imitate European titles'. Towards the seventies **Māori** continued to agitate.

The decade of the 1970s was marked by a resurgence of **Māori** activism and protests by **Ngā Tamatoa, Whakahou** (former **Māori** and Pacific students of Hillary College were members of this group), the Land March of 1975, the occupation of Bastion Point 1978. At the beginning of the 1970s, **Māori** also expressed concern about the future of **te reo Māori/ Māori** language. In 1972, thirty thousand people signed a petition that was sent to the New Zealand Parliament asking for the **Māori** language to be taught in all schools. The Hunn Report of 1961 had already described the **Māori** language as a relic of a past life, and a national survey conducted between 1973 and 1978 showed that only 18 to 20 per cent of **Māori** could speak their language fluently, mainly people over sixty-five years old.

The **Māori** cultural renaissance was the period of mobilisation. In some communities **Māori** in the 1980s chose to take control of their own children's education and establish **kōhanga** reo/language nests (1981) and **kura kaupapa Māori** (1985) outside of the education system. The **kōhanga reo** for preschool children based on **Māori** principles with the main language of transmission being **Māori** language. For the children to continue speaking and learning in the **Māori** language **Kura Kaupapa Māori**/primary schools were established and later **wharekura**/secondary schools.

Whānau

These programmes are **whānau**/ family oriented with their principles. They pursue three principal objectives: "first, **Māori** language is the only language of transmission; second they provide childcare within **tikanga**/tradition, custom and third, they sought to maintain a totally **Māori** environment by using immersion modes of learning" (Durie, 1998, p. 64).

Hillary College Whānau

The large, co-educational and my former secondary school was established in the sixties as the first secondary school in Otara, initially known as Otara College. Its student population were mainly from **Māori** and Pacific backgrounds. Streaming existed during my early secondary years as a student and then it ceased towards my senior years. Te reo **Māori** was optional throughout the school's timetable. Students were placed in houses for all learning and sports purposes. House competition was encouraged and timetabled. In the senior years, **Māori** and Pacific students opted to be in the school's Polynesian Club. We learned about each other, through our cultural performances, customs and language. Therefore, several of our Pacific peers spoke fluent **te reo Māori** / **Māori** language when they left school and continue today.

In the following years, the school organisation evolved. With the combined skills and knowledges of the staff and students, planning began when the late Garfield Johnson was the principal, and later Brian Watson. After much consultation and planning, **whānau** were established. **Te Kōhanga**/the nest was established in 1977 by the late Ian Kahurangi Mitchell; three years later **Te Kūpenga**/the net was created; **Atawhai**/care followed in 1983; and **Te Aō Hurihuri**/the revolving world located on the edge of the rugby field was established in 1985. Within its own uniqueness, each **whānau/**family had a group of staff who chose and were appointed to work alongside the students in these areas.

(pers. com. Ropata 2017) relates **whānau/**family was a 'test case' at Hillary College. A group of teachers at Hillary College agreed to explore an alternative model that recognised the heritage backgrounds of its student population who were mainly **Māori** and Pacific students. Teachers were willing to put their careers on the line. In wider education circles, Hillary College became known as a secondary school who was unafraid of pushing the boundaries and creating something different and better for the students.

Teachers with like minds were selected to work in these spaces. Students' cultural backgrounds were considered. **Te Kōhanga** quickly established itself as mainly Samoan, **Te Kupenga** as **Māori** and Cook Island.

Otara community

The people of Otara migrated from the rural areas of **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand and the Pacific Islands in search of better opportunities, secure employment, a comfortable standard of living and for some **Māori** more independence and less reliance on and from their extended **whanau/**family. Gentrification was created through rent increases, families were forced to relocate from the inner Auckland suburbs of Grey Lynn, Ponsonby, Grafton and Parnell to Otahūhū, Otara, Panmure, Mangere and Porirua, in Wellington. For several **Te Aupouri**, Otara was attractive at the time, as extended **whānau**/family were living here and well established. They continued speaking **te reo o Te Aupouri/Te Aupouri** dialect everywhere. The **Te Aupouri** Sports' Club was founded **hei whakakōtahi i te iwi**/to keep the people together and to provide a forum for easing urban settlement, understanding common issues, retaining contact with **Te Aupouri** and finding solutions as a group. Migration to the urban areas made their settlement much quicker and easier.

The Pacific Islands' Presbyterian Church on Ferguson Road and St. Johns' the Evangelist church on Otara Road were venues for our peers holding regular activities during weeknights that attracted youth at the respective churches. Our peers commented about the energy these activities required on their spare time. It also took some convincing for them to understand why these times were important for their parents. The church ministers were visible in the community and elders were regularly present at our school events. They showed interest in the community and often influenced school management about enhancing the school curriculum. Teaching staff personally knew the ministers as most teachers resided in the neighbourhood and they were in regular contact with several organised community events. Now discouraged by government policy, a few of our peers lived with our secondary school staff. These students had been identified by staff for their commitment, to access secondary school and acquire free accommodation. Whilst they attended school their **whānau/**family continued to live in the Pacific. At times like a **whānau**, the arrangement was tested with accommodating these students living with staff.

Early teaching years

After my first two years of teaching at Mayfield Primary and Ferguson Intermediate, I returned to my former secondary school, Hillary College teaching Human Studies. Human Studies was an integrated subject about the students' lives their relocation from the rural areas, the Pacific and other factors that impacted on them and their families. Teaching was taught at year levels. I was unable to secure a permanent primary teaching position and when the opportunity arose to work alongside my former teachers whom I considered visionary, I accepted. Teachers who had strong relationships with us, organised annual study camps at Motutapu Island in the

Hauraki Gulf and at the time, the school year was organised in three terms and the study camp was planned for the third week of the August School Holidays. My peers and I had not travelled on a ferry let alone lived on an island in such close quarters, but we enjoyed the experience. All the catering and cleaning was undertaken by us in mixed gender, **whānau**/family groups with staff supervision. The students at the time had the fortune of having the principal visit and reinforce the learning that existed. Interspersed with mealtimes, programmed study was led by teachers in their subject specialist areas. Smaller classes ensured better conversations and for students to monopolise the staff time. Evening study began at 7pm and finished close to 10pm.

Vertical form period was programmed in the school's weekly timetable and students were placed with two staff, male and female for the year. Although my colleague and I were former students it was difficult to maintain trust and consistent connection with the form class for a period of forty-five minutes. Students understood that it was their decision as to how the available time could be used. It was important for this time to be planned. Students knew each other and relationships were strengthened as sports afternoons were organised to encourage the students to work together co-operatively. These times were often competitive between **whānau/**family and students remained respectful to each other. This initiative worked well with staff learning about the students, their backgrounds, their strengths and interests and their life challenges. Students were keen to talk about themselves their community interests involved their nuclear **whānau/**family.

Often students felt more at ease sharing their lives with their **Te Kupenga whānau**/family staff rather then other staff. At the time, six staff educated at Hillary College had returned to serve at their former secondary school.

Whānau organisation at Hillary College

Whānau/family were organised throughout the school and students were ethnically grouped. Staff working in the **whānau/**family shared common cultural backgrounds as the students and the homeroom classes were taught by these staff. **Māori** students mainly from **Te Tai**

Tokerau/Northland were placed in **Te Kupenga**/the net and led by a former student, the late Rakai Whaanga. Sports and extra curricula activities were provided and suited student interests. Staff cultural backgrounds were a mix of maturity and experience. A former teacher of Hillary, the late Ian Kahurangi Mitchell (1982) commented that the **whānau/**family system was the key part of Hillary organisation and it closely paralleled family life. The warmth, closeness, intimacy of family is evident when the child is at school. It was perceived as the **marae** for the community. The school and the community were interlocked. It was a place where people felt good about themselves.

The new residents of **Otara** were acknowledged for their strength by Hilda Halkyard. Most visible were the **Māori** wardens, local gang Stormtroopers were the security and played a positive role in the early years of the **Otara** Fleamarket, teachers at the school, supporting fundraising for **Te Kura o Wikitoria/**Queen Victoria School, local churches and family groups.

Otara was considered by the rest of the country as a ghetto. The government tried 'social experiments' on **Otara** in the hope that these models would work in working class suburbs like Mangere and Porirua. It soon became known as **Ngati Otara**. Ben Dalton described the rural traits the people had, the population of **Otara** in the eighties was young, yet they had political knowledge. Māori Affairs resourced **Kōkiri Aronui** at Lovegrove Crescent was established to 'plug' students into a system that had failed them. **Whakairo**/carving and **tukutuku**/wall weaving were skills taught and learned.

At the completion of internal examinations, senior students were given study leave to prepare for external examinations and staff provided extra tuition. Years 9 (Forms 3), and Year 10 (Forms 4) students were provided with a range of extra curricula experiences. I worked alongside two other staff and students for a four-day marae experience at **Ngā Tai e rua,** in Tuakau. A member of the present leadership team at Sir Edmund Hillary Collegiate Senior School affiliates to this marae and amongst the number of **marae** tasks overdue, we assisted her late dad with replacing the **ponga**/native fern posts that surrounded the periphery. Students enjoyed the experience of working together, surrounded by the bush and farm area and not having to stretch their intellectual capacities, brute strength was all that was required. This ethic of service **to the iwi/** to the people reduced the student costs for their **marae** experience. Students unable to gain permission from their parents were provided with an alternative programme at the school for four days. Daily trips were organised. Several the students raised in Otara had not visited a marae or lived on one before they took up the challenge. Following those experiences these students returned as former students to supervise groups and return the learning they had received. They became the storytellers of the tribe and they told the tribal **tikanga**/customs.

Te reo Māori, Te Kūpenga Kapa Haka

Te reo Māori/Māori language classes were taught in their year levels. Learning was oriented towards the National external examinations. **Te Kupenga Kapa Haka** was taught and led by the **Māori** staff. Most students and adult supporters from **Te Kūpenga whānau** lived in Pearl Baker Drive, Valder Avenue, Johnstones Road, Hamill Road, Blampied Road, Tyrone Street and Antrim Crescent neighbourhood streets, located in proximity to each other in **Otara**. The strong, parent network supported the head tutor of **Te Kūpenga's** leadership style, his sense of humour and use of **te reo o Ngati Hine/ Ngati Hine** dialect in which he managed the students. Stories were abounded which lit the students' imaginations.

There was no hesitation for him to teach close to one hundred and eighty students **kapa haka** in forty-five-minute periods in the school hall. This would be unheard of these days. Senior students supported and were expected to lead the group. Compositions were written by the tutors, former students and gifted by the parents. **Te Kūpenga's** social calendar was busy during the weekends with students preparing and attending the 25th of January **Ratana/**religious faith events in Whanganui, the **Koroneihana**/coronation, **Manu Ariki** at Taumarunui and other social events the **kapa**/group was invited to. Not only did **kapa haka** pervade the students' lives but significant adults in **Te Kūpenga kapa haka** monitored student welfare during their **whānau** opportunities. Students rarely excused themselves from the planned excursions and often the bus travelled to their homes to collect the late students. Practices were well attended as there was nothing else culturally planned in the community.

Students living near, knew each other and their nuclear **whānau** well. This lifestyle was what they knew. They often visited and stayed overnight and spent weekends in each other's homes. These elements existed throughout the learning **Te Kūpenga** presented and the lives of the adults who followed and participated in **Te Kūpenga** organisation. The adults knew about the students' lives, their strengths and challenges and mentored the students. Managing issues were known to group members. Teachers who did not have strong relationships with students were unaware of the student dynamics, often approached the **whānau** and the significant adults in **Te Kūpenga** about student welfare.

Te Kūpenga organised trips to **Te Tai Tokerau**/Northland staying at different marae and performing for **iwi o te kainga**/residents. For urban raised **Māori** children learned about their tribal identity, cultural backgrounds and whakapapa/genealogy enhanced their self-esteem and self-worth. **Mātauranga a iwi** was a feature of their curriculum. Students learned mainly about Ngā Puhi, Ngati Kahu, Ngai Takoto and Te Aupouri as they were descendants of Northland tribes. Throughout it all was the **whanau/**family organisation of students, parents and others who were keen to learn through being in **Te Kūpenga**.

Whānau

   'Whanau' differs to 'family'. Pere (2011) explains **whānau** means that whoever seeks sustenance in the four directions is related'. That is what it means. '**Whā** is 'four', '**nau**' is to seek sustenance'. So **whānau** means 'that anyone who seeks sustenance from **Papatuanuku**/mother earth in the four directions are **whānau** related."

Milne (2008) further explains the word, **whānau,** is often translated as "extended family" and it is regularly used in New Zealand schools to describe student groups or spaces where students gather for example. The concept is much more complex than this.

A collective concept which embraces all the descendants of a significant marriage, usually over three or more generations. However, it also refers to the more recent notion derived from its usage in describing a group of **Māori** who may share an association based on some common interests such as locality, an urban marae, a workplace and so on Smith (1995).

Cunningham, Stevenson and Tassell (2005) in their analysis of the characteristics of **whānau**, find that despite changes and influences over time, **whānau** is still essentially the foundation institution of **Māori** society and culture. **Whānau** connectedness refers to the relationships that **whānau** members, and **whānau**, have with other people and other **whānau**.

Durie (2006) points out that the transmission of culture, knowledge, values and skills is a primary **whānau** role.

Gagne` (2013) states

whānau is defined differently according to the context, life stage, persons and subgroups, as well as to wider socioeconomic structures, and conjunctures. Family networks can sometimes be quite restricted and sometimes very large.

Metge (1995) identifies eleven other meanings for the word '**whānau**' about **Māori** families in a rural context that correspond to those identified in the research undertaken by Gagne` with urban participants.

The first to the fifth definitions refers to siblings born from the same parents, extended family, the connection to each other through sharing a common ancestor regardless of where they are living, and reminders to membership about their responsibilities and accepted behaviour to the wider group. The final definition of a non-kin group with **whānau** values to which a group aspires. For example, this concept could be used by a group of non-related children and adults associated with a school or a group associated with an urban marae, a sports team or a church.

Kaupapa **whānau** also introduces knowledge, pedagogy, discipline and curriculum from a different understanding as Graham Hingangaroa Smith demonstrates.

Pedagogy of whānau

Smith (1997, as cited in Milne 2013 p. 174) aligns the concept of **whānau** with knowledge, pedagogy, discipline and curriculum in the school setting by defining the following concepts:

The **whānau** concept of knowledge:

- Is regarded as belonging to the whole group or **whānau**, rather than being private or belonging to the individual;
- Is for the ultimate benefit of the total group;
- Can be shared for all to gain;
- Is not essentially a credential for capital gain?

The concept of pedagogy:

- Comprises core values (**whanaungatanga** etc.) that are taken as 'givens';
- Incorporates **tūakana-teina** as part of pedagogical framework;
- Requires that those with knowledge assist those needing and wanting to learn;
- Mixes local wisdom with global knowledge not simply a retreat to the past.

The **whānau** concept of discipline:

- Positions the total school as constituting a single **whānau**;
- Regards all teachers as 'parents' to all children in the **kura whānau**;
- Involves teachers being called **pāpā** (father), **matua** (father or uncle), **whaea** (mother or aunty);
- Regards learning and behavior difficulties as a shared responsibility;
- Emphasizes that needs for discipline are different;
- Emphasizes that types of discipline are different.

The **whānau** concept of curriculum requires that:

- The **Māori** community has some measure of influence over what counts; what is included in the curriculum;
- The curriculum is reorganized to connect with the interests and backgrounds of **Māori** learners;
- That to be **Māori** is taken as 'normal';
- The **Māori** worldview is reflected and reproduced within the school Smith (1995 as cited in MacFarlane et al p116, 117)

Whānau at school

The discussion continues with commentary by Milne (2008) who further comments

When we restructured the school as a **whānau**/family we had to explore the significant disconnect between what happens in **whānau**/family, and what happens in school. In your **whānau**/family at home the adults don't usually change every year, and members of a family work together, not in separated age levels.

When family members make a mistake, you don't usually suspend them from the **whānau/**family. Our thinking about these realities led to multi-levelled classes, teachers looping with the same students for three to four years, siblings and cousins placed together in classes, teachers referred to as **whaea** and **matua/** aunts and uncles, a policy of inclusion and not suspending or withdrawing students from class.

Whanaungatanga/Relationships

The school is a "**kaupapa whānau**" who are related to each other through a common goal and setting – as opposed to a "**whakapapa whānau**" related through blood to a common ancestor. Staff, students and parents think of themselves as **whānau** which is hugely important regarding building strong relationships. Parents feel connected as they feel a sense of belonging as the structure is based on cultural norms. For staff members working in the school, cultural identity is crucial in terms of being able to communicate with the students and **whānau/**family in their own language. It is a requirement for staff and teams to work, teach and plan collaboratively. Collegiality is an integral part of teaching at the school, and failure to adapt to the culture of how the school operates can impact negatively.

With this pedagogy style, nothing is assumed. Staff are provided with regular, inhouse Professional Learning Development about the school's **kaupapa**/philosophy. Staff are challenged to think differently from their own educational backgrounds, and their teacher training programmes. Teachers are required to think outside their experiences because although staff may have similar cultural backgrounds to the students, sometimes they are teaching from a colonial context and they have reverted to their comfort zone. Teachers are encouraged to begin planning with the students' culturally responsive realities. It behoves teachers who are not strong in their own identities to develop relationships with the students as quickly as possible. The collaborative nature of the planning model ensures that the staff quickly become aware of the students' backgrounds and use the information to influence their planning.

Whānau in School organisation

The second characteristic is "**whānau/**family in the School organisation" – yet again the key themes are evident. The school is organised and structured to ensure that opportunity is provided for "**whanaungatanga**"/relationships to happen and **whānau/f**amily underpins the school policy and all decision making.

Staff are encouraged to participate in **noho marae**/ live ins. During these learning opportunities, students can observe their teachers from another position and likewise staff. Sometimes the student who is not coping with the class learning space is given more responsibility and becomes a leader in the **wharekai**/dining area, assisting with food preparation and organising the set up of tables and chairs and at the conclusion of mealtimes organises teams with the dishwashing tasks. Rather than consequence students, their role in the **wharekai/**dining area can be utilised as service to the **whānau**/family. Unlike a regular secondary school where the student is managed secretively by the form Dean, the student consequence becomes public and the responsibility of the wider **whānau**/family.

Trust in staff, the board of trustees, the senior leadership, is hugely significant for the success of the organisation. Students are ethnically grouped, in multi-level vertical grouping with the **tuākana and teina**/older students caring for the younger and less able, just as a **whānau**/family. Teachers are stable, and students remain in their areas throughout the duration of their school day.

The learning spaces are print saturated, artefacts, craft, artwork from the student's traditional cultural background and the current **kaupapa**/topic of learning. Unlike the mainstream environment, there are no rigid timetables and students work in intensive blocks of time. Cultural norms and identity are highly valued. The values instilled in students are outlined and embedded in all school policies and documents. Although these values and philosophy can be met with resistance from newly appointed staff because of information overload or challenges to move out of their comfort zones, it is imperative that the organisational culture of the school is not compromised. They are coached and mentored on an individual basis. An added advantage that staff are privileged to enjoy is the long-standing relationships that are strong as staff are stable.

Whānau/family in Curriculum and Pedagogy

The third characteristic provided is "**whānau**/family in Curriculum and Pedagogy." The curriculum is based on critical pedagogy and is relevant to the lived experiences of the students. Issues of social justice and issues of critical social concern, challenging whiteness, assimilation and importance of their own cultural identity forms the basis of the content of learning for all students.

Staff are continuously challenged and involved in regular professional learning development about critical pedagogy and critical consciousness. The cycle of conscientisation, resistance and transformation are significant to further develop and improve teacher quality (Smith, 1997; Freire, 1972). The culture of the school clearly differs from the schools down the road; it is

imperative for all stakeholders to have complete and utter trust in each other to ensure successful educational outcomes for students. A lack of trust in the school culture could have catastrophic results as students clearly understand the definition of achieving success "as **Māori**" or whoever they are with the operative word being "as". Collegiality forms the **manawa**/heart of the institution, again, if this is weak, the organisational culture of the school could face the risk of becoming exactly like a regular school. It is apparent to achieve the best educational outcomes in any organisation; the role of a leader is paramount. The success or demise of any organisation is dependent on the leadership and the staff. A visionary, courageous leader can navigate the organisation into the future.

Teachers' cultural identity

The cultural identity of teachers is crucial.

The heritage languages are used as the main media of instruction, or learning is provided bilingually, staff work collaboratively in the planning of learning, they share a common understanding of 'as **Maori**'. The context for each learning, begins with the cultural reality of the students. During planning time, challenging questions are posed to staff regarding the external influences in society. For example, the context of learning selected may be where is the **whānau**/family in that? Does **whānau**/family mean that an individual selects the activities she/he participates in? At **pōwhiri** does the **whānau**/family formally welcome all **manuhiri**/visitors or does the **whānau**/family welcome some **manuhiri**/visitors, do staff attend all **pōwhiri** or do they attend **pōwhiri** when the **manuhiri**/visitors are overseas academics, or do they continue with their noncontact time and excuse themselves from the **whānau**/family activities. In other words, in areas of learning, everyone participates in learning and contributes toward the organisation of the **whānau**/family at school and management of the students. Selecting when to participate in the **kaupapa**/purpose and when not to, does not enter staff mindset.

Wider educational community

Learning opportunities are available to students who wish to present at local and international conferences. The nature of the curriculum ensures that students choose to study current contexts that affect them and their families. This section is known as the Performance of Knowledge. Like researchers, students present their study from the commencement, the completion of ethics applications, the methodology and the methods, their research and later their findings. Throughout their study they are guided and mentored until the actual presentation date of delivery when they practise and then the major performance is before the whole school and their peers. This experience also shows to the school what their learning has entailed and an

opportunity for these Warrior Researchers to demonstrate their new learning and explain their absences from regular class time. The culturally relevant element requires a critical perspective. These selected components of research also contribute to students' NCEA (the National Certificate of Educational Achievement) credits. Audiences are challenged by the students' presentation and appreciate their study and confidence and confirm their findings. Questions are posed in response to the student presentation. The research experience of the students is clearly visible in their responses, after all 'they are the leaders of today".

Te whānau whānui/the community

Parents are aware an open-door policy exists at the school. Appointments are not the norm and they are welcomed to meet staff throughout the school day.

School makes sense because it is based on the cultural norms that **whānau** understand – not a whitespace. Parents can visit and meetings are conducted in their first language. The community understand that there is no need to leave their heritage language at the school gate. The number of family members attending the meeting is left at the discretion of the student or the student's family with the teacher to provide a space that is comfortable to meet. This provision is available. Elders and young children are welcome to attend. It is important that the **whānau**/family observes how challenges are managed by the school. Afterall, **whānau**/family is a significant dimension of the school.

External observation

The importance of these concepts was evident in the voices of students in research carried out by the New Zealand Families Commission in 2011. Huia O'Sullivan, a **Māori** engagement adviser, who spent over 12 months observing and participating in the life of the school, writes, "In this school, teachers treat students as if they were their nieces or nephews and students regard teachers like their second mum or dad. A pedagogy of **whānau**/family creates a conducive learning environment in which students can succeed." (O'Sullivan, 2011). Student voices in her research have been presented in the form of a poem. Students told her:

We're about **whānau**/family
Whether it's your **whānau kura**/school **whānau**/family
Or your **whānau**/family at home
Your up-north **whānau** /tribal **whānau**/family
Or the **whānau**/family you never met
When you're together, that's **whānau**/family
That's the connection

At **Tupuranga**/generation, we're treated like people.

This **kura/**school is our haven; here, we feel safe

I leave my house, walk down the road

And I'm home again

Others also attest to the importance of **whānau**/family as this comment in a survey of former students shows:

We always knew our **kaiako**/teachers were there for us whenever we needed them, no questions asked. Even today having left school just over two years ago we can still go back. Once you are a part of a **whānau**/family there's no getting out of it - there's always a place you can call home. How many students in the world can call their school, home? Knowing that you have people in your life that love you and show you love, especially from the rough background I had to live, you always knew you had someone that would listen and be there (Lawrence, 2010)

Restructuring school as a **whānau**/family also meant conscientizing teachers. Christine Sleeter (2008, p.82) states,

"There is ample evidence that White people enter the teaching profession bringing little or no understanding of race and racism, but well-armed with misinformation and stereotypes learned over the years." This misinformation is not only the domain of White teachers. Penetito (2002, p.182) comments,

"**Pākehā** teachers and a significant proportion of **Māori** teachers have habitually steered away from doing anything that was too seriously **Māori**."

Kura Haahi/ religious schools

Smith (1992, p 33) discusses how **Māori** women belong to the group of women in the world who have been historically constructed as 'Other' by white patriarchy and white feminists. As women, **Māori** women have been defined in terms of their differences to the colonisers. As both, they have been defined by their differences to **Māori** men, **Pākehā** men and **Pākehā** women. The socioeconomic class in which most **Māori** women are located makes the category of 'other' an even more complex problematic. Furthermore, the way 'other' has been historically structured has denied us our ways of defining and relating to differences. In creating a 'new' nation, the colonisers placed great emphasis on how different they were from (and much better) than the native inhabitants. The emphasis placed on the constructed dualisms of savage and civilised, heathen and Christian, immoral and moral, provide examples. In resisting Colonisation, **Māori whanau/**family, **hapū/**subtribe and **iwi/**tribe were structured into political formations identifiable as '**Māori**.' Thus, in the land wars of the 1850s-1870s **Māori hapū** were either friendly to Pākehā settlers or "rebel **Maori**' anti-Pākehā.

Education through Pākehā schooling has reinforced the dichotomies between the coloniser and the colonised. It has done this at several levels. Schools were created for **Māori** children as agencies for assimilation of **Māori** culture. **Māori** culture was regarded as being antagonistic and in opposition to education. School reproduced forms of knowledge and history through the curriculum which reified the coloniser's view of reality. Schools also fulfilled a hegemonic role in that they consciously and unconsciously produced and reproduced histories. In order to survive, and indeed succeed, in such schooling, **Māori** children needed to accept as natural and common sense the reconstructed knowledge of their own society.

Māori women were written out of historical discourses not in the years after colonisation but also from the centuries prior to Pākehā settlement. Schooling served to legitimate slated historical discourses through its curriculum, pedagogy, assessment and organisation. This process turned **Māori** history into mythology and the **Māori** women with those histories into distant and passive old crones whose presence in the story was to add interest to an otherwise male adventure (Smith, 1992, p. 34).

A major contradiction in **Māori** attempts to struggle free from this 'otherness' has been asserting the right to redefine what being 'other' means in order to live freer within it. Attempts to escape marginalisation have resulted either in the assimilation of our entire beings as social, physical and spiritual members of society or it has entrapped us in a state of perpetual contradiction and struggle. Assimilation where it has worked, has cut many **Māori** off from their own society and left them still on the fringes of **Pākehā** New Zealand (Smith, 1992, p. 34).

The women in our extended **whānau** felt confident talking amongst ourselves about the control over the interpretation of our struggles and are beginning to theorise our experiences in ways which make sense to ourselves and for other women. Their discussions have begun with their life challenges in which they have been engaged with our wider **whānau** and remained mindful about being **Te Aupouri**.

The term **Māori** only became meaningful as a category because of colonisation. It is the label which was used by the colonisers to define the native inhabitants they encountered. It was the term by which members of **whānau, hapū** and **iwi** necessarily described themselves. It is as much a political construction as a construction of race.

Behind this label there lies the lived realities of generations of women. Women who were explorers, poets, chiefs and warriors, heads of families, founding **tīpuna** or ancestors of various **hapū** and **iwi**. Their deeds were remembered in **waiata** and **whakatauki**. Their labour helped our colonisers build a nation; their work helped a culture survive against the odds. All these lived realities are grounded in specific sets of experiences and informed by specific knowledge. Tribal explanations through **whakapapa**, through carvings, **waiata, whakatauki** and day to

day activities, maintained these deeds as visible history. Colonisation has frequently made them invisible (Smith, 1992, p. 35).

The lives of all **Māori** women have been shaped by the same kinds of forces. We cannot deny the validity and power of the experiences of women who have been socialised away from **whānau** contexts; who have lived their lives in deliberately impoverished urban subdivisions; who have been adopted into non-**Māori** families, who have been abused within dysfunctional **whānau** or who have been parented by the state through institutionalised 'care'. The experiences of these women are part of what it has meant to be. There are also the differences which are inherent in our whakapapa and which connect us to very specific **hapū** and **iwi** forms of social organisation. These ties connect us to sets of obligations, responsibilities and contexts which have continued to influence our social, economic, and political activities (Smith, 1992, p. 35).

At various times in our post-colonial history, women have been marginalised based on political and religious differences as well as on the grounds of sexual preference. The process of marginalisation has frequently mirrored the processes at work within dominant Pākehā structures. This is an example of hegemony. The Church of England, for example was institutionalised as an ally of the state education bureaucracy, beginning with an ordinance issued under Governor Fitzroy in 1853 which appointed the Anglican Bishop of New Zealand as one of the trustees to a board set up to manage property set aside for the 'advancement of the Native race'. This church, along with other settler churches, was given government assistance for the development of schooling for **Māori** children.

The consequence of this assistance reached its heights through the success of such Church of England **Māori** boarding schools as **Te Aute, St. Stephens, Queen Victoria** and **Hukarere**. The foothold gained by the Church of England in the provision of secondary education for **Māori** children legitimated an orientation to **Māori** schooling. This made it difficult for the other denominations involved in Māori schooling. And it made it almost impossible for the later development of **Māori** religious movements to gain credibility as a legitimate voice for **Māori** people, in the specific example of the communities at **Parihaka** and **Maungapohatu**, the people and their leaders were perceived by settler interests as dangerous subversives (Smith, 1992, p. 36).

Māori women were an important part of these communities and of other resistance initiatives to **Pākehā** domination. The significance of their involvement has been silenced not just by most **Pākehā** histories but by many **Māori** oral histories as well. **Māori** schools were established in these and other communities without government assistance, and **Māori** women were known to have been involved in schooling as pupils and as teaching assistants from the time when the mission schools were first established. We can therefore assume that **Māori** women were also

involved in non-mission and non-government schools, for we know little of their contribution (Smith, 1992, p. 37).

When **Māori** women control their own definitions, the fundamental unit of identity which can make sense of different realities lies in **whakapapa. Whakapapa** is individual and group oriented. It is process and outcome, curriculum and pedagogy. It is based in a **whānau** and **hapū** based view of the world, an epistemology or body of knowledge and experience which marks out boundaries and geography over which our collective struggles as **Māori** women are fought (Smith, 1992, p. 39).

The **whānau** or **hapū** discourse is frequently overlooked in terms of its importance to understanding what it means to be **Māori** and female. Women who have strong links take it for granted as part of being **Māori**. Women whose experiences have been more problematical are more cautious and tentative. The search for stable and supportive **whānau** structures has played an important range of **Māori** initiatives, both historically and in contemporary contexts. It has become increasingly a discourse of 'conscientisation', which at one level is unashamedly about the past and at another about meeting the demands of the present. It requires the seeking of a specific set or foundation of knowledge and practice. It seeks to empower young **Māori** women by reconnecting them to a genealogy and geography which is undeniably theirs. And it seeks to protect women by filling in the details of their identity, by providing the genealogical template upon which relationships make sense. This is a discourse which has engaged the energies of younger women. It needs the guidance of older women. The **whānau** discourse has also been about locating the **whānau** and its associated structures, such as the marae, as a central site for the contestation of mana **wahine.** The fact that there are clearly tribal, **hapū** and **whānau** variations in the role of women might suggest in the past women were able to maintain and win power at this level. One example in recent history is the role that some women played on the marae during the years of World War 11. It could be that in those **whānau** where women did gain key leadership roles, possibly through sheer force of individual achievement, this model was simply taken as the norm, and maintained.

Organisation of **Kura Haahi/** religious schools

Throughout my childhood in Ngataki, tribal leaders identified the female elders who attended these kura. **Te Aupouri whaea tupuna/Te Aupouri** ancestresses were sent to these schools for the religious influence rather than the preparation for farmers' wives and they returned to **Te Kao** teaching at the local **kura**/school. Service to the community was important to them. They contributed to the makeup of **Te Kao** not only at the educational face but also at the political.

They became known to **karanga**/call welcoming the birth of **mokopuna/**the grandchild to the tribe and talking to the **mokopuna/**the grandchild about their entry in to the **Te Aupouri** world through **whakapapa/**genealogy, tribal stories and tribal **waiata/**song.

Staff volunteered to participate in the extra curricula lives of the students. Students participated in a range of sporting codes and they also knew about their educational expectations with study not only during the weeknights but also on Saturday evenings with annual, regular preparation for external examinations. Leadership responsibilities if they were prefects and organisation for school gala were a combined affair with the girls, parents and staff working to ensure that the fundraising venture was successful. Parents supported by donating produce from their **rohe**/tribal areas. Students' tapestry and taniko were also purchased by **whanau/**family at the auction later the Saturday afternoon mainly to support the event.

Students either attended **karakia**/prayers at the chapel or the community church in the neighbourhood. They came from different denominations and during May Lee's enrolment it was optional whether the girls participated in Holy Communion if they were not followers of the religious character.

Teaching **te reo**

Te reo /**Māori** language was offered as an option to fit the timetable, the available teaching staff and the range of subjects at the schools. Forms 3/Year 9 and Forms 4/ Years 10 were taught in two forty-five-minute periods a week. They were expected to have clear understanding of structuring sentences and using the resources provided. External examination preparation was a key feature. Speech competition was encouraged, and students were accompanied to these events by their immediate and school **whānau/**family.

Different approaches were used to teach **te reo/** the language. A bilingual approach using both **te reo**/ the language and English from the theme the students were learning at the time was encouraged. Translations were provided. **Te reo/** the language. was heard in the school and if teaching staff were supporting night supervision, in the dormitory as well. However, the survival of **te reo Māori/Māori** language also showed that the parents were required to support its use in their homes and on the **marae/**courtyard. Several of the resident staff who were **Māori** attended classes provided by the teaching staff and with the limited resources, teaching staff were successful with the programmes. Parents at the church schools supported teaching **te reo**/the language by speaking at home. **Te reo o te kauta/**language in the dining area required a total **whānau** approach for **te reo Māori/**

Māori language to survive. Different initiatives were started and the learning united **wh**anau/families in different ways. The networks amongst the students' families were strong and continue to this very day.

Whanaungatanga/relationships

Whanaungatanga involves relationships and strengthening and enriching the bonds of the family unit. It is the key to working with secondary students and genuinely showing interest in their lives by finding out during conversation what their strengths and interests are, setting goals each term, having regular weekly times to discuss their learning progress is a positive time to ask students questions about their **mau rākau/Māori** weaponry grading, how they are managing the lessons in te reo, the **whānau** aspect of learning during **mau rākau/Māori** weaponry and being a positive role model for their peers before and after grading. A few students are second language learners of **te reo** and they enjoy the **whānau** aspect of **mau rākau**. Students who struggle in their lives gain confidence in their mau rākau success, their teaching and modelling during lessons makes them realize that gaining achievement at grading also means the knowledge is returned to those younger members during lessons. But students are also reminded to keep their feet on the ground and to remain humble.

Carter (2013) reports **whānaungatanga** is how **Māori** carry out or understand whakapapa and make relationships work. The concepts that are particularly important to ideas of the homeland **ahi kā** /burning homefires, **ahi kā roa**/keeping connected and maintaining engagement from elsewhere and **ahi kā mātao**/the homefire has been extinguished, are to do with how we reconnect and at what levels we reconnect to our landscapes, and the trust we have for **hau kainga/**home residents to look after tribal affairs for us when we are no longer there but are still interested in some way.

Hau is the essence of who we are and is instilled in our landscapes. Everybody has it with them and when you move from a place, from an ancestral homeland, from your **tūrangawaewae**, from your **hau kainga**, you take a little bit of that **hau** with you. Every time you return to your home, you are reconnecting – and that is important in terms of intrinsic values involved in how we travel. So, the **hau kainga** is the homeland and where all the **hau**, or the life essence of a people is located (Carter, 2013, p. 22).

Te Reo o te Hau Kainga/the residents' language

Iwi o te kainga are the residents who were born and raised when the ancestors were alive.

Ria was born and lived with our ancestors, her great grandparents, Ho and Lucy Wiki. She continues to live in **Te Kao** and contribute to the iwi in the **wharekai**/dining room during tangihanga/funerals and in the **Kōhanga Reo/** Language nest. The residents are entrusted by **Te**

Aupouri living elsewhere with representing us. In their dealings with neighbouring **iwi**/tribes, decisions are required to be made on behalf of the members who are not residents. They retain and maintain **Te Aupouri tikanga**/tribal protocols.

Ngā uri e noho ana i wāhi kē/ tribal members living elsewhere

Te Aupouri members living elsewhere are encouraged to return to the tribal district often. They can experience the spirit of the ancestors and listen to the language being spoken. **Whakapapa**/genealogy is a factor which ties the people to each other.

(pers. com. Tiereiniamu Kapa, 2017) comments **pena e mōhio ana koe ki tou whakapapa hoki mai ki te kainga**/if you know your **whakapapa**/genealogy return home.

Travel during the writing of this thesis has been a significant feature. The pull to return to the tribal area is strong and the cost is not considered. The seen face at tribal events is important but also continuing to maintain and strengthen the links with **whānau/**family and the expression of **aroha/**affection during these times. Keeping the **kāpura**/homefires burning and demonstrating the importance of **whānau/**family is important, continuing to acknowledge the bereaved **whānau/**family if the purpose for returning to one's tribal land is that or just visiting and attending an event at the **marae** is appreciated and acknowledged by the **hau kainga**/the residents.

Kua pinau te kāpura/the fire has been extinguished

This term refers to **whānau/** family who have not maintained or retained their connection with the residents of the tribal district. For some reason the **whānau/** family has chosen to continue living away from the **iwi**/tribe. This can happen for generations. When a member of the **whānau/**family returns to the tribe, the member is received with mixed emotions. For some elders there are the responsibilities of telling them their **whānau/**family narratives and for other younger members their reactions are different. There is much discovery and exploration required to seek out their ancestral connections to the tribe.

Te Hononga ki te iwi/engagement to the tribe

Another reason too is retaining and maintaining **Te Aupouritanga/**tribal identity. One's physical appearance at the event is important but also to nourish your spiritual and emotional dimensions. Your visibility is noted by the **hau kainga**/residents, your attendance is also appreciated. Your **reo**/language is further enhanced working amongst your own. The regular trips reconnect you to the frequent journeys made when one's parents were alive; the frequent toilet stops made and the **waiata/**song on the journey. Revisiting those memories are important for they are the stories. On the return journey to Auckland there would be the different

conversations 'catching up' with different relatives about the tribal politics, their interpretations about life and the tribal personalities that exist in the area.

The concept of **hau** can be further understood through the notion of location and locatedness. Location is where we are physically living:
where we carry out our day to day lives. Locatedness, in contrast, is where we think and understand we belong to. There are different ways
of connecting and different levels of connecting. We do not have to travel back all the time; meaning that travellers are distantly located yet
remain connected (Carter, 2013, p, 24).

Whakapapa/geneaology connects us back to our **kainga/**home. With the connections, those connections and those recognitions come obligations and responsibilities that we carry out through our different levels of connection. At what rate and at what level depends on the reciprocal arrangement. It does not rely on those who have travelled away reconnecting all the time. It is up to those who are at home to maintain connections as well. There are different methods of communicating; for example, through social media Tū Ake Te Aupouri, Te Kao Tamaki Association and the St. Andrews' social media pages, through monthly **pānui/**newsletter or through visiting one another.

Having established that location, does not deny identity and therefore does not deny **whakapapa/**geneaology, how does iwi leadership reconcile the necessity of the **hau kainga** with the travelling **whakapapa/**geneaology. The reality now, is that many **Māori** individuals who live away from the **hau kainga/**residents remain fixed through **whakapapa/**genealogy, but, do not participate daily. Many **Māori** at home reconnect for them and maintain their **ahi kā roa/**their connection from a distance in distant places.

There are large numbers of skilled iwi members living away from home who remain attached and wanting to carry out responsibilities for the **hau kainga/**tribal residents. They do this at several different levels (Carter, 2013, p. 24).

According to Carter we are trans-national; we live in one place, but we desire another, and we have an expectation of return at some point. We have a globally connected nation among iwi and iwi leadership are already starting to rethink participation. They are starting to rethink ways that some have an 'other location' and some live at home, and they are starting to rethink extended community and exiled community; being inclusive rather than exclusive of those who do not live within the **hau kainga** (Carter, 2013, p. 25).

Research in social capital considers looking at globally defining social capital and social capital among **Maori**. 'Social capital' refers to resources embodied in relationships that have

accumulated over time that can be drawn on in the future for achieving goals; they are a collective resource rather than individual. Social capital is about communities and relationships. For **Māori**, social capital is embodied in relationships that increase the economic, social and political capital of the whole iwi. Social capital for **Māori** is based in and grows from our norms and values, networks and ways of operating. These are at the core of our cultural capital and are framed in **tikanga** processes. Cultural relevancy drives development and advancement. It is about who we are and how we work those relationships. Iwi strategies become about meeting needs, providing opportunities and working for the growth and development socially, culturally and politically of the iwi (Carter, 2013, p. 26).

The survival of **whānau/**family connected by **whakapapa**/genealogy or a **kaupapa whānau** reminds us the onus is on its members to ensure that they know each other exist and that the purpose of the blood **whānau** is to keep the **whānau** narratives alive for the present generation to succeed to future generations. The **kaupapa whānau** at school provides a model that equips its students by critiquing society, governmental policy and the education system using research and the role it plays in maintaining the status quo to suit the dominant culture. The history of **Māori** girls' education and the different organisations schools present contribute to the location of **Māori** women in society were considered. Educational policy continues to affect **Māori** today regardless of the unique organisations schools design.

Whānau/family in school organization means that students do not have to leave who they are at the school gate and enter the school grounds speaking only English. Like home life, students can continue speaking their heritage languages in the school environment. For the students and their **whānau**/families know the school has been made 'to fit' the students.

Te Wāhanga Tuatoru

Pāhuhu i ngā kōrari/ Cutting and Preparing the flax for weaving

The edges of each flax blade are stripped by folding it on the central vein. At least 15 to 20 cm of the base of each blade is left on the leaf. The flax blade is split lengthwise into strips using the thumb nail halfway along the length of the leaf. Depending on the width of the blade the weaver may have three or four splits. The outer edge should not be included in the width of a strip as it will be found to be of uneven width and much thinner. These new flax strips are placed alongside each other. The unwanted fibres are tied together and returned to the base of the flax bush. Each flax blade grows, matures and increases its knowledge about its world. Every blade is carefully considered such is the weaver's respect toward the resource and to **Papatuānuku**/ the earth mother. Eventually the flax blade is split in even widths enabling the weaver to better manage its individuality towards the completed effect of the project. The central vein of each flax blade is the lifeline of **Te Aupouri.** It is the lifeline that connects the **kaikōrero/**speakers. They have been divided into three groups according to where they live, their different life experiences, their stories all become woven into the whole story.

Eleven **kaikōrero/**speakers were identified and volunteered for the study. My pre-plan stated there had to be representation of **Te Aupouri wāhine**. **Kaikōrero/**speakers were representatives of the three religions, intergenerational, they had **Māori** Boarding school experience, experienced tribal governance positions, lived with the elders and they held views of **te reo me nga tikanga o Te Aupouri**/ the **Te Aupouri** dialect and cultural practices.

Ngā Uru Tāhuna

Alongside my supervisor, an advisory group, **whānau tautoko**/support family named **Ngā Uru Tāhuna** was created. It is a concept gifted by my nephew, Anaru and it refers to the breaking of the waves. Members of **Ngā Uru Tāhuna** are **whānau**/genealogically related to us, the **kaikōrero/**speakers and me we are intergenerational. I wanted to have them available to contribute to this **mahi**/work. They know some **kaikōrero/**speaker childhood stories. For some **kaikōrero/**speaker, some members of **Ngā Uru Tāhuna** have also contributed to their formative years. The following factors were considered during our **kaikōrero** /speaker discussions:

How do you maintain and retain being **Te Aupouri** when or while you lived away from Te Kao?

What are your **whānau, tūpuna** lessons from your childhood?

What are your expectations of the **hau kainga/**tribal residents, of the **whānau/**family who do not live at home?

How did your schooling experience impact on your identity as **Te Aupouri**?

My positioning

As an insider researcher, my role has been at multiple levels. At one level, whilst staying and visiting the **whānau/**family in **Te Kao** it is important to acknowledge their presence and interests. In a small community, it is also about being aware that the interviews remain confidential between the **kaikōrero/**speaker and me, the researcher. These **whanau/**families represent us the tribal members who do not live in the community, they speak on our behalf at tribal events either held on the marae or in **Te Hiku o Te Ika/**the tribal district. It is important that we have confidence and the trust in the decisions they make on our behalf and support their judgements.

The next level is to ensure that I record these stories truthfully because as Smith (1999) states:

They are **whānau/**family and I will be unable to avoid the **kaikōrero/**speaker as I keep returning to **Te Kao** and retaining and maintaining engagement with the home peoples.

A decision was made to record the interviews and other than minor corrections to the transcripts, I was leaving the content intact.

Ngā whaea tūpuna/the ancestresses

The deeds of **Te Aupouri whaea tūpuna/** the ancestresses are unknown to us, their descendants. Stories are known about Te Houtaewa, Te Tupuni, Te Kaaka, Te Ikanui and Wheeru but little is known about our **whaea tūpuna**. **Whaea/** female elders commented that if you are asked about your connectivity to the land you are to reply, that you have been here for generations. **Kura** was a sister to Tōhe and the **whaea tūpuna** of Te Ikanui's wives **Tihe** and **Kōhine**.

Waimirirangi was the **whaea tūpuna/**grandmother of Te Ikanui and the **whaea tupuna/**grandmother of most **iwi** in **Te Tai Tokerau/**Northland. She is the link to "Ngapuhi-nui-tonu – whereby **Te Aupouri** is one of the corner poles of the house of **Ngapuhi**". The others are **Te Rarawa, Ngati Kahu** and **Ngati Whatua** – and **Ngapuhi** is the centre pole. **Amongaariki** is our link to **ahi-kaa/**home fires and she is known as "**Te Pou o Parengarenga**" and the **Parengarenga** Block is referred to as "**Te rohe pōtae o te Amongaariki**". She is also the **whaea** of Te Ikanui's wives Tihe and **Kōhine.** Tihe and **Kōhine** are the **whaea tūpuna** of **Te Aupouri**.

The male line of **Te Aupouri** genealogy descends from **Māmari, Ngati Ruanui, Te Ikanui** and others. The dominant **whaea tūpuna** of Te Kao, of Parengarenga was **Te Amongaariki**,

the cupholder of the Gods. Everyone is related through her. **Te Amongaariki** and **Te Ihupango 1** are the parents of **Tihe** and **Kōhine** they were sisters and **Te Ikanui's** wives. Our elders say that **Te Amongaariki** is located above **Kahutai** and **Horoiwi**, overlooking **Parengarenga**.

Te Amongaariki travelled to **Wharo, Ahipara** to collect her grandchildren **Tupuni** and **Te Kaaka**, **Tihe** and **Kohine's** children because another group of people were competing for the land. Although she had genealogical ties **Te Amongaariki** had to prove that her grandchildren were present to retain the land.

After our ancestors' settlement on **Te Hiku o te Ika**/the tail of the fish, the first locational dispersal of Te Aupouri began in 1835 during the events of **He Whakaputanga o ngā iwi o Niu Tireni** / the Declaration of Independence. **Te Aupouri** ancestors held their presence with neighbouring i**wi**/tribes by attending these assemblies and peer mentoring. During that time, they kept informed and occupied the region (pers. com Parata, 2013). The signing of **Te Tiriti o Waitangi**/ the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 also indicated **Te Aupouri** interest about the events which surrounded them.

Te Aupouri stories tell us that the tribe assumed several names in the past. Another version from elder **Nikara Adams** confirms **Te Aupouri** were originally known as **Ngāti Ruānui**. The **Whāngāpē and Herekino** harbours were controlled by Ngāti Ruanui and they often came into conflict with **Ngāti Te Rēinga, Ngāti Kairewa, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Te Aewa**. These four tribes came from settlements at Motutī, Whakarapa and Motukauri on the northern shores of the **Hokianga** Harbour.

When **Te Ikanui** and **Whēru** were overwhelmed in their **pā**/fortified village at **Pawarenga** on the **Whāngāpē** Harbour they burned environmental materials at night to create a smokescreen, and then escaped unseen across the harbour. From that incident **Ngāti Ruānui** became known as Te Aupōuri, from '**au**' (current) and '**pōuri**' (smoke or ash).

Our ancestors walked and named places around **Te Kao**. After inspecting their new environment, a flat rock was located just below **Toko i te Arawa** cemetery and used for drying **taputini** kumara/sweet potato in the sun. This rock had the ability to retain heat. The dried **kumara** process is known as **kao** and that was how **Te Kao** became known (Keene, 1965, p. 16).

Whakapapa

Whakapapa/geneaology for **Te Aupouri** connects the people to the environment, with the stories about the ancestors. (Doherty, 2012, p. 35) confirms this **whakapapa** maps the stages of development. It is derived from the term **raupapa**/ to lay out.

Ko Māmari te waka

Ruanui a Tane = Manawa a Rangi

Moerewarewa = Korako nui a Rua, Te Maru o te Huia, Tama a Rongo

|

Matiti ki te rangi

|

Te Awenga

|

Hakumanu

|

Taiwawe

|

Tūputa

|

Papauenuku

|

Ruanui 11=Maukoro

|

Tarauaua Tuwhenuaroa Tangaroatupou Romaiterangi Te Huia

|

Takaroa

|

More Te Korohunga=(2)Te Awa (1) = More i Tukia

```
                           |

Kupe      Wheru      Te Ikanui=Tihe, Kohine   Te Kakati      Te Uruhapainga

                           |

                  Te Tupuni=Te Kura

                           |

                   Te Ihupango

                           |

             Maata Hapai= Te Hira Riumakutu

                           |

              Hemi Tupuni=Rihipa Riwini

                           |

         Matiu Tupuni = Mereana Shepherd

                           |

        Hemi Matiu=Pani Waaka

                           |

        Josephine=Latimer Pera Matenga Riki

                           |

                 Judith
```
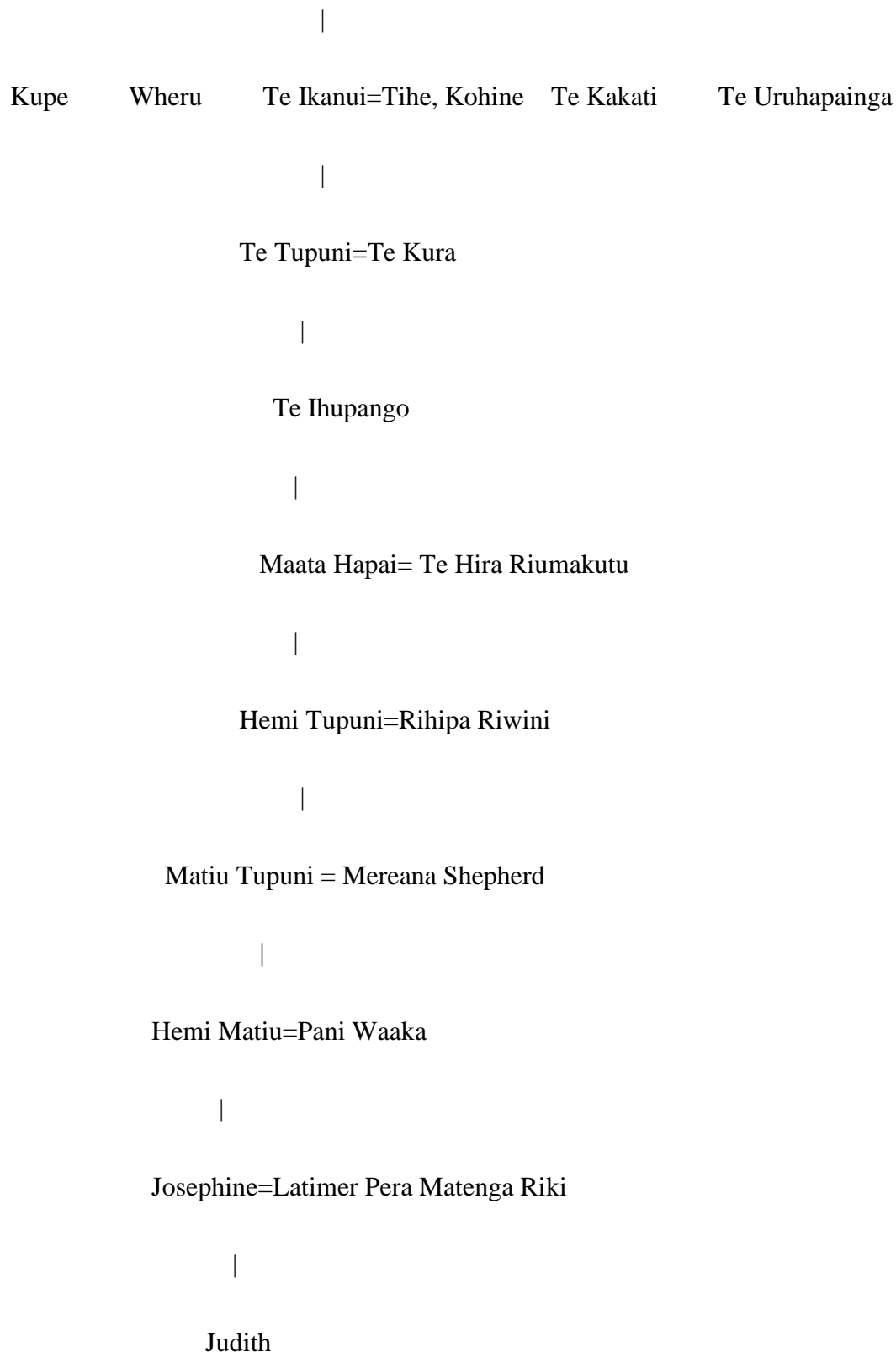
(Pers. Com. Reiper, 2016)

Te Aupouri ki Te Kao

In the sixties, **Te Aupouri whānau** departed not only **Te Kao** but also **Te Hiku o Te Ika** for the urban areas, Auckland and Wellington in search of employment. Some **whānau** also travelled further afield to Kawerau, Hastings, Te Aroha, Wellington, Christchurch, Invercargill

and overseas mainly to Australia. They involuntarily left the land. At the time, the main determinant of employment was dairy farming.

Here they were confronted with social toxins, such as racism, institutional racism. But they also worked closely and in support of each other. Relationships and **te reo o Te Aupouri** were spoken and lived daily. Southdown, Westfield and Hellaby's in Penrose were the freezing works, amongst the leading hands at the time were Uncles Taylor and Te Umuroa Wiki. For the time being, Auckland met their requirements. It provided satisfactory wages to feed their **whanau/**family, pay accommodation and close enough to **Te Kao** when any crises arose. The elders at the time continued to play a significant role at the time.

Ngā kaikōrero/ the speakers

Three distinct groups have been identified. The first group is an individual in this study the second child of four siblings in her **whānau/**family. **Ria's** position is unique to the other **kaikōrero/**speakers in that since her birth, she has never left **Te Kao**. She experienced the changes in the community and felt the effects of government policy on **Te Aupouri** in **Te Kao**. She heard all the conversations from her parents and great grandparents in their home about the community affairs that affected them. The closure of the secondary section of the school, the closure of the **Te Aupouri** Forestry and its impact on **whānau**/family were topics she felt were deliberate and advantageous to the government and not to **Te Aupouri**. She also saw the old faces disappear and then the next generation assume their roles on the marae as the tribal orators, the callers and the chefs and assistants in the dining room. Life was too challenging for **whānau**/family to continue living in **Te Kao** and she watched **whānau**/family leave the land and be attracted by urbanisation.

Rōpu tuarua/Group two

Similarly, seven **kaikōrero/**speakers in the second group left **Te Kao** for schooling or employment reasons and within the last few years they returned to live in **Te Kao**. For selfish reasons, they wanted their children to have the same childhood experiences as they did and to know about being **Te Aupouri** which was not possible living in an urban context. They manage a range of roles in the community either at **Te Kura a Iwi School o Te Kao**, **Te Kōhanga Reo o Piri ki Waimirirangi** or at the political face of the tribe a member of the former tribal organisation **Te Aupouri** Trust Board, **Pōtahi marae** trustees on the **marae** working alongside each other to ensure the success of the tribal event or involved in school events.

Rōpu tuatoru/Group three

Three **kaikōrero** make up the third group. They reside in the **Ngā Puhi** region regardless of the distance from **Te Kao**, they feel strongly connected to **Te Aupouri**. They maintain their position by watching the tribal affairs and keeping connected through the social media. When they return to Pōtahi marae for tribal events they adopt the roles as **kaikaranga**/callers or **ringa wera**/caterers in the dining area. This is their contribution to the proceedings, after all it is about giving back, service to the visitors, to the tribe and being seen is important to **whanau/**family.

Section 1 of this chapter briefly discusses planning with the **Ngā Uru Tāhuna**, and the criteria we established to select the **kaikōrero/**speaker**s**. The planning was a guide for me, the researcher and to reflect privately on the completion of each interview. As well as interview the **kaikōrero/**speakers evaluative notes were recorded for analysis purposes.

Section two is about **Te Aupouri** history, **Te Kao** and acknowledging our **whaea tupuna/**ancestresses' records. Without their writing, **Te Aupouri** would not have been heard or visible. It is also noticeable that a paucity of **Te Aupouri whaea tūpuna** narratives exist. These stories record our **whaea tūpuna** influence on the **kaikōrero**. They are visible, valued and will be known to the descendants of **Te Aupouri.**

Section three is about **Te Aupouri** living elsewhere. The importance of maintaining and retaining engagement to **Te Aupouri** regardless of where a member lives either in **Te Kao** or in other parts of the world encourages them to identify strongly as **Te Aupouri.**

Te whakapā tuatahi/First contact

Initially, I emailed Rosie at **Te Rūnanga nui o Te Aupouri** Trust about some other request and then I asked whether it was suitable to travel to **Te Kao** and interview **whanau/**family. She informed me that the **whanau/**family were fundraising for the **kura/**school. They were catering lunch at the marae and it would be a suitable time to speak to the **whanau**/family who will be in the **wharekai/**dining room supporting the fundraising venture. I decided to travel to **Te Kao** and to organise interviews, a meeting was not necessary yet and I would approach the **whanau**/family.

In my pre-trip plan, I named the **kaikōrero/**speakers to be interviewed, their availability, their location, and their representation according to key areas I had identified in the community. It would be useful to have a cross-section of the community members, to be representatives of **whānau**/families and their respective religions.

Anga nui/face to face contact was a more culturally appropriate approach. As their relative and the researcher, I wanted to get a sense of the interviews and experience all the emotions, humour, their facial expressions and to hear their pain if they were willing to share these. This would not have been possible if I had chosen to use technology like SKYPE or any other platform and sent the list of questions to them.

Meeting the **kaikōrero/**speakers and talking to them about my reasons for being home was important for everyone to know but also that I required their support to listen to their stories for this research. At the time **Whaea Kiri** was very much alive in the kitchen, **Whaea Karepori, Whaea Marara** and **Moana**. I assured them that I was there for another purpose and that I had erred and arrived late when lunch was finished, and the **kaimahi**/workers had washed and dried dishes as they were returning the dishes to the pantry shelves. They informed me that there was a **tangi/**death in **Te Hapua**, and they were all planning to attend the following day. It was not culturally appropriate to impose my agenda on the **whanau**/family and I was prepared to wait for their availability. I immediately had to reorganize and wait until the time was appropriate to go ahead with the interviews.

Selection of the **kaikōrero/**speaker

The ages of the **kaikōrero/**speaker for this study was not considered. Whoever was available was quietly approached as I consider my **whānau/**family to be highly experienced contributing members of the **iwi**/tribe. They hold a high presence in the community, at the school, sports club, church, tribal representatives of **Te Rūnanganui o Te Aupouri Trust** and **Parengarenga Incorporation** and on the **marae**.

I chose to use both languages **te reo o Te Aupouri** / **Te Aupouri** dialect and English during the interview. Initial conversations would inform me whether these **kaikōrero** are fluent speakers of **te reo o Te Aupouri**. I was not going to impose or embarrass them by speaking **te reo/**the local dialect when I knew they could not hold a conversation with me. The **kaikōrero** are learners of te **reo** / the **Te Aupouri** dialect, their interviews were bilingual as they are unable to respond in the local dialect however, they understand the questions posed.

Te reo me ngā tikanga o Te Aupouri/Te Aupouri dialect and the customs

One of the aims of this study is to use **te reo me ngā tikanga o Te Aupouri** throughout. It is central to this work. The decision to use the **Te Aupouri** dialect, English or both languages during the interview remained with the **kaikōrero/**speakers. Clearly, the experience of the interview provided the **kaikōrero**/speakers the opportunity to retell their stories in such a way that they were able to contextualize their experiences, to describe the **tikanga**/customary practice at the time, to inject humour, to reflect in their own way, to relive, to re-story, dramatise

aspects of their story, to re-right and rewrite their story, to describe the political position of **Te Aupouri** and present the characteristics of their **whanau**/family members to the listener or the reader on their terms. It was permissible for them to honour their **whānau/** family by providing the examples that influenced their own lives for the opportunity to talk about diaspora, had not been presented to them before.

Kia orere/ be prepared

Before the interviews, we set the parameters. I explained to the **kaikōrero**/speakers that they had the choice to be interviewed in a group or alone. The **kaikōrero/**speaker chose to hold their interviews on their own. The interviews were semi-structured. Time was spent answering their questions. It was important the **kaikōrero/**speaker felt confident that there were no correct or incorrect answers, to know that their questions would be answered, to own the direction of the interview such that some **kaikōrero**/speaker said they wanted their **kōrero**/interview to flow and not be interrupted with my questions. But if questions arose for the **kaikōrero**/speaker to extend their answers during the interview, we agreed that I could ask. At the end of each interview, I reminded the **kaikōrero**/speaker that it was not the end of the interview, I would return to ask if they would clarify their **kōrero** /transcript or if I wanted them to extend their stories. Time would be set aside when they were available and later, I would be returning to present the outcomes of the interviews as a **whānau/**family.

He taōnga/the interview record, a treasure

In a small community and amongst **whanau/**family it was my responsibility to be respectful of the **kaikōrero**/speaker, and to hold the **taōnga** in my care. It was an honour and a privilege to receive their stories. I was entrusted, presented and gifted their **taonga/**treasure. The interview was between us, the **kaikōrero/**speaker and me. The **kaikōrero/**speaker was informed that I would not be discussing their **kōrero/**transcripts with anyone else other than my supervisor, Associate Professor Te Tuhi Robust. The signed ethics, **pānui**/ permission and consent forms for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi requirements had provided the necessary ethical information for the study. I asked the **kaikōrero/**speaker to set a suitable time later for the interview which was left at their discretion.

Access

I soon realized that although I am **Te Aupouri** and through **whakapapa/**geneaology I am related, it did not mean that I had access to the **kaikōrero/**speakers or their resources.

Initially I met **wāhine**/women at hui, at **Pōtahi marae,** at the **Te Kao** shop, in their homes or at the school and I asked them about their availability. Social media, email, and **Tū Ake Te Aupouri** Facebook page was used to contact **kaikōrero/**speakers later. During our conversation, I'd asked if they would be interested in being a **kaikōrero/**speaker.   For other reasons, some **whānau/**family members did not feel confident about presenting their stories. I respected and accepted their decision not to participate and continued looking elsewhere for **kaikōrero/**speaker. I didn't ask for their reasons. **Kaikōrero/**speaker also recommended other participants, but these **whānau/**family members hadn't indicated their interest to me, and I did not pursue the recommendation.

Hui/meeting

I appreciate too that my male cousins, our in-laws, our elders not selected as **kaikōrero/**speaker in the research expressed interest in this study. Time was spent explaining the research and telling the interested groups why the project was necessary and whether they supported its reasons. Talking about the study with others was important to dispel some people's views about my reason for being home, it also enabled them to comment and learn about us, **Te Aupouri** living in **Te Kao** and **Te Aupouri** living away from home and why it is important to remain connected. Throughout that time, they felt that the work I was undertaking was interesting as they did not know about our **whānau/**family experiences and that it was necessary to see where the people were positioned regarding their views about **Te Aupouri**. These **whānau/**family members were not informed as to who the **kaikōrero** were. That decision was left for the **kaikōrero** to tell our **whānau/**family not mine.

Presentation of Knowledge

In agreement with **Ngā uru tāhuna**, I have decided to hold an evening and present our **mahi** to the **kaikōrero/**speaker and others later. The **kaikōrero**/speakers indicated that they would like to see their work presented and known by others. Aspects of the interviews will be kept confidential and private when certain **whānau/**family members have been named. The purpose is to uplift the **iwi**/tribe through the **kaikōrero/**speaker participation in the project and to consider approaches to benefit the community.

Introducing **Kaikōrero/**speakers

Rather than using the names participant or informant, **kaikōrero**/a speaker, storyteller is used in this work. **Kaikōrero/**speaker fits with this study. It means more than a storyteller it gives mana to this study, for without the **kaikōrero/**speaker's **koha/**gift this study would not have

been possible. Other than their partners or immediate **whānau/**family no one else had heard or knows their **kōrero/**story, or their life experiences. Their voices have not been heard before.

Although eight **kaikōrero** live in **Te Kao**, it wasn't possible to interview them together as a group as they lead busy lives. I travelled to interview each **kaikōrero/** speaker. The decision for the location, and times of the interviews was left with the **kaikōrero/**speaker. Some interviews took place in their homes or in the home I was staying at the time and for others at their workplaces. I felt that the **kaikōrero/**speaker had to feel comfortable and familiar with the location.

Ngā Kaikōrero/ the speakers

Eleven women participated in the study. They are genealogically related to me, the researcher. They are my aunties, my older cousins, my younger cousins and my nieces.

As **Te Aupouri wāhine**, they navigate different subjectivities within their communities. They choose to stay involved in the tribal events, and their opinions are based on their engagement amongst themselves, or their involvement in the tribe's political affairs and their high presence on the **marae**. They contribute to clarifying and ensuring that the **tikanga/**cultural practices on the **marae** is known especially by the **iwi kainga/**tribal residents and to the **whānau/**family who live elsewhere and return to **Te Kao** for **whānau/**family events.

In 2016, **kura/**learning opportunities were held amongst **iwi/**tribal members to clarify **tikanga/**cultural practices regarding **tangihanga/**deaths, funerals. This was necessary for all members to know each step of the process from the initial call to the **iwi/**tribal representative residing at home that a **whānau/**family member had passed away to the return of the **whānau /**family to the marae from the **wāhi tapu** /cemetery after the burial to the **hakari/** final meal and announcement of the expenditure in order for the tribe to care for their visitors who travelled to support the bereaved **whānau/**family. **Kaikōrero/**speaker/s discuss the teachings of their grandparents and how these concepts are relevant today. The **kaikōrero/**speaker/s will now be introduced.

Kaikōrero/speakers

Moana, Nainanga, Bernadine, Rosie, Ria, Bridgett, Renee, May Lee live in **Te Kao**. They have skills through being involved in the tribal organisations either the former **Te Aupouri** Trust Board, **Te Rūnanga nui o Te Aupouri** Trust, **Parengarenga** Incorporation, the **Pōtahi Marae** Trustees, in the school, **Te Piri o Waimirirangi kōhanga reo**, **Te Ataarangi**, attending te reo night classes based at the school, are involved in the **Te Aupouri** Rugby football club,

coaching sports, church and being supporters of **Pōtahi marae** events. They feel that it is important for everyone living in the community to contribute.

Ngawini, Elaine and **Karleen** live in the **Ngā Puhi** district, a tribal district south of **Te Hiku o Te Ika**. They have chosen education and business as career choices. Their lives involve teaching at the local secondary school, leading the local **Kōhanga Reo** and managing her own business. Although, these **kaikōrero/**speakers live outside of the **Te Aupouri** district they feel committed, proud and they show interest to be associated as members of **Te Aupouri**.

Storage of interviews

Each kōrero has been copied on individual pendrives. These information files will be issued to each **kaikōrero/**speaker for their **whanau/**family archives at our "Performance of Knowledge" event.

As stated in the Ethics form a written record of each **kōrero/**story will be issued and stored by my supervisor, Associate Professor Te Tuhi Robust at **Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiārangi** for five years.

Whakarapopoto o ngā kōrero/summarized versions

The **kōrero/**story provided by the **kaikōrero/**speaker was not written into this work. With the permission of the **kaikōrero/**speaker, summaries have been provided. After all, their stories are unknown to the wider **whānau/**family. For obvious reasons and with their agreement, sensitive information has been excluded.

The **kaikōrero** have been divided in to three groups. The first group represents the **kaikōrero** who attended secondary education in **Kaitaia** and lived in **Te Kao**. Since her birth, **Ria** has been a resident of **Te Kao**.

Ria

Ria was raised with her maternal great grandparents **Lucy** and Hohepa Wiki who spoke **Māori**. They raised **Ria's** mother, **mokopuna**/grandchild **Ngaire**. **Ria** attended **Te Kao** school. She hasn't felt the need to pursue career choices outside of **Te Hiku o Te Ika/**the tail of the fish. She has always been fortunate finding employment. She has an older sister, a younger sister and a brother. She works at the **Kōhanga Reo**. **Ria** has strong views about **whanau/**family living away from Te Kao, **te reo o Te Aupouri**, and the organisation of the **whare kai**/the dining room at the marae. She welcomes **whānau** speakers of **te reo o Te Aupouri** to speak the local dialect

to her. She is fortunate that she has strong support with **the local dialect** from her two uncles Karaka and Tamati. **Kaikōrero/**speakers believe **whānau/**family using the **marae** can appoint their leader to direct and support the home people with duties in the dining area, to gather food, to dig the grave whenever they have **tangi/**funerals on the marae. **Renee** will begin the second group's stories.

Renee

Renee and Dave have five **tamariki/**children, her eldest child attends secondary school in **Kaitaia**, the next three children attend the local school, **Te Kura a Iwi o Te Kao** and her youngest child attends **Kōhanga Reo**. Renee was raised in **Te Kao** and attended the school. During that period some 'homegrown teachers' were teaching staff, Eruini Keepa and Te Ikanui Kapa. When she finished school, she worked in Kaitaia and lived with

The late **Bonnie Conrad (Rosie's** mother), who mentored her. Her parents **Kiri** and Raniera Pako wanted her to travel to Australia but she chose to remain home. She sees herself as the twelfth child of her **whānau/**family. **Manaakitanga/**caring, and **aroha/**love were values modeled by her parents. She remains at home because of the '**wairua of the whenua'/**the spirituality of the land. She advises **whānau** family **/** not to stay away from home too long and to return home and learn about being **Te Aupouri**.

Bridgett

Bridgett was raised by her mum, Apikaira Matiu. She attended **Te Kao** School and when the Education Board closed the secondary department of **Te Kao** School she attended Whangarei Girls' High. It really affected the number of **whānau/** family who attended school at the time. She later attended Auckland University and took maternity leave to give birth to her daughter Emily. She currently works at the **Maunga Tohoraha** Health clinic in Pukenui. She coaches sport and often supports the Club activities. **Bridgett** believes that everyone should contribute to the community of **Te Kao** with working at the **marae**, church, at school or coaching sports.

Ngainanga

As the third child in her **whānau**, **Ngainanga** was raised by her paternal grandparents. She doesn't understand why she was chosen to live with our **tūpuna/**grandparents. She was born in Auckland. Matua Wally and **Whaea Noma** were given the opportunity to attend school elsewhere but they chose not to. Matua Eriha attended Auckland Grammar and Matua Heta attended St. Stephens.

Ngainanga marvels at the resilience our **tūpuna**/grandparents lived, their children were well-educated, and they obtained an irregular wage from gumdigging.

You got to wonder how they survived.

Our **tūpuna**/ grandparents, ancestors knew the Bible and the blue book of the Ratana faith/ **pukapuka whakamoemiti** from the first to the last pages. She has noticed that **Māori** continue religious practices which was taught to us. She likes to continue those teachings with her seven **mokopuna**/grandchildren and one great grandchild.

Government policy at the time influenced the name changes **Te Kao** school undertook. **Ngainanga** left **Te Kao** and attended a white, all girls' secondary school in affluent Epsom, Auckland. Her life there felt regimental. At the time, over a thousand students attended the school. It took two years for her to become accustomed to her school, after being 'cocooned' by her grandparents. On reflection, she thanks the school for teaching her time management skills because they are still applicable today. **Ngainanga** was nominated by **kaumātua**/male elders at the time to be involved in tribal affairs. Being instructed by **kaumātua**/male elders-imposed responsibilities. She considered the position seriously and was honoured to be selected in that way, though at the time she questioned her ability. She has two sons and seven **mokopuna**/grandchildren. She hopes **Te Aupouri** living elsewhere are healthy and involved in the politics of the indigenous peoples of the communities they are living in.

Rosie

When the Seventh Day Adventist School closed, in 1969, **Rosie** attended **Te Kao** school. She immediately noticed the differences between the schools' curricula, one was religious and the other was the New Zealand Curriculum with integrated elements of **Te Aupouri tikanga/** cultural practices. At the end of her sixth form year/Year twelve **Rosie** left school. She worked in **Kaitaia** for a while and then she left for Australia to live with her Aunt, Uncle and her two cousins. She didn't enjoy Australia, she returned to Auckland, met her husband, Lupe and when she gave birth to their two daughters, they decided to return home to raise their daughters in **Te Kao**.

May Lee

May Lee attended **Te Kao** School until form two/Year 8 and then she attended Queen Victoria School in **Taurārua**/Parnell, for her secondary years. In 2001, the Ministry of Education closed **Te Kura o Wikitoria**. Although there were forty girls on the school roll the closure caused

disruption, stress and great distraction. She advised her parents that she would enrol at a neighboring girls' secondary school for her final year. At their new school, she and her friends undertook a huge culture shock, but she persevered. On completion of her seventh form/Year thirteen, she left school and worked for several employers including her parents who managed their own business. After meeting her husband and giving birth to their two older children, several vacation trips to **Te Kao** were made from Auckland. These trips to **Te Kao** influenced their decision to return permanently to **Te Kao** in 2012. **May Lee** and Hemi wanted their children to have similar childhood experiences as she had when she was a child. Living in the city was crazy and **May Lee** felt strongly that she was no longer going to live there.

Moana

In 2014, **Moana** returned home permanently. She attended **Te Kao** Native school and recalls the slow, painful schooling experience she and the **whānau/**family endured.

At home they were discouraged to learn English whilst they milked the cows and at school, they were punished for speaking **Māori**. With three brothers attending boarding school, the **whānau/**family had to go to work. Gum digging was the only viable option available to supplement farming, but it meant the whole **whānau**/family travelling to the gumfields. She has positive memories of the experience because they lived by the sea.

Her mother endured ill health and **Moana** spent four years with her paternal grandparents **Ngataua** and Karena Karena. Her maternal, great grandfather was Te Mutu Kapa who often returned to **Te Kao** from **Waikato** to sharkfish at **Te Pua**. During her interview **Moana** spoke about shark preservation. Moana was strong in both religions, Ratana and Anglican. This didn't deter her. She knew she was Anglican but chose to attend **whakamoemiti** / church service of thanks of the **Rātana** faith. After working in different occupations, the NZ Army for several years, she undertook the **Te Ātakura** Teacher Training programme. Moana taught ten years at **Pukemiro Kura Kaupapa** and returned to **Te Kao**. At the time of the interview she was teaching three days **te reo Māori**/**Māori** language.

Bernadine

Bernadine was raised by her maternal grandparents. She was treated differently to her siblings and she wasn't compelled to perform any chores. She believed this to be 'normal.' At her grandfather's passing, she returned to live with her father whom she felt was the unkindest adult in the world. There she had to 'pitch in' and help with the housework. **Bernadine** attended and learned both church philosophies, **Ratana** and the Church of England. She attended **whakamoemiti**/**Ratana** church service with her maternal grandmother and then when that

service ended, she was delivered to her paternal grandparents to learn the scriptures. She disliked school and learned much more herding cattle with her father, **Waatahirama** to Houhora stockyards. Although she understands the local dialect, she regrets not being able to speak it.

Group three comprises of the **wāhine** who live in another tribal district. Two **kaikōrero/**speakers return to **Te Kao** as often as possible and the other **kaikōrero** returns for her immediate **whānau** events. **Ngawini o te Temepara** lives about three hours south of **Te Kao**. She has been teaching at Okaihau School for close to twenty-eight years.

Ngāwini o Te Temepara

Prior to migrating to Okaihau where she has taught at Okaihau High School for over twenty-five years, **Ngāwini**, her late husband, Waata and their three sons lived in **Otara**

Road, **Otara**. She felt like they were living in **Te Kao** because there were a few familiar, **Te Aupouri** elders living in the neighbourhood. When she married, she was Anglican. One day, she decided to be christened as a **mōrehu**/ a follower of the **Ratana** faith. This was performed by one of our uncles, the **apotoro**/apostle at the time, Te Umuroa Wiki. She supports **whānau** living away from home because she knows they will eventually return. She communicates often with her younger siblings and is happy to attend the tribal events on their behalf.

Karleen

Karleen recalls spending many hours at their **whānau/**family farm, in Everitt Road with her paternal grandmother, **May Everitt** who spoke **te reo** to her as a child. She was not raised or has lived in Te Kao. **Karleen** speaks proudly of having so many strong **whaea tūpuna** / female ancestors during her childhood, **Nana Hapai, Nana Tā, Nana Kahuwhero**. **Karleen** was raised in Paihia and she attended **Te Kura o Kuini Wikitoria/**Queen Victoria for her secondary years. Her grandparents fully supported education. After attending **Te Kura o Kuini Wikitoria**/Queen Victoria, **Karleen** attended Auckland University. Her son, Ruaiti is currently in the Air Force. At the time of her interview, **Karleen** was CEO of her own business, Manaaki Solutions. She is fully committed to the **maramatanga**/ the **Ratana** philosophy and strongly believes that **Te Aupouri** need to remain strong and supportive of each other. When she accompanies her father on his **Apotoro Takiwa/** Apostle of the district travels, she has observed other **iwi** efforts holding **wānanga/**learning times about **te reo me ōna tikanga mo tou rātou iwi** / establishing language learning initiatives for their tribe. She is keen to know what **Te Aupouri's** future direction will be.

Elaine

As a child, **Elaine** Brown lived with both, her grandmothers, the mothers of her parents. Although her paternal grandfather was present, she didn't have many conversations with him. Both her grandmothers were **āwhina**/assistants in the **Rātana** faith. **Elaine's** paternal grandmother, **Hemowai Paraone** attended a meeting held by **Tahupōtiki Wiremu Ratana**, the founder of the **Ratana** faith at **Houhora** in 1928. Whilst on a journey around **Muriwhenua**, **Hemowai** gave birth to **Elaine's** uncle she named him Piriwiritua. Before her death, **Elaine's** paternal grandmother showed **Elaine** where she gave birth to her uncle Piri. **Elaine** has four children. Winifred and Iopa live in Australia and Mihinga May and Steph live with **Elaine** on the farm, in Rāhiri. **Elaine** attended **Ngataki, Te Kao, Kaitaia** and Okaihau schools. Her father sought employment to support his **whanau/**family, and they were often transient. At the time of her interview, **Elaine** was the chairperson of the local **Kōhanga reo**. They are waiting for the Ministry of Education's approval to establish a **kura kaupapa Māori/**full immersion secondary school. She, Kahi and their late brother Waata, lived on their farm and she and Waata conversed daily in **te reo/Māor**i language. She has a high presence on **Rāhiri marae** which is few minutes away from their home. Giving back to the community is important to **Elaine** and the **whānau/**family.

Te Aupouri History

A few versions about the history of Te Aupouri exist. The intention of this section is not about opposing Te Aupouri history that has been written but merely extending early records that is currently available and commenting about the invisibility of our **whaea tūpuna** and asking why. This study recognizes **tūpuna**/ancestors as the tribal historians of Te Aupouri history and their transmission for future generations, or shared at **wānanga/kura** tribal learning, with **whānau/**family.

Kaumātua Mataki Arama (pers. com. 2015) declared prior to the arrival of our ancestors to the Hokianga, they left Hawera and sailed down the West Coast of the North Island of New Zealand. They navigated the Cook's Strait and sailed up the East Coast heading for the **Waitemata**. The **Waitemata** was an unsuitable location so they re-boarded and sailed south to Mt. Wellington Basin.

Whilst they were there, they became curious. Scouts were sent to see what was on the other side of the mountain. On their return they reported that beyond the mountain was the open sea. The elder instructed, that after their rest they would climb the mountain carrying their canoes. As they climbed, one of the canoe broke. The people knew that it would not be possible to repair

the canoe, some tribal members returned to **Hawera, Taranaki** and the remaining group continued north on the journey. Before their departure, they informed each other that they would not see each other until in death. That is how the name **Ngati Ruanui** came to be.

Diaspora, migration

Te Aupouri history reveals that the diaspora, migration is in our **whakapapa**/genealogy. From the time our ancestors set off from the mythical homeland they sought to find a suitable location for themselves. Using nature's elements, the sun, the clouds and the birds during the day and the moons and stars by night they sailed the great mass of water **Te Moana nui a Kiwa** /the Pacific Ocean to arrive at **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand.

At each stage of searching for a suitable area to set up, they were confronted with different challenges from neighbouring tribes. After each struggle, they either mobilized further or if the outcome was positive, they remained to strengthen themselves, to mark their territory and to discuss the next section of their journey.

Through **Mamari**, Kurahaupo, Mamaru, Tinana and Ngatokimatawhaorua **Te Aupouri** are related to every tribe in **Te Tai Tokerau**. Mamari and Ngātokimatawhaorua waka navigated Te Moananui a Kiwa together. **Mamari** waka brought the provisions to nourish the **tōhunga**/healers and the **rangatira**/ the chiefs who travelled on Ngātokimatawhaorua.

Tōku hokinga tuatahi /my first research trip home

On Thursday 30 April 2015, I arrived at **Pōtahi marae** in **Te Kao** and the community members were busily washing and storing dishes away after lunch. The farm at **Paua** had been nominated as a finalist for a national award, the **Ahuwhenua** trophy and the **whānau** and school children had catered. I entered the kitchen from the back door only to be presented with a tea towel and a conversation with my cousin Pete Kapa.

Three matriarchs quickly appeared. It was their way of **pōwhiri**/greeting me on behalf of the home people. **Whaea Kiri** immediately came to ask, "**e aha ana koe i konei**? What are you doing here?" **Whaea Marara** came to ask how the **whānau** was and **Whaea Karepori** just said she was pleased to see me. I replied individually, and they returned to their tasks.

As the duties decreased in the kitchen, I moved outside the backdoor of the kitchen and I noticed some women move to this area as well. Currently, it was necessary to re-group and to plan for the following day. There was a t**angi**/funeral in **Te Hapua,** and my **whanaunga**/relatives were planning to attend and arranging their travel plans. My plan was to **hui**/meet as a collective and to inform them about the project and that I had returned home to interview women.

I realized that this **hui**/meeting was not going to take place and on Saturday **whānau** members were travelling to **Kaitaia** to watch the mokopuna**/grandchildren** play rugby.

Ngā kaikōrero/the speakers' selection

At the **marae**, as each person appeared to the outside area we were seated and without any direction from me, the selection process commenced. I had initially spoken with **Rosie**, without my instruction or permission, she publicly selected **kaikōrero/**speakers for the project. **Rosie** identified them and reported that if there were any questions they had; I was available.

The moment these women were announced, they returned inside the kitchen as if they wanted to consider their selection or decide that they were not returning outside and then they reappeared to the seating area.

I was comfortable with the process taking place. The process was very public and done respectfully in such a way that the women's **mana**/dignity was not trampled. Later **Rosie** told me she wanted women who were visible, and they worked in the **wharekai** /dining room. Her response was to the research question, these women were retaining and maintaining our tribal identity by being visible in the **wharekai** /dining room and supporting the school. During this period, I mentioned to the women that I would be staying at Winiata and Millie's home (a cousin's home) and they could contact me there.

Everyone knew what **Rosie** was doing as she was identifying them to participate. None of these women were identified by the **Ngā Uru Tahuna**/advisory group or myself, the researcher and yet I felt comfortable with what was happening before our eyes. I didn't interfere, but I watched from the periphery. Throughout the time, women would appear and return to the kitchen then reappear as if they had to monitor the cleaning up of the dining room and the kitchen and think about their availability away from us. Co-construction of knowledge was developed and developing without my influence.

Hui/Meetings

After being at the **marae**, three **kaikōrero/**speakers indicated that they would like to participate. Times were organized to meet. **Whānau/**family members were issued the Information sheet and the consent forms. They were asked whether they wanted their interviews to take place as a group, they chose to meet individually. Later, at the time of the interview a **kaikōrero/**speaker commented it would have been more beneficial and supportive if the interview was undertaken as a group. Venues were selected by each **kaikōrero/**speaker. The first meeting took place at an auntie's home on Friday evening when she had returned from the **tangi**/funeral in **Te Hapua**.

Whilst we were at the marae, my male cousins had returned from the **Parengarenga** harbour laden with **kanae**/mullet and **tamure**/snapper. They were smoking mullet and on my arrival to my auntie's home I presented her with fresh fish in acknowledgement of her willingness to participate and recognition of her experience and with all the values owed to her as the elder of this research. Our ancestors had taught and practised **manaakitanga** / caring for others and sharing food. We immediately started talking about a topic unrelated to our purpose. It wasn't until forty minutes later that she commenced her narrative.

This provides a narrative around the collation and sharing of stories by all participants. The ritual of setting the meetings up to concluding them in a culturally acceptable way is the key to such interaction. My patience required as the researcher is important as the gaining of their trust and support of each individual or group depending on what and how the gathering of information was to be undertaken. However, all the information has woven presentations that are in my view the foundation of this thesis. In seeking to conclude the findings of such interactions the following chapter returns me to my childhood and providing more context to the findings of this study.

Te Wāhanga Tuawhā

Whiria te muka/plaiting three. Bind three lengths of flax with fibrous flax threads. Plait the muka, from each side to be replaced with a new flax strand.

Tōku Aō/ My world

It is timely for me to tell my story. I understand that a **kumara** /sweet potato does not talk about its sweetness, being boastful is not **Māori**. However, the readers of this thesis will not only be **Te Aupouri, Māori** /the indigenous people of **Aōtearoa/** New Zealand. Non-Māori/non-indigenous people will also read this thesis. I want to honor my ancestors and elders who positively influenced me and played a significant role throughout my life.

I have spent most of my life living in Otara, in Auckland discussing the issues about living away from the extended **whānau/**family and listening to **whānau/**family discuss our dreams, tribal, religious, politics and later educational politics, and having a clear understanding of being a descendant of both our parents' tribes **Te Aupouri, Ngati Kahu** and **Ngati Maru, Ngai Tamanuhiri** in **Te Tai Rāwhiti**.

But there is also my rural side where we spent the first ten years of my life. We lived in two communities **Te Kao** and later further south in the community of **Ngataki** before migrating to Otara, in Auckland.

I was born in the Kaitaia Annexe during the period **Te Aupouri** members of **Te Kao** were migrating to urbanized areas. Whaea Kura Ihaka who was married to our uncle, our mother's brother Rapata (Uncle Bob), named me after her friend, Judith Ann, who died in a tram accident.

Whānau/family

I am the eldest. Reuben, **Pani Ngarimu** and **Tiere Matenga** are my siblings. There is eighteen months between our brother Reuben and me, six years between Reuben and Ngarimu and three years between my sisters, **Pani Ngarimu** and **Tiere Matenga**. Our parents and Reuben are deceased. Our brother Reuben was named after our paternal grandfather. We keep them alive by including them in our **whānau**/family and extended **whānau**/family stories. **Pani Ngarimu** is named after our maternal grandmother and an older, maternal cousin **Ngarimu** and **Tiere Matenga** is named after our paternal, great grandmother of **Ngati Kahungunu ki te Wairarapa**.

Tō mātou whaea /our mother

Our mother was **Josephine** Matiu. She was the youngest daughter and the fifteenth child of Pani and Hemi Matiu. Her older and younger siblings were Hera, Huitara, Wahanui, Kahi, Ngatote, Maui, **May**, Henare, Rapata, Hone, **Ngapine**, Paraone, Te **Rere o Kapuni, Hepi Te Onepū**, (**our mother, Josephine**) and Tia. Our maternal grandmother was **Pani Waaka**, her tribe was Ngati Kahu. Our maternal grandfather was Hemi Matiu.

Te Mātauranga a te Pākehā/Pākehā Education system

Our maternal grandparents made a huge sacrifice and sent our mother, auntie and our five uncles away to be educated. Our mother's five brothers Huitara, Rapata, Hone, Paraone and Tia attended boarding schools in Auckland. Huitara and Tiawhenua attended Auckland Grammar, and Rapata, Hone, and Paraone attended Wesley College. As well as **our mother** attending Hamilton Tech, **Ngapine** attended Turākina. In Ngapine's final year of secondary school our grandfather, Hemi refused permission for her to return to Turākina because the secondary school in **Te Kao** required one more student for it to open. She reluctantly completed her final year at **Te Kao** School.

Our father was born and raised in another tribal region of **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand in **Te Tai Rāwhiti**/ the East Coast of the North Island, of New Zealand. Here is a brief introduction of our father.

Tō mātou matua/Our father

Our father was Latimer Pera Matenga Riki. He was raised by our paternal great grandmother, **Tiere Matenga**, mainly at Whareongaonga, just south of Muriwai in **Te Tai Rāwhiti**, on the East Coast of **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand.

Our paternal grandfather was Reupena Tamehana Riki of Ngai Tamanuhiri, Ngati Kahungunu ki Te Wairarapa and our paternal grandmother was **Kathleen Ida Jones** of Ngati Maru, Manutuke, in **Te Tai Rāwhiti** /on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand.

When our father completed secondary school at Gisborne Boys' High School, he attended Ardmore Teachers' College in Papakura. There, he met **Te Aupouri whanaunga** /our mother's relations, Alan Karena and Pia Ihaka. At the completion of their teacher training, our father and Pia exchanged placements. Our father travelled to **Te Kao** where he married our mother. Pia travelled to Waima, Te Mahurehure and married, his wife, Ellen nee Warmington.

Tōku whakatupuranga /my childhood

For the first years of my childhood we lived at the 'cottage' whilst our parents taught in**Te Kao**. The cottage was one of the homes provided for teachers by the Education Department at the time. Our extended **whānau** /family, uncles, aunties and older cousins featured strongly in our lives. Their willingness to babysit us, Reuben and me, enabled our parents to pursue their leisure activities. Our father played rugby for Te Aupouri and our mother played basketball. Our maternal grandaunt and granduncle, **Apikera** and Waiari Matiu, also undertook childcare duties.

Early awareness

Five years later, our father won the headmaster's position, a full primary school (years 1 – 8) at **Ngataki**, about an hour south of **Te Kao**. During these years I learned how education was not on an equal playing field. At times being the eldest and the headmaster's daughter was not a safe position to be in and at other times it was a privileged position. We lived on the community's periphery and maintained contact with **Te Kao,** commuting between Ngataki and **Te Kao**, attending our extended family events at **Pōtahi marae**. We lived in the Education Board house and our father soon learned to become a 'jack of all trades'.

As well as his administrative duties and teaching, our father also took on property managerial duties, cleaning the swimming pool and repairing the school pump. Frequent power cuts seemed to be a common occurrence in **Te Hiku o Te Ika**/tribal district, and I hear it still happens.

Our father was involved in the organisation of the Combined Far North Sports throughout **Te Hiku o Te Ika**/tribal district. On Saturdays our father and I accompanied the Junior Management Board (JMB) rugby players to Kaitaia. **Rangimarie Murray** was one of the assistants and later **Meri Wiki**. During our time at Ngataki, fitness was a daily event.

Fitness

We regularly arose early before six in the morning and walked to school with our parents. School was a couple of minutes away from the schoolhouse. Before Matua Kaaka had driven the Kaitaia College bus past our school, we would be on the padder tennis court. Our father and I paired against our mother and Reuben. Every point was contested, and there was much hilarity. It was good to remember how fit our parents were.

Whanaungatanga /relationships

Our recreational times were spent at **Rarawa** Beach on the east coast camping with Te Poari (Lassie) and **Celia** Nathan. Camping was an exciting time for holidays, strengthening relationships, exploring, eating seafood and relaxing. Right up to Lassie's death, Reuben and I idolized Lassie. Before setting out for the beach one day, we observed him manually changing the rear tyre of his Dexter tractor. The tractor trip to **Rarawa** was always a dusty experience. At the time we had to journey through **Te Aupouri** land managed by a non **Te Aupouri**. It intrigued me how this person had acquired management of **Te Aupouri** land when our Matua Taylor and Te Umuroa Wiki travelled great distances for employment, as far south as the Mangamuka Gorge.

Our cousins Eruiti, Vincent and Piho who are much younger than Reuben and I came for the ride. Sometimes their grandparents Matua Hirariumakutu and **Whaea Mate** would visit. **Whaea Mate** often spent hours weaving **tāmata** /flax mats which attracted visitors.

Crayfish and **kina**/seaeggs were plentiful then and our father and Lassie would be out diving, whilst our mother and Celia supervised us.

On some vacations our Matua Taylor drove from 139 Station Road, Otāhuhu, Auckland to collect our **whānau**/family in Ngataki for the school holidays. Our mother regarded Matua Taylor highly and considered him to be one of her brothers, even though he was married to our mother's first cousin. As children, there was a huge sense of loss when Matua Taylor, **Whaea Hapai** and our cousins left **Te Kao** and migrated to Auckland. I remember our parents feeling mournful and our father telling us that it was because they required employment.

Whānau /family

Whilst **whānau/**family in Auckland were settling into the urban life, our mother's brothers lived with us for different periods of time. Matua Huitara, Wahanui, and Hone treated Reuben, Ngarimu and me differently. Matua Wahanui raised my sister Ngarimu and they often spent quality time together. When our father returned from the sea or the garden, food was plentiful. Matua Wahanui and Ngarimu would venture out into the community delivering produce to Tai and Rorana Petricevich, our elderly next-door neighbours and to Lassie, Celia and our cousins.

Early politicisation

Our father was gregarious and loved being amongst **Te Aupouri**. Having been raised by our paternal great grandmother, **Tiere**, **Te Aupouri** elders quickly accepted our father. It wasn't long after his arrival to **Te Kao** that our father grasped the **Te Aupouri** dialect.

The elders observed this and honored him by allowing him to sit on the **taumata** /speaking platform, a great honor for our father.

Kaumātua / male elders and **kuia** /female elders requested our father write letters to the **kōmiti matua**/authorising church committee and local Minister of Parliament, Tapihana Paikea, about political issues. On Waiari's behalf, our father and Pia wrote to Tapihana Paikea to initiate and establish **Te Aupouri** Forestry as employment for **Te Aupouri**. Pia Ihaka, Pāpā (Waiari), Hopa Paraone, Wiki Karena and our father, travelled to Wellington on Pouaka Ihaka's car to parliament.

The practice of **manākitanga** continued when we lived in Ngataki. Living at Ngataki attracted numerous visitors from a range of interests.

Manuhiri /visitors

Elders, politicians, school inspectors, dental nurses, my single relatives and after a day working for Seresko in Waihopo, **Waatahirama Kapa** / Matua Wally often delivered freshly butchered mutton. Many of our extended **whānau** /family and our older cousins also gave birth at Ngataki. At the time, Government policy required expectant mothers to travel to Kaitaia to give birth. The outcome of this policy was that our ancestresses were made redundant, the midwifery tribal knowledge was no longer succeeded and the tribal stories for birthing and welcoming **mokopuna**/ grandchildren were made invisible and no longer practised. One of our father's namesakes, Latimer was born in Ngataki and his sister Kathleen Ida who was named after our paternal grandmother.

Whakamoemiti/ Ratana religious service

Our parents were strong followers of the **Ratana** faith, **whakamoemiti/** Ratana religious service and the **maramatanga/**philosophy pervaded our lives. To enter dialogue about **whakamoemiti/** Ratana religious service was to enter at your own peril. **Whakamoemiti/** Ratana religious service was held in **Te Kao**. Our mother contacted Vi West, the local taxi owner to collect us from Ngataki. The main highway to **Te Kao** was unsealed, therefore boggy and the conditions were atrocious during the winter. Most times the journey would take over an hour. For a short period, a **whaea tūpuna/**ancestress **Ihapera Nathan** conducted Sunday School classes outdoors, at their homestead.

Regardless of different religious affiliation, regular gatherings were organized amongst our cousins. These meeting times were at the local store operated by Ossie and Maisie Kitchen. After lunch at **Whaea Geneva's**, we'd go swimming with the **kariwaka** / smelts at Kaaka's

swimming hole. During that time recreational activities were disallowed on a Sunday. We knew these activities were frowned upon, but we never paid much attention.

Pōtahi marae

Pōtahi marae was a place we visited and continue to do so. As youngsters we learned the responsibilities, expectations and obligations of being hosts. Tasks depended on what the event was. The laying of the **tāmata**/floormats for **tangi**/deaths differed to laying **tāmata** for other meetings. There always appeared to be numerous tasks making beds, gathering food, preparing and cooking food, setting the tables, waitressing, and helping to wash and drying the dishes. Promotion was observed when our **whaea**/aunties asked us to assist in the dining area, setting the tables, waitressing, pouring tea and clearing the tables. Some occasions we assisted **Whaea Nere Mu** and set the top table. Most times, children were fed before the adults. We were lined up and marched in single file into the dining room in an orderly fashion by Mu Hetaraka.

On the marae, **whakamoemiti** /prayers of thanks or **karakia** / evening prayers were held at seven o'clock and all the children stopped playing and entered the **whare tūpuna**/ancestral house. Children were discouraged to continue playing when the bell sounded. In **Te Kao**, a combined night's service was held and as a child you knew which ministers instantly engaged the assembly. Otherwise, it was a good excuse to lie down, pretend to sleep or sleep. When church service finished, we either continued playing, showered or prepared ourselves for the return journey to **Ngataki**, or we stayed at **Whaea May's** or at Matua Wi's.

Teaching

When we lived in **Ngataki**, Reuben and I often role played our parents. Unbeknown to us, that was the beginning of our career choices. The fact that education inspectors visited dad whilst we resided in **Ngataki**, did not deter our decisions to pursue teaching as a career pathway.

Otara identity

When we migrated to Otara, our lifestyle changed. Suddenly, we were on our own, we became a nuclear **whānau**/family. The warmth of our extended **whānau**/ family no longer near. "Root shock" controlled our lives. We arrived at 56B Johnstones Road, a State Advances, two-storey three-bedroom home. The Angus Street Wikis came to assist us with settling into our temporary dwelling. Our father won a Deputy Principal's position at Mayfield primary in **Otara** where he taught for eighteen years. At the time, it was the largest primary school in **Aōtearoa** / New Zealand with over a thousand children.

Our mother discontinued teaching and sought employment at Bonds, a local manufacturer in Lovegrove Crescent. During the school holidays, our father worked at Southdown freezing works with several **Te Aupouri** members to save for our home, our first car, a red Kingswood station wagon and to supplement his fulltime teaching salary. Here **whanaungatanga** /relationships were strong and the **Te Aupouri** workers spoke **te reo o Te Aupouri** /**Te Aupouri** dialect daily. This suited our father well.

Bairds Intermediate and Hillary College

Reuben and I enrolled at Bairds Intermediate and although I was there for a year, it was another factor of Root Shock. All the new enrolments were marched into a separate classroom and immediately tested. Our class was Room 14, streaming existed, and we quickly learned how to march the sports field as a form of consequence. Those experiences were my first introduction to a non-**Māori**, non-**whānau**/non-family related teacher. It took a while to get used to having thirty other **Māori** and Pacific students in the class. The class total was greater than our school roll at **Ngataki**. Cultural references in the classroom environment and the playground at Bairds were non-existent. At the time, I quickly learned that being **Māori** in **Otara** was not valued.

Ann Milne's 2012 doctoral thesis, quotes Tomlins- Jahnke (2007), describing mainstream schools as follows:

Most **Māori** children in Aōtearoa (New Zealand) are in state mainstream schools where for many there is a disjuncture between the culture of the home and that of the school, between the lived realities of family and the school habitus. The term mainstream is a euphemism or code word for schools that privilege a western/Eurocentric education tradition. Mainstream schools in **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand are controlled by those who have political, economic and cultural power and where western values, knowledge, culture and the English language are the central focus of the school habitus. Schools incorporate aspects of **Māori** language and culture as additions rather than core components of the curriculum or school knowledge (pp. 6-7).

The following year I entered an academic class. My options at Hillary College were Latin and French, it was another adjustment. Most of the staff was Pākehā/non-**Māori** and a small group of staff took the time to know us. Teachers at Hillary were highly political, critical thinkers, they increased our conscientisation. Tom Newnham, Jill Amos, Warren Lindberg, Bernard Gadd and Ian Mitchell were the staff who influenced my thinking. Tom Newnham was very involved with the political group CARE (Committee Against Racial Equality) and HART (Halt all Racist Tours). Hana and Syd Jackson were invited to speak to us about Ngā Tamatoa activities. Also, on the staff was Wiremu Tawhai of Te Whānau a Apanui. It wasn't until I was

in the senior classes that the principal Garfield Johnson established the Polynesian Club. Garfield held principal positions at Kaitaia College and Inglewood High Schools before coming to Otara College and later renaming it Hillary College. Students learned each other's cultures. My participation in sports ensured that I survived school.

Teachers' College, Activism

I chose a teaching career at Auckland Primary Teachers' College. The late Tarutaru Rankin and Toby Curtis encouraged us to join the **Māori** Land March and we walked from **Hato Petera** in Northcote over the Auckland Harbour Bridge to Downtown Auckland, Queen Street, Newmarket and Te Ūnga Waka in Epsom. Whina Cooper was instrumental in this political initiative.

After teacher training, I spent the first seven years teaching in Otara, at Mayfield alongside our father, Ferguson Intermediate and Hillary College. Those experiences put me in good stead for the future.

Career

My career has taken me to co-educational, girls' **Māori** boarding schools in Parnell, Auckland and Napier and I now hold a leadership position in a special character, secondary school in South Auckland. Its philosophy is **whānau** /family being culturally sustaining, critically conscious and socially just. 2020 is my fifteenth year being **pouhiwa**/associate principal at **Kia Aroha** College.

Tōku Te Aupouritanga i Otara

Our **whānau** continued our engagement with **Te Aupouri**, and we frequently returned to **Te Kao** either with the extended **whānau/**family, our parents or our mother as she was a nondriver. At the time, returning to **Te Kao** was uppermost on everyone's minds. **Te Aupouri** was well represented in **Otara** too. Some elders lived close by, they retained and spoke **te reo o Te Aupouri/Te Aupouri** dialect, attended w**hakamoemiti/Ratana** service of thanks with our parents and maintained a connection to **Te Kao marae**. It felt like we were still living on **Te Hiku o Te Ika/**The Tail of the Fish.

A conclusion

In summarising this section, the strength and vision offered within our **whānau** is the overlying principle of our existence. The learnings handed to us throughout our respective journeys provide substance to this study. A rich plethora of discussion transcends generations of people within **Te Aupouri** and other tribal groups are key to our existence. Distance is not seen here as an impediment but more a strategy to ensure that all **whanau**/family are committed to keeping in touch with one another into the future.

Te Wāhanga Tuarima

Tataringia

Grasp the flax bundles vertically with the muka ends at the bottom. Shake the flax in a circular motion. The shortest prepared flax will fall. Categorise the flax according to their length. Long flax, medium flax and short lengths. The categorisation of the flax fits the themes from the interviews and the process undertaken. This involves re-reading the data and being familiar with it.

In 2017 we organized and facilitated our own Matiu **kura/**learning**.** It was a response from our young people to meet our extended **whānau**/family. As a lead up to returning to Te Kao, we held two kura in Otara so that our **whānau**/family could develop and strengthen relationships. The experience gave us the confidence to organize a **Te Aupouri kura** last year. The feedback we received from the **Te Aupouri kura** was positive and we intend continuing meeting this year.

This chapter discusses the emerging issues from the interviews and how these factors have influenced the **kaikōrero/**speakers' lives. The **kaikōrero**/speakers who lived alongside the **tūpuna**/ancestors experienced different lives to those who didn't live with the **tūpuna**/ancestors. Based on their geographical location, three different groups exist in the interviews. Common themes are evident as the **kaikōrero/** speakers speak freely. But there are also marked differences with their selection of their life experiences. A definition of globalisation will begin this chapter and then the **kaikōrero**/speakers will talk about their lives based on the themes.

The global position of "Diaspora" is quite a broad concept and within different disciplines it has different meanings. It is used by anthropologists and sociologists to describe ethnic characteristics a group has regardless as to whether they maintain contact with their homeland. People with an Irish background create political ties to their former homeland, but they have often blended into their host country cultures and show diverse cultural and behavioural traits. E.g. sending remittances home, forming groups to lobby home and/or host governments.

Sending remittances home was important for the survival of whānau and for several whaea living in Te Kao. It was a reason for staying connected to each other. The telephone conversation would sound like 'I received your **kohi**/donation, I spent it on the children's uniforms, Wiremu has a Junior Management Board rugby trip to Whangarei it paid for his return fare, the three churches benefitted. Thank you'. Our aunties did this whilst they lived and taught in another tribal area. Her knitting was also a characteristic that tribal members commented on. When the recipient of the remittances **Whaea Kerewai** was asked to weave **tāmata/**mats for the chapel

at St. Joseph's **Māori** Girls' College in the late eighties, one of its features was about her connection with **Ngati Kahungunu**/Hawke Bay and the number of students who had attended. The **kairāranga**/weaver Kerewai Conrad was honoured to present her weaving and informed everyone about her project. It was completed quickly. Both these **whaea**/aunties have since passed, but who would've guessed **Rosie's** daughter, Kodie (Kerewai's great grand daughter) would attend that secondary school some twenty-five years later.

Diaspora

This next section discusses the types of diaspora and their application to different ethnicities globally. There are **whanau**/family members of **Te Aupouri** who fall into these categories and maintain a keen interest in the tribal position of **Te Aupouri**. The object is to increase our understanding about Diaspora and how it influences our lives social, economically and politically.

Diasporas can be dynamic. Like Nationalities, members of a Diaspora are self-identified. This means that events affecting their countries of origin can cause persons of a given ethnic descent living in another country to self-identify themselves as members of their home country's Diaspora when they hadn't formerly considered themselves as such. They might then become politically active in support of some cause affecting the home country or homeland. Diasporas can overlap, and individuals can belong to more than one Diaspora. This fact increases the difficulty of cataloging them.

 "**Diaspora**" is a term that applies to groups with very different origins, and it can be important to appreciate these differences. In some cases, however, terms are used interchangeably in the literature. For example, a Diaspora can consist primarily of:

• **Migrants**: Migrants can perceive their situation as permanent (Irish immigration to America in the 19th Century) or temporary (Turkish guest workers in Germany). Temporary Diasporas can be transitory (members perceive themselves as residing temporarily until moving to their ultimate destination in another host country). Temporary Diasporas also can change into permanent Diasporas (some Turkish guest workers in Germany). Migration can be voluntary or involuntary.

  • **Refugees**: This is a subcategory of migration, but it implies that migration was sudden and involuntary. It also presumes that refugees seek to return to their home country within a reasonably short time.

• **Exiles**: This is a category of refugee that must remain in the host country until some political change occurs in the home country. (see Diasporas and Exiles: Varieties of Jewish Identities, & Shain, Y.)

• **Ethnic groups**: Ethnic groups refer to persons who self-identify with other members of the same ethnicity living outside their home country, but do not necessarily have any political ties with the home country. They probably have no plans to return to the home country but cherish their ethnic roots to some degree.

• **Expatriates**: Persons from one country living in another. It is a very general term that seems to imply voluntary exile with possible plans to return to their home country at a time of their choosing.

• **Indigenous peoples**: These groups do not constitute Diasporas *per se*, but exhibit many of the same characteristics, such as transnational communities, minority status in their states, and distinctive cultural characteristics that resist assimilation (e.g., the Kurds and Amerindian peoples of Central and South America) (see Mayberry-Lewis, D.).

• **Minorities**: Any of the above groups could – and probably do – constitute minorities in their host countries.

The emergence of 24/7 media – coupled with convenient home country cultural access, remittance flows, and new technologies of communication and travel – suggest strongly that Diaspora assimilation dynamics, identity construction and reconciliation, and the definition of concepts like 'domestic' and 'foreign' and 'citizen' have entered a far more blurry ambivalent phase." New forms of media, including communications technologies and alternative financial tools, also have provided a transformational means to accelerate mobilization of Diasporas.

While their actual mobilization characteristics vary extensively, some Diasporas havedemonstrated the ability to exert sufficiently focused, organized, and powerful influence to make them significant actors in international affairs. The Chinese and Indian Diasporas are the best examples of Diasporas with economic power, while the Tamil Diaspora might be the best example of one that has influenced events in the home country by funding military action.

Many Diasporas use networks to coordinate activities.

The literature lists several principal paths of influence for diasporic politics. These are:

• A Diaspora tries to affect home country government policies.
• A Diaspora tries to affect host country government policies.
• Home country government tries to tap into Diaspora resources for its own purposes, usually for economic gain or to sway host country government or popular opinion.
• Host country government tries to tap into Diaspora resources for its own purposes, which can include policies to reduce the Diaspora's influence.
• Diasporas support rebel movements.
• Rebel movements exploit Diasporas (element of extortion).
• Diasporas support criminal activity.

• Ethnically based criminal networks exploit Diasporas (element of extortion).
• Diasporic civic associations play an increasingly important role in managing agendas to bring about desired outcomes.

Diasporic associations are becoming increasingly important actors in Diasporic politics. They primarily take the form of civic organizations without ties to government, but they also might be government sponsored (predominantly by home government when this occurs). These associations can be based in either the home or the host country, and they might strive to influence home or host government policies. In many cases, the association promotes public works projects in the home country using contributions from members of the Diaspora; this type has a distinctly grass roots, local politics nature. It requires the existence of a Diaspora that is uniform, e.g., recent immigrants to the United States from the same area of El Salvador. Some associations appear to operate as independent variables (i.e., set their own agendas rather than respond to the desires of their Diaspora).

Use of the term Diaspora also can imply generational differentiation. Some politically active Diasporas consist almost exclusively of first- and second-generation migrants, while others have proven far more durable and transcend several generations. Often, the characteristics of the host country's assimilation dynamics plays heavily in shaping a Diaspora's durability, but it is only one of the operative variables.

'Ka nuku, nuku ka neke, neke'

The interviews about migration motivated the **kaikōrero/** the speakers in search of better opportunities such as education, employment and better lifestyles, problems created by government policy for their survival. At the initial stages of departure, there was a reluctance to leave **Te Kao** and with the statement of farewell that **whānau/**family would return often to maintain connection with the tribe. For some members the prediction was fulfilled, but for others it required review.

Often though there was a 'strong pull' to return for **tangihanga**/funerals in **Te Kao** and showing support to the bereaved **whānau/**family. Telephone calls and suitability for release from work employment were factors considered at the time. For urbanised **whānau/**family returning to **Te Kao** regularly it was necessary to have secure employment and understanding employers. Not being a fully licenced driver was the reliance on **whānau** to attend **tangihanga /** funeral and fit in with the employment of the driver. In our mother's case it was psychological, a great need to return to her birthplace and to renew links with her **iwi**/people, Te Aupouri. No sooner the funeral was over then she would expect us to remain for the **hakari**/feast. A fulfilment of cultural expectations in respect to the **whānau pani**/bereaved family, expressing apologies for departing and briefly severing ties with the extended **whānau**. **Anga nui** / the seen face was important for both the residents and the urbanised **whanau**/family. Being physically present at the **marae** not only met the individual's responsibilities, obligations and expectations but for the time being, further strengthened collective ties.

Secondary educational opportunities for us was not readily available in the Ngataki community. It was one of the main reasons why we migrated to Otara as well as our father securing promotion and employment. Our brother Reuben and I enrolled at Bairds Intermediate, me for a year and he for two years. At the time there was no introduction to the school, its philosophy or the curriculum. Later, our parents wanted to own a home rather than continue renting a dwelling, 56 B Johnstones Road and a commitment they later made was to save and to purchase. Regular travel and return to **Te Kao**, was necessary for our parents to show support to the **iwi/**people and to further strengthen the collective ties. It also renewed their conversations with **whānau/**family in **Te Kao** and to the **ringa wera**/ chefs in the **wharekai/**dining room in the way of service and humility. The humour, company and the mere fact of knowing about the local politics and socialising with **whanau/** family were important factors to us.

  'Ka waiwai aku kamo kia koutou mā, ka pupu te aroha'/my eyes fill with tears of love

While I was thinking about this chapter, I read the article Linda Tuhiwai Smith wrote about finding the indigenous presence inside histories already told.

The stories of indigenous women are being told through the writing of indigenous women as 'biographies' some are granny stories. In her opinion many seem far too romanticized to be real and these grannies are described as strong, powerful but loving and culturally correct grannies who have overcome extreme hardship to become significant icons and repositories of knowledge (Smith, 2004). She prefers writing to be honest and to capture our ancestors' distinct characteristics.

Ngā whaea tūpuna and the ancestors

I have written the ancestors' names not only to honour them but to introduce them to you. Ngataua and Karena Karena, Te Mutu Kapa, Mihi and Wiki Karena, Hohepa and Lucy Wiki, Hemowai Paraone and May Wells, Meri and Kaaka Wiki, Waata Hirama Kapa, May and Hoani Everitt, Raniera and Kiri Pako, Kāpo and Hari Kapa, Apikaira Matiu as well as being great grandparents and grandparents to the **kaikōrero/**speakers they were also well known to me as **tūpuna/**ancestors. May Wells (Elaine's grandmother) was one of my mother's older sisters and Apikaira Matiu (Bidgett's grandmother) was my mother's sister in law. Hoani Everitt's mother, **Ngarui** and (**Karleen's** paternal great grandmother) was a sister to our maternal grandfather Hemi Matiu. These ancestors have been talked about and written into this study as influential, people to generations of **Te Aupouri**.

Te ahua o ngā whaea tūpuna/the ancestresses' manner
Te Aupouri ancestresses played a major role in the community. They were the lifeline of the community, composers, the weavers, the midwives, the central figures of the **whanau/**family. They contributed to the composition of **Te Kao**, service or giving back
continues through their **uri/**descendants. Regardless of which **whānau/**family event and what was happening on the **marae**, they all attended and volunteered their services in the roles that were presented. They supported each other too regardless of religious affiliation. Their lives were public, celebrated and they informed each other about their morning activities in their households. On the marae nothing was secretive. It was up to the listeners to accept the news. Life was communal and collective. Their lives were intertwined because they shared a common **whakapapa/**genealogy which was known by every tribal member. It was their entertainment too.

Living in Te Kao did not mean that the residents' experiences were similar regardless if they belonged to the same generation. **Kaikōrero/**speakers who were fortunate to live with our ancestors observed the **tūpuna/**ancestors having a high work ethic, teaching food preservation, holding key positions of different religions, being loyal to **whānau/**family, speakers of the local

dialect, strong believers in education, fierce opponents of the English language, inspirational ancestresses modelling speaking rights on the marae, ardent supporters of **Pōtahi marae** and **Te Aupouri** Rugby Club.

High work ethic

Hohepa and Lucy Wiki routinely arose at 5am in the morning. **Ria's** great grandfather would arise at that hour to chop firewood. Her great grandmother **Lucy** often wiped the floor on her hands and knees. **Tamariki/**children and their **mokopuna/**grandchildren remembered them for their athleticism. They walked everywhere and they showed support to the community, church, marae and their beloved **Te Aupouri** Rugby Club. They were popular figures in the community.

Honouring **whaea tūpuna** /the ancestresses

Being directed and nominated by **kaumātua**/elder to stand for the Te Aupouri Trust Board was the time to contribute to the **iwi**/people. Although **Ngainanga** questioned her abilities as to whether she can perform the tasks as a trustee she wrote her signature. How could she let everyone down?

There are a lot of women who are already here. I look at Auntie Kerewai her team made her a **wahine toa,** Auntie Manu she was a **wahine toa** for just being there. I think of the kuia of my time they were all **wahine toa** /warrior women, they came out of adversity they were there during the depression.

They had their own strengths, to come out of the Depression and to bring up a family during hard times they were the **wāhine toa/**warrior women (**Ngainanga,** 2015).

Manaakitanga/care

The ancestors modelled **manaakitanga/**caring to the **kaikōrero/**speakers. During their childhood, the **kaikōrero/**speakers expressed that it was hard work, but they observed the care and consideration of the ancestors whenever a **marae** event took place and, in the afternoons, they would return to the farm to milk. Ancestors took produce not only as contribution from their vegetable gardens but also as supplementary, their **kohi**/donation for the **hui**. **Manaakitanga**/caring for **whanau/**family was an important value.

Mahara ana ahau kua whakakīngia te trailer, **ka haere ki** Te Hapua to give them food. I remember loading the trailer with supplies and us

travelling to Te Hapua, that was **manaaki/**caring for others (Renee 2015).

Food preservation

Well-known Anglican minister, Te Mutu Kapa regularly returned from Waikato to take up shark fishing at Te Pua, with Paihere Paraone. The activity was not only about eating traditional food. **Mokopuna**/grandchildren were taught patience, respect for the food and an alternative supplement to their diet. The drying of the shark was dependent on the weather, their reliance on fly infestation and its readiness for sharing the delicacy with **whānau**/family members. This process often took up to a year.

Mea mai tōku karani māmā, 'e hoa ma, kua tarengia tēra mango, kua ūaina, kua marokēngia, kua ūaina anō, kua marokē". My grandmother commented that the shark was hung, rained upon, dried, rained on several times and dried before consumption (Moana, 2015).

Residents knew that an elder had returned to the community when his **mokopuna/**grandchild had dried shark at school for morning tea. An auntie, affectionately known as Miss Rangi in the community and a teacher assistant at the time, encouraged Moana to dispose the dried shark.

Haere mai ana au ki te kura, i tētahi taima me te wāhi pīhi nei, te kaha haunga nē? On one occasion I took this small piece of dried shark to eat, it had its distinct aroma. **Kua mea mai taku auntie a Rangi, 'Mauria tēra mea ki raro rā**, **ka panga atu**." My Auntie Rangi instructed me, "Take that thing and dispose it down there."

Māori women were key figures of the communities and of other resistance initiatives to **Pākehā** domination. The significance of their involvement has been silenced not just by most Pākehā histories but by many **Māori** oral histories as well. **Māori** schools were established in these and other communities without government assistance, and **Māori** women were known to have been involved in schooling as pupils and as teaching assistants from the time when the mission schools were first established. We can therefore assume that **Māori** women were also involved in non-mission and non-government schools. But little is known of their contribution (Smith p37, 1992).

Hāhi/religion

Kaikōrero/participant baptised in one religion and raised in two different religions were excited to talk about their lives in their interview. Other than their immediate **whanau/**family, they had the opportunity to talk about their experiences with someone else. As an adult, to critically

analyse the teachings of both religions during her interview was liberating for a **kaikōrero/**participant. She reflected on her childhood and made comparisons of both religions. She mentioned expressing her complaints to her father, Waatahīrama, whom she felt, ignored her and never interrupted. As a child she attended the **Ratana** service and at its completion was delivered by her maternal grandmother to her paternal grandmother's hands for scripture readings. But for this **kaikōrero**/participant, as a child she had to contend with the death of her mother and being indoctrinated.

It explains why an elder of **Ngā Uru Tāhuna/**advisory group asked about tribal members not attending **karakia**/church service in **Te Kao**. Residents do not feel the necessity to attend a church service in a building. It is possible to hold the service wherever and whenever people are inclined. Some hold the view that it should only be conducted by males and other members are happy for women and men to play those roles regardless whether they hold positions in the church. For urbanised **whānau/**family it was exciting to see the elders on Sundays.

 To go to **Kia Mataara** for **whakamoemiti** / service of thanks because   that was almost like being at home and I loved those days (Karleen 2015).

Kia Mataara is the **Ratana** parish located in Bond Street Otara, Auckland. Followers of the **Ratana** faith attend the services on Sundays from 11am until 12.20pm. This building has been located on the corner of Ferguson Road and Bond Street since the mid-seventies. It holds special memories for the struggle the **mōrehu**/followers have sought from different governments. But most importantly, it was the **Ngati Wai**, National Member of Parliament at the time, that enabled the **Komiti haahi/**parish committee to obtain and secure the land and establish a building which was opened by the **tūmuaki** at the time **Te Reo Hura**, the daughter of **Tahupōtiki Wiremu Ratana**, the founder of the Ratana faith. Over the years too, **Kia Mataara** has been used by Te Kao Tamaki Association and different political parties for their meetings.

For a short period whilst her mother recovered from illness, **Moana** lived with her grandparents **Ngataua** and **Karena Karena**, she retold the story about her outspokenness when she was asked by her mother which morning church service she would attend. **Moana** knew she was baptised Anglican but before her grandparents realised, she informed her mother that she would be attending **whakamoemiti**/the **Ratana** service. Her grandparents agreed that she was bold with her response.

 Kite mai tōku karani māmā i au, ka katakata, ka mea mai, "Nanakia te tukuna mai o tou māmā." Koia te kōrero o tōku karani māmā (Moana 2015). My grandmother observed me,

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she grinned with pride and later laughed she commented, "Your mother's permission is admirable." That was my grandmother, **Ngataua's** comment.

It was strange and beyond belief for **Moana's** grandparents to have her, speak in such a manner to an elder, let alone her mother. On reflection, **Moana** felt her grandmother grinned because of the pride she felt for her **mokopuna/**grandchild and the fact that **Moana** was self-opinionated at a young age.

Being in the presence of both grandmothers was a valuable time for another kaikōrero. As the eldest female **mokopuna** to her parents Mihinga and Reipa, **Elaine** was taught to bake bread and told different **whanau/family** stories. At a young age **Elaine's** maternal grandmother, May Wells was left a widow with nine **tamariki**/children to raise. **Whānau/**family supported her **nana/**grandmother and **Elaine** vividly remembers different **whānau/**family members delivering food, fish and vegetables. May Wells was a community person. At the time, she was a school committee member, and an **āwhinā**/assistant in the **Ratana** church.

Her paternal grandmother was a storyteller and one of the stories **Elaine** remembers was about her nana, **Hemowai** travelling with Tahupōtiki Ratana and giving birth to her uncle Piriwiritua in 1928. Delivering her baby in a good condition was important, otherwise her grandmother would turn her back and let nature take its course.

Stories that my nana Brown, **Hemowai** told me was her **hīkoi**/journey with **Ratana**. That was when my Uncle Piri was born (**Elaine** 2015).

Te aroha o ngā tūpuna/the ancestors' devotion

From the age of four to ten years, **Bernadine** was raised by her maternal grandparents. Her mother Joey died at a young age from cancer and throughout that period, her grandparents compensated for the loss of her mother. The youngest of four, they spoilt her. Whilst she rode the horse with her grandfather, her siblings and cousin walked whilst they picked mushrooms. From the horse, Bernadine pointed to the mushrooms, everyone else would pick and she chose the mushroom for her grandfather to cook her. As well as being showered with their love, she wasn't required to do any housework. Imagine the shock, when she returned to live with her father Waatahīrama after the death of her grandfather, Kaaka and at the age of ten years, making her bed and helping around the home.

I didn't do my jobs. I wanted to run away back to my grandmother. I'd tell her, Dad's making me work, what's up with that? (**Bernadine** 2015).

Living in Otara

Ngawini never was very homesick. At the age of nineteen she and her husband Waata lived in Otara a suburb located in Manukau, Auckland. They were surrounded by elders from **Te Kao**. She considered herself lucky and she appreciated their neighbourliness. She could hear them speaking the **Te Aupouri** dialect everywhere she visited. This was important to her as all these elders were of her father's generation. She often visited these elders in their homes on Sundays after **whakamoemiti/**Ratana prayers of service. These times not only provided connection for her but supported her with whatever questions she had about life.

**Heoi anō ki au, e noho ana au ki Te Kao na te mea, na te nui o te whānau e noho ana i Otara. Ko Matua Pera rāua ko Josie me tā
rāua whānau, ko Timo rāua ko Lily me tā rāua whānau, Ko Hapai rāua ko Taylor me tā rāua whānau, ko Auntie Puti, Ko Meihina
rāua ko Barcey, Pineaha rāua ko Kowhai, ko Waiheke rāua ko Ron, ko Phyllis rāua ko tōna tane Joe Cross e hia raini (Ngawini 2015).**

I thought I was still living in **Te Kao** because there were so many of the family living in Otara. There were Uncle Pera, Auntie Josie and their family, Timo, Lily, Hapai, Taylor, Auntie Puti, Meihina and Barcey, Pineaha, Kowhai, Waiheke, Ron Kite, Phyllis and Joe Cross and their families quite a few us from Te Kao (Ngawini 2015).

Te tūnga o te wahine i te marae/the position of women

When the kaumātua attended regional meetings, grandchildren were left with the responsibility of keeping their grandmother's company. As **mokopuna**/grandchild and most times reluctant carers, grandmothers were known as being strict and according to **kaikōrero**/ speaker as children they considered their grandmothers as being unkind.

Te Aupouri female elders were astute and never relied on the ancestors to speak. The speaking platform was the area where the orators sat. If the speaking platform was vacant of male speakers, they would stand and deliver. It was usual for them to agree or disagree with the speaker and they were known for making their views clear to the assembly. They also delivered **karakia**/prayers or **whakamoemiti**/prayers of thanks. At the time of my childhood, our elders spoke from where they were seated, not from the area the tribal orators are seated today.

Ana, pai ana mō te taumata, e kore ngā kaumātua kei te taumata, kua tū ētahi kuia ki te mihi atu, ki te kōrero. Na, ko Auntie Roera,

kaha ana aia me Nanny Kahu na ko rātou katoa a Auntie Puti ma e kore rātou e noho i te taha, noho wahangū, kāhore. Kaha ana rātou ki te kōrero. These speakers would be Auntie Roera, Nanny Kahuwhero, Auntie Puti, they would never sit aside in silence. They were confident speakers Karleen (2015).

At the age of six years **Karleen** asked her grandmother to speak **te reo**/the local dialect to her. It was timely that she learned at the time.

During the conversations different elderly women encouraged **whanau/**family to remain connected to **Te Aupouri** and Te Kao for they could see it was important.

Aunty Roera would always harken back to saying, 'we are a peculiar people.' I always wondered why we're peculiar and I always

thought we are perfect. Those little things remained in me and what I loved about Te Kao Tamaki Association was the fact that all

our **whānau/**family that were living away from home in**Tamaki**/Auckland but still contributing back to our marae, keeping those home fires burning and our commitment to that.

Another lesson that was learned from her grandmother May Everitt was to care for family and visitors. They agreed that the **whānau/**family was the focus.

But if your family is offended or is hurt, she stated, discontinue looking after that person or people. That person or people had trampled on the **mana** of the **whānau/**integrity of the family.

Ko te tino pūtake o tō rātou kōrero ki ahau, kia ū ki te whānau, kia manaakitia i ētahi ahakoa ko wai. Ko ētahi atu e pā ana ki te wahine, 'ma te wahine, te noho o te wahine i roto i te whare te kaha o te wahine mo te reo, me ngā waiata tautoko ataahua o rātou waiata tautoko
me ētahi atu.

The core of their statements is to be loyal to the family. Some other tribal statements that apply to women are that women who remain at home is strong in the tribal dialect, supportive in the tribal songs and other duties.

Rapu oranga/search for sustenance

The **kaikōrero/**speaker showed understanding and support for **Te Aupouri** living away from home. Employment opportunities are not available in **Te Taitokerau/**Northland as they are elsewhere. But if **whanau/**family wanted to know about obtaining **mātauranga a iwi/tribal**

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knowledge, **waiata, kōrero** and **haka** they were encouraged to return home. It was more beneficial for **whānau/**family to return from overseas and learn those elements at home. Afterall, **anga nui/**face to face learning was best. Residents observe **mokopuna** living elsewhere, showing their understanding about tribal protocol differently. **Hau kainga**/residents are saddened by their lack of confidence and confusion.

They take their role seriously by trying to establish a key **whānau** member to reset their understanding before the completion of their marae visit. **Whānau/**families are advised, **tikanga**/tribal protocol is ours come home.

Ki taku whakaaro e ū ana kia mahi mai e rātou me hoki mai ki te kainga Moana (2015). I believe that they practise and return home.

I ngā taima e marokē ana i ngā kau hei mirakahia, ka haere ngā whānau ki te rapu anō tētahi oranga te nuinga o mātou i Te Ahu, haere ana mātou te keri kapia. Tēra he tikanga anō tēra, he rapu moni. When the cows were dry, the families would walk to the gumfields, most residents of Te Ahu would go. That was the custom to seek revenue **Moana** (2015).

Kauri gum formed when resin from kauri trees leaked out through fractures or cracks in the bark, hardening with the exposure to air. Lumps commonly fell to the ground and became covered with soil and forest litter, eventually fossilising. Other lumps formed as branches forked or trees were damaged, which released the resin. Gum-diggers worked in the old kauri fields, most of which were then covered by swamp or scrub, digging for the gum. Much of the population was transient, moving from field to field, and they lived in rough huts or tents. It was extremely hard work and not very well paid, but it attracted many Māori and European settlers, including women and children. Gum-digging was the major source of income for settlers in Northland, and farmers often worked the gum fields in the winter months to subsidise the poor income from their unbroken land *(Teara.govt.nz. 2009).*

The same kind of struggle can be reported about **whānau/**family living elsewhere, the nuclear **whānau**/family of the **kaikōrero/**speaker, siblings in Australia advise that they can purchase their home. The measure of their success is the ability to have a home. **Kaikōrero/**speaker are responding with their measure of success as being their children living in Te Kao, learning their identity and speaking **te reo o Te Aupouri**.

Everybody think the big dream; the big picture is money. But I think the big thing for us is here since moving home it has been family, and home. We just don't need it. Our kids are

learning their **whakapapa/**geneaology. Our kids know how to look after themselves. They know how to stand on the marae, they know how to look after people **May Lee** (2015).

Residents are fiercely protective about the commentary they hear and receive regarding their lives in **Te Kao**. Regardless if the comments have come from tribal members living elsewhere, the position for consideration is that **whānau/**family should not comment unless they live in the community.

It is not possible for **whānau/**family to comment about the community if **whānau/ family** do not live in **Te Kao**. They must live in **Te Kao** before they understand how it works. People who live away from home, talk about how **Te Kao** should work. There is also the view that the residents of **Te Kao** should contribute by helping at the school or in the rugby club or helping at the marae or wherever support is required **Bridgett** (2015).

Communities are built off the backs of people doing things for nothing…your expectations of everybody is to help you when you get in trouble you know, so, you expect everyone to get up and help **Bridgett** (2015).

Residents advise that **whanau/**family living elsewhere do not realise the benefits of living at home, the reality is observed, and employment is
   unavailable.

   However, the support mechanisms here are available and strong
   when someone is stressed **Bridgett** (2015).

I know some of them **e mokemoke ana ki te hoki mai, hiahia ana rātou ki te hoki mai ki konei engari ko te mea nui ko te mahi**. Some are longing to return, but the main obstacle is the lack of employment **Renee** (2015).

Kaikōrero/speakers living elsewhere can still be connected to **Te Aupouri**. They maintain their connection through social media available. Tribal members are well informed about stresses that affect the **whanau/**family that it is possible to decide to **hui**/meet from Auckland according to **Elaine** living in Rāhiri. Distance does not matter.

 I don't think where we live makes us more **Te Aupouri**, I think that's within us. That's come from my parents, they have instilled **Te Aupouri**

in us and the teachings what little I can carry on, to my children. My children are proud to be **Te Aupouri**.

We have not lived a **Te Kao** life to be **Te Aupouri** for a while **Elaine** (2015).

Mīharo rawatia ki ou tātou whānau i roto i tāwahi rā me ētahi atu o ngā kainga i roto i Aōtearoa nei. Amazing seeing our tribal members living overseas as well as the different tribal districts of New Zealand **Karleen** (2015).

Ahakoa no konei tōku tane o Nga Puhi nui rawa ōku whakaaro mo te kainga. Mo te hoki ki te kainga, mō Te Aupouritanga ngā mea noho ana i Ahitereiria mōhio ana au ko ētahi o rātou e hiahia ana te hoki mai. Although my husband is from here Ngā Puhi I constantly think about my birthplace to return home, and I know those family members living in Australia wish to return **Ngawini** (2015).

Te Reo o Te Aupouri/ Te Aupouri dialect

Elaine, Moana, Karleen, Renee, and Ngawini confidently speak **te reo o Te Aupouri**/the Te Aupouri dialect. They lived alongside the **tūpuna**/ancestors and it was the only language they used. Through the language they knew the cultural protocols, about communication, their tribal identity and their difference to other tribes. Today everyone, adults and children are encouraged to speak the **Te Aupouri** dialect everywhere, on the marae, the kura, the sports fields, the **kōhanga reo** and at church. The appointment of Anaru and the approaches he uses in his teaching, has greatly encouraged home people to attend night class at the school. The learners acknowledge that there is still much they can do in their conversations.

You can't help it **pēna he mōhioranga tou, ū tonu ana koe ki te reo o te kainga, engari ka hau atu koe ki erā rohe kua rerekē te reo**. If you have any knowledge and you hold fast to the local dialect when you enter other tribal districts the dialect slightly changes **Moana** (2015).

There is also concern for future planning about the survival of **te Reo o Te Aupouri**. With so many of our members travelling to different tribal regions they have made observations of the succession programmes available and how tribal protocols have been inserted in **karanga** positions by the women and oratory for the men when tribal elders pass away, and these positions become vacant.

Engari ko tōku nei awangawanga he aha tēnei te tino pūtake ō tō tātou nei Te Aupouritanga? My concern is what is the sole purpose of our tribe? Is it the language, song, cultural protocol or values **Karleen** (2015)?

> **Na te mea ko ēnei ōku nei whakaaro. Kua haere ahau ki ētahi atu hui, ētahi atu iwi, i ētahi atu rohe, i ētahi marae, nā, kua kite atu, kaha ana rātou ki te tū ki te waiata, kaha ana rātou**. Here are my thoughts. I attend gatherings in other tribal districts, and different marae, I observe younger tribal members are confident and participating in their tribal **waiata** Karleen (2015).

In the fifties **kaikōrero/**speakers were unsure as to which language to use. They were known as the rebels for speaking English at home. They were punished for speaking **Māori** at school and when they retrurned home they were punished for speaking English.

Whanaunga/relatives who remained in the community and attended the local secondary school have a good command of **te reo o Te Aupouri**. **Ngainanga** attended a whitestream, single sex secondary school in Epsom Auckland and regretfully compares her inability to speak **te reo/**the language. It is not mentioned but she believes had she stayed home she would've been a confident speaker of **te reo o Te Aupouri**/the Te Aupouri dialect.

I envy my cousins that stayed here at school, at the time was still a secondary school and they now speak both languages fluently. They are more fluent in **te reo**/the language, they're more educated than I am even though I went to this so-called educated school, educated high profile school, I envy them, I envy them immensely because they can speak the **reo/the language** just like that **Ngainanga** (2015).

For some **whānau/**family, gaining confidence to speak **te reo/**the language has been a challenge. But they do admit hearing it being spoken at home and in the community has really increased their confidence. At the time of the interviews, **te reo/**the language night classes were provided at the school for members to learn alongside the **tamariki**.

You'd be surprised how many of us lost our **reo/**language. We didn't speak **te reo/**the language much, now we've got Anaru. He's the main instigator with **te reo/**the language. My kids all went to **kōhanga reo/**language nest, the older ones. At **Te Kao** School, there was no **te reo/**the language in school for them. It didn't have a lot of **te reo**, so they lost their **reo** quickly. Now our **kura/**school has gone **Kura a Iwi/**tribal school. Our **kura/**school is about learning our Aupouri reo**/tribal language Bernadine** (2015).

Witana (2007) reported the most destructive assault that left the people of Te Aupouri searching to recover their language, traditions genealogy and history was the forced imposition of the English language and culture and their attempts to assimilate **Māori**.

Te Aupouri is one of the relatively few **iwi/**tribes who were able to resist the annihilation of our language by continuing to speak **te reo Māori** in our homes as a first language well into the mid nineteen seventies. The social and economic deprivation which resulted from repeated Crown breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi in **Muriwhenua** saw many **Te Aupouri** forced to relocate outside our territories, mainly to Auckland, making it much more difficult to retain our dialect, traditions and history.

A minimum of two generations of **Te Aupouri** have been denied such knowledge by the imposed British Education system. Many members of **Te Aupouri** in the past to the present were affected by the subversive ideologies underpinning colonisation. Two ideologies which moulded **Te Aupouri** is the belief in the superiority of **Pākehā** knowledge and cultural norms and the liberating potential of **Pākehā** knowledge and learning. These ideologies denied **Māori** language, knowledge and culture as inferior to that of **Pākehā** knowledge and were viewed as of little use in today's modern and technological **Pākehā** society, this is what **Te Aupouri** faced during their lives Witana (2007).

Te mātauranga a te Pākehā/Pākehā education system

Education through Pākehā schooling reinforced the dichotomies between the coloniser and the colonised. This has been done at several levels. Schools were created for **Māori** children as tools for the assimilation of **Māori** culture. **Māori** culture was considered as being unfriendly and in opposition to education. Schools reproduced forms of knowledge and history through the curriculum which supported the coloniser's view of reality as being supreme. Schools also fulfilled a hegemonic role in that they consciously and unconsciously produced and reproduced reconstructed histories. To survive, and succeed, in such schooling, **Māori** children needed to accept as natural and common sense the reconstructed knowledge of their own society (Smith, 1992, p.33).

Throughout the **kaikōrero/**speakers' education, one of the common factors was the negative effects of Education policy and it continues through to today. Assimilation was a strong factor during **Moana's** education in **Te Kao**. **Te reo me ōna tikanga / Māori** language and its protocols were left outside the school gate and **Moana** and the rest of the **whānau/**family had

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to learn and speak English. As children they were doubly punished. They were discouraged and punished speaking **Māori** at school. Her late father, Wiki never supported the learning of English for homework.

Kaikōrero/speakers were encouraged to attend schools outside of the tribal district as far afield as Auckland. **Karleen, May Lee, Ngainanga and Bridgett** attended girls' boarding schools. Throughout their attendance the **kaikōrero/**speakers thought about **whānau/**family, their childhood, home and their religion.

Smith (1992) elaborates marginalisation in postcolonial history has marginalised **Māori** women based on religious and political differences as well as on the grounds of sexual preferences. Hegemony has frequently reflected the processes within Pakeha structures. The Church of England, for example, was institutionalised as an ally of the state educational bureaucracy, beginning with an ordinance issued under Governor Fitzroy in 1853 which appointed the Anglican Bishop of New Zealand as one of the trustees to a board set up to manage property set aside for the 'advancement of the Native race.' This church, along with other settler churches, was given government assistance for the development of schooling for **Māori** children.

The consequence of this assistance reached its heights through the success of such Church of England boarding schools as Te Aute, St. Stephens, Queen Victoria and Hukarere. The foothold gained by the Church of England in the provision of secondary education for **Māori** children legitimated a orientation to **Māori** schooling. This made it difficult for the other dominations involved in **Māori** schooling. And almost impossible for the later development of **Māori** religious movements to gain credibility as a legitimate voice for **Māori** people.

Nana and Pāpā were very, very committed to education and through them,
I was selected, I was encouraged to engage in further education **Karleen** (2015).

My eyes were opened a lot when I went to **Wikitoria**. I didn't know anything South of **Ngā Puhi**. When I went to **Wikitoria** I was exposed to other people of different backgrounds. So, going to **Wikitoria** I learned from other people ahhh that's not normal. We don't do that where we come from, we do it like this. I sort of just adapted or listened a lot to the differences we had learned from my upbringing. I took some from what I had learned at the **kura** and the way my parents had brought me up. I just found a medium (**May Lee** 2015).

As a student at Queen Victoria School, **May Lee** and her peers were unsure about the security of their position at the school. Girls were permitted to attend meetings with or without their

parents or they asked questions of their parents and the staff about the discussions. Politics took precedence over her education.

When the government decided to close **Wikitoria/**Queen Victoria School in 2001 the Ministry of Education offered alternative schooling for all the girls that were there. Four of us were chosen to go to Epsom Girls' Grammar they opened four spaces in their hostel I spent my Year 13, seventh form year there. The last couple of years at **Wikitoria**/ Queen Victoria School the education side may have fallen a way a bit. We had rumours for the last two years that we were closing. We just kept going I don't why, but we kept going. Some of us weren't there for anything else but for the **kaupapa**, to keep learning and growing. We were taught to be independent. We were always told to be strong, young **Māori** women.
So, that was drilled into us every day. Be proud. We were always shown Old Girls from **Wikitoria/**Queen Victoria School who had gone on to greater things **May Lee** (2015).

Although there was much uncertainty happening for **May Lee**, the school philosophy continued. The elements of independence, strength and pride in being young **Māori** women were encouraged. Former students were held in high regard as role models for the students.

There was a lot I did learn from **Wikitoria**. Pretty much everything from **Te Aō Māori/**the **Māori** world was from there because, in **Te Kao** I was just brought up dining on it but at home there wasn't really a lot in **Te Aō Māori/** the **Māori** world. We didn't really believe anything was **tapu**/ sacred because of **Ratana/**the leader of the **Ratana** faith who eradicated all those things **May Lee** (2015).

The interview started with the **kaikōrero/**speaker asking questions.
Te Kao School was called **Te Kao** District High School and later it became **Te Kao** High School then **Te Kao** Area School.

When mum and Uncle Wally attended it was called **Te Kao Native School**. At the time of her enrolment, living in a hostel was foreign.
It was not until she was older when **Ngainanga** realised in some ways it was good. I learned time management, when to get up and when to have breakfast **Ngainanga** (2015).

The lack of employment affected the school roll and the range of subjects **Te Kao** school provided. When the government policy and decisions were made about local employment further hardship and stress were placed on **Te Aupouri** eventually affecting the children. The fabric of the collective was stressed with **whanau/**family relocating elsewhere in search of

employment. Secondary students migrated to Whangarei and Auckland for educational experiences.

I attended **Te Kao Area School** until the age of fifteen. When the **Te Aupouri** Forestry, closed the school's, roll decreased and then we ended up doing subjects by Correspondence **Bridgett** **(**2015).

I went to **East Tamaki Primary** for a short time, schooling in Auckland for me was controlled and you really had to be very focussed. When I was at school in **Te Kao** I was in pretty much everything. **Kapa Haka**, sports. My **nana** came with me to all **kapa haka**, from primary all the way to college. I did **kapa haka**/performing arts we went all round the **motu**/island performing, she supported me in all my things, all my friends knew she and nanny pā **Bernie** (2015).

I a mātou e kuraina konei, ki a mātou, pai tō mātou kaiako. Hēoi anō te timatatanga mai te Pākehā nei me ako mātou i te reo Pākehā. Koia ētahi o ngā pakeketanga, na te mea ko te nuinga o mātou kore oti i te kōrero Pākehā When we were taught in **Te Kao**, we thought our teacher was kind. But when this **Pākehā** teacher began, we had to learn English. Learning English was difficult, most of us couldn't speak English **Moana** (2015).

Schooling now is totally different, lot of interaction with culture. **Māori** is used in every class, every age group now. School is slowly changing it's becoming a **Kura a Iwi/**a tribal school **Ria** (2015).

During her childhood she wanted to do some study as an Accountant but leaving school and working changed her plans.

Elaine's parents, Reipa and Mihinga relocated a few times in search employment to feed their **whanau/**family. Relationships were not fully established then they were required to migrate where employment was.

Tīmata ahau i Ngataki, i reira Auntie Josie rāua ko Uncle Pera. Ka nuku mātou ki Te Kao. Tekau ōku tau, ka neke mātou ki Kaitaia. Whā ngā tau ka noho mātou ki Kaitaia. Ka haere au ki Kaitaia Primary, Kaitaia Intermediate, Kaitaia College ka neke mātou ki konei. 1974 ka neke mai mātou ki Rāhiri. I started school in Ngataki with Auntie Josie and Uncle Pera. We moved to **Te Kao**. When I was ten years old, we moved to **Kaitaia** for four years. I attended **Kaitaia Primary, Kaitaia Intermediate, Kaitaia** and in 1974 we moved to Rāhiri **Elaine** (2015).

The Seventh Day Adventist religion was introduced to Te Kao by Rosie's grandaunt **Ihapera Nathan** in 1941. According to **whānau/**family members, now our elders, in the beginning, Seventh Day Adventist followers rarely attended **Pōtahi marae** events even though they shared the same **whakapapa/**genealogy and lived in Te Kao. They chose to remain absent. As early as the nineteen fifties, the followers gained confidence and they began attending marae events. A few elders grew acres of vegetables to supplement the **marae** menu. They also became orators of the tribe for elder, Pereniki Conrad (Rosie's paternal grandfather) was known for his intimate tribal knowledge.

At the age of six, I started Te Kao Seventh Day Adventist School with Dave Ratu (Renee's husband) and two years later it closed.

Transferring to the Te Kao School was different. It felt like we were outsiders. I attended Te Kao up to Form 2/Year 8 and then I went to Kaitaia College. Part way through sixth form/Year 12 I left and started working **Rosie** (2015).

While I was going to school, I think I was one of the last students in the high school before it closed. The main thing I hold on to **e pā ana ki te kura ko ngā māhita, kia tino humarie, tino pai ki te tiaki, poipoi, awhi i ngā tamariki o te whānau. I haere mātou ki ngā wāhi o Te Aupouri**. Some values I learned at school from the local teachers was to be humble, to care for, nurture and embrace the children. We visited all the historical, tribal sites here **Renee** (2015).

Three groups of **kaikōrero** are evident in this study. In 2015 at the time of the interviews, eight **kaikōrero** lived in the community. They individually viewed their community, Te Kao differently. Yet they were supportive of each other when assistance was required at the **marae**.

The second group temporarily departed **Te Kao** for educational purposes because our ancestors were advised by the teachers and inspectorate that their **mokopuna** would be able to obtain a better education outside of the tribal region. The idea being that these **tamariki** would be educated elsewhere and they would return to further assimilate their **whānau**. Single sex secondary schools were selected because **whānau** believed that these establishments would provide a better education for their daughters and **mokopuna/**grandchildren. Male **mokopuna/** grandchildren were also able to secure funding from the tribal agency and these male **whānaunga** were sent mainly to St, Stephens at **Te Taupae o Hunua**. Financial assistance was mainly available from the tribal organisation the **Te Aupouri** Trust Board.

Root shock was evident. In one of the schools having migrated from **Te Kao** as the dominant ethnicity to be a minority was a cultural shock for three **kaikōrero**. Attending a larger secondary school with a strong focus on 'whitestream' academic, cultural and sporting achievements was noticeable. However, she is thankful that through her experiences at this school she learned time management. A skill she considers useful to the present day. **May Lee** commented the value system of her peers in her new school differed markedly to her own background. E.g. Food left in the refrigerator was named unlike at home and **Wikitoria** it was eaten, and food was shared, for tomorrow was another day.

Three **kaikōrero** live outside the tribal region but continue to maintain their connection to Te Aupouri. Their connection is influenced by their availability and their personal resources to attend marae events. All three **kaikōrero** assume traditional roles when they return to **Pōtahi** marae as **kaikaranga**/caller, **kaimahi i te wharekai**/chef, and **kaimātaki**/observer. These roles also interchange when the marae event involves their nuclear **whānau** then they can assume the roles of **whānau pani**/ bereaved family. It is their way of service to the community but also sharing the workload with the bereaved family.

The second group of **kaikōrero** are composed of seven members who are involved in the political face of the **hau kainga**. Their roles are multifaceted in education, sports, politics and they are the workers on the marae. In fact, all the **kaikōrero** are highly visible on the marae. They express a keen interest in revitalising the tribal dialect with their **tamariki/**children and **mokopuna/**grandchildren in **Te Kao** and they are very supportive of each other in any **whānau** gatherings. They believe that they can mould the community and if need be, they are very outspoken about the how the community should function.

Although they are **whānau/**family they have all experienced life differently. They briefly left **Te Kao** for educational experiences and employment reasons and when their children were born, they commented to their spouses that they wanted to return home, to live and raise their children in **Te Kao**. The impersonal existence of living in the city was not what they had planned for their children. Children could learn about themselves, their reo and their history living in **Te Kao** surrounded by **whānau/**family.

Employment was available on **Te Hiku o te Ika/**the tribal district. Living at home with your parents and great grandparents held many advantages and although a parent and great grandparents were speakers of **te reo o Te Aupouri/Te Aupouri** dialect it did not necessarily mean that the **kaikōrero/**speaker could pick up the reo and become competent speakers.

May Lee enjoyed attending Queen Victoria School. She met **Māori** girls from tribal areas throughout **Aōtearoa**/ New Zealand. There she was able to talk about the differences between being **Morehu** and Anglican.

May Lee a **mōrehu**/adherent of the **Ratana** faith often commented about the length of the church services. Some **kaikōrero** were fluent speakers of **te reo**, others were accomplished musicians and committed athletes. But she also regrets that in her final years, the girls became the centre of the politics regarding school closure and the Queen Victoria Trust Board, the parents and the Ministry of Education. In her Seventh form Year 13 year she enrolled in a single sex whitestream secondary school that **Ngainanga** had attended ten to fifteen years before. There she discovered different attitudes, beliefs and values especially regarding food.

Tūpuna influence, **haahi** / religion, returning home to live, excitement and positivity in **Te Kao**, learning **te reo** to teach their **tamariki**, service to the iwi/people agree that when **whānau** request **waiata** and **kōrero** that they return home to learn. The ancestors played a huge role in the lives of the **kaikōrero**. **Mokopuna** were taught about food preservation, values, attitudes and beliefs about **whānau, haahi** and education.

In a sense the themes are different because their lives were affected by the events that went beyond their control. At the age of four years, **Bernadine**'s mother, Joey, died of cancer and she spent seven years with her maternal grandparents Matua Kaaka and **Whaea Meri Wiki** who tried to compensate **Joey's** loss. When her grandmother became unwell **Bernadine** returned to her father Waatahirama. She was taken out of a loving environment to an unknown environment of being told to 'grow up' and help with the daily tasks of running the household and 'contributing to the **whanau**/family'. **Bernadine** never did tasks when she lived with her maternal grandparents. The new changes took her a while to accept and her father was tough on her.

There was a double dose of religion for **Bernadine** too. After **whakamoemiti** at the **Ratana** temple **Bernadine's** maternal grandmother delivered her to her paternal grandparents to learn about the scriptures. Although everyone lived in the community, different views of religion exist and continue to do so today.

What wasn't said? The fact that religion continues to influence the **iwi**/tribe, they were all passionate about learning **te reo o Te Aupouri/Te Aupouri** dialect and enjoy learning with Anaru's Lessons. **Rosie** and Dave, **Renee's** husband was compelled to attend **Te Kao** School

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Government policy at the time advocated English. The emphasis on speaking English at school soon permeated the community and learning English was encouraged by some parents too rather than speaking **te reo/the Māori language**. Some parents forbade their children from coming home with English homework and speaking English. These parents could see the negative aspects of the language on their children. Children were doubly punished at school for speaking **Māori** and at home for speaking English.

Ngainanga, Karleen, Bridgett and **May Lee** attended secondary schools in Whangarei and Auckland. Their grandparents and parents believed that if they were sent out of **Te Kao** they would receive a better education than the education that was provided for them in Te Kao. A **kaikōrero** mentioned that her mother didn't want her to marry her **whānau**. Older **whānau** members, aunties and uncles had attended secondary schools and our elders held the belief that better education could be obtained outside of the tribal district. Teachers at **Te Kao School** also encouraged parents to send their youngsters outside of the region for better education opportunities. These people played a major role in the children being sent away so that they could learn English and therefore return to further assimilate their people.

For **Ngainanga** and in her later years **May Lee** attending a 'whitestream' secondary school in Epsom, Auckland took a while to get used to. The routines were very regimental, and it took **Ngainanga** two years to become accustomed to her different environment. However, she acknowledges that she learned time management there.

The other **kaikōrero**/speaker to attend an urban, single sex school was **Karleen**. She enjoyed the challenge, the environment and meeting the girls from different tribal areas. All three agree attending those schools increased their worldview and enhanced their life experiences.

When Queen Victoria closed in 2001 the Ministry of Education offered alternative schooling for all the girls. **May Lee** was one of four girls to attend Epsom Girls' Grammar for her final, seventh form year. The culture shock and the new learning whilst attending Epsom Girls' Grammar were different. Over a thousand girls attended Epsom Girls' at the time in comparison to Queen Victoria, by the time it closed sixty girls were boarders there. She quickly noticed that Epsom Girls' Grammar student population was diverse, Queen Victoria was mainly **Māori**.

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As soon as **May Lee's** parents finished dairy farming and relocated to Auckland she began working and soon discovered being on the minimum wage was not enough to survive on. In 2004, **May Lee** completed a one-year Bridging Course, a certificate in Business at AUT. **May Lee** accompanied her mother to work and she was offered and accepted a position in Administration. As time proceeded **May Lee** increased her professional learning knowledge in communication, information technology, she was able to assist her parents who had bought a family business. Creating a crèche and having her children close by suited **May Lee**.

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The religious influence during the participants' childhood was integral to their lives and continues to be an important element to some kaikōrero. Depending on who the **apotoro**/apostle or minister was, **whakamoemiti/** church service of the **Ratana** religion and **karakia** were practised daily. The **tupuna**/ancestors played a role in the organisation of the church and **kaikōrero/**speakers have fond memories of the tasks undertaken at the time. Not surprisingly a **kaikōrero/**participants has her grandfather's **tohu**/garments for **whakamoemiti** in safe keeping. It also reflects the different attitudes **tupuna/**ancestors held concerning religion.

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Manaakitanga /looking after visitors and feeding them well are values she had learned during her childhood. She wanted their children to learn and practise them.

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Kōrero Whakamutunga/ in conclusion

The general aim of this study was how **Te Aupouri** women retain and maintain **Te Aupouritanga**/tribal identity in **Te Aō Hurihuri**/the revolving world.

Section A will discuss the **kaikōrero** lives since the interviews showing how they have continued to serve the **whānau, hapū and iwi**. The eight **kaikōrero** living at **Te Hiku o Te Ika/**the tail of the fish are engaged daily in the community events. Three **kaikōrero** live in another tribal district but retain their engagement when they return to **Te Kao**. Section B will briefly discuss factors which the researcher has identified about the research journey.

Te Aō tūpuna/ the ancestors' time

Mokopuna who lived with their grandparents were treated differently by **whānau** and the community, their existence was not normal. **Bernadine's** maternal grandparents overcompensated for the loss of her mother, **Joey**, who died of cancer at the age of twenty-nine years. The routines and expectations were set by her grandparents and she did not have to perform any household chores. **Bernadine's** observation of her paternal grandparents, Hari and Kapo were unusual and treated their **mokopuna** with the same attention. The passing of her maternal grandfather, Kaaka, when **Bernadine** was ten years old, was the period when she returned to live with her father. Life for **Bernadine** drastically changed, and she had to fit in to 'the real world'. One of these aspects was about her contributing to the **whānau** and her wants coming last. She had to assist with the household tasks which she was unfamiliar with and as far as she was concerned her complaints were ignored by her maternal grandmother, **Meri**. Living in **Te Kao** has ensured that **Bernadine**, her children and grandchildren retain and maintain tribal identity with their involvement in many of the iwi events.

Elaine's grandmothers, **May Wells** and **Hemowai Paraone** taught their **mokopuna** through living, talking and listening to their stories during her childhood years. **May Wells** was one of my mother's older sisters, a widow who raised nine children, like the elders of her period, a community person who believed in service to the people, not only on the marae, an **awhina** in the Ratana church and a member of the school committee. She taught Elaine about **whanau/**family and baking skills.

Her paternal grandmother, **Hemowai Paraone** was also an **awhina** in the church, a storyteller, who told **Elaine** about **Tahupōtiki Wiremu Ratana's** visit to **Te Hiku o Te Ika** and showed **Elaine** the area where she delivered Piriwiritua, **Elaine's** uncle. **Elaine** currently lives outside of the tribal district but retains and maintains a keen interest in the tribal affairs of **Te Aupouri**. Like her grandmothers', **Elaine's** skills are in the kitchen and **wharekai**/dining room.

The tribal saying, **'ma muri, ka oti a mua/** without the back, the front will be incomplete. She manages the role, delegates responsibilities to extended **whānau/**family members by firstly valuing their presence, availability and their contribution.

With the passing of her older brothers, Waata and Latimer**, Elaine** is the eldest of her **whānau/**family, a role which sees her making decisions after confiding with her younger siblings to ensure that their views are heard. Social Media has enabled **Elaine** to maintain connection to **Te Aupouri**.

Bridgett was raised by her maternal grandmother, Apikaira (Kui), whom she called 'mum' and the values were instilled at an early age. Apikaira decided to put her **mokopuna** first and she

stayed home and cared for them. **Whānau**/family took priority over her needs, **manaakitanga**/caring for others, and service to others were considered far more important. In 2015, **Bridgett** purchased her first home in Pukenui, a settlement fifteen minutes south of **Te Kao** she continues to retain and maintain engagement with **Te Aupouri** events regularly. **Bridgett** strongly believes that everyone in the community should contribute to the tribal event, sports, marae, club or school. **Bridgett** is currently employed at the health clinic in Pukenui, **Maunga Tohoraha**. It is a 'stone's throw' from her home. **Bridgett's** daughter, Emily is currently based in Funabashi, Tokyo and she tutors English to a wide range of students from three years of age to businessmen and the elderly.

With Emily being overseas, at the time of writing **whanau/**family concerns about her safety are heightened with the dialogue about nuclear war existing between the military powers of United States of America and Korea.

The **Te Aupouri** Education and Te Reo Strategy has been a positive development during this study. It was initiated with a steering committee of June Subritzky, **Edwina Stevenson**, Peter Witana and Anaru Rieper. Surveys were sent out to registered **Te Aupouri** asking for their views about education and **te reo**/the language. Overall, the feedback was small but positive. **Te Aupouri** members were wanting a stronger **Te Aupouri** emphasis in the Curriculum and for the children to have Education Outside the Classroom experiences regarding (EOTC) learning about tribal heroines, heros, the historical sites and **waiata**. The initial **hui** was held in **Te Kao**. Since then, progress has been encouraging and the outcomes observed about its features have been positive.

The **kaikōrero/**speakers deliberately relocated to neighbourhoods where there was a concentration of **Te Aupouri** well established in the suburb. Although there were closer familial ties living in more affluent areas of Auckland, affordability and **whānau/**family were the dominant reasons members chose to live in **Otara**. The younger members were aware that the main language of transmission would be **te reo o Te Aupouri** and that they would be spiritually more supported.

In the relocation to **Otara**, a suburb in **Manukau**, Auckland, **Te Aupouri whānau/**family continued to speak the tribal dialect in different fora. This commitment attracted younger tribal members and further strengthened their knowledge and relationships.

Married, homesick and with a young family, surrounded by the elders of her father's generation was the dominant factor which attracted **Ngawini** to **Otara**. Hearing the tribal dialect being spoken in their homes, at **Kia Mataara**, the **Ratana** parish in Ferguson Road and at different **hui**/meetings lifted her spirits.

Ngawini acknowledges the elders and honours them for welcoming her, the **whanau**/family and for continuing the sense of humour and uniqueness of the dialect. Ngawini returns to Te Kao often to assume her **karanga**/calling role on the marae or to further support Te Aupouri. She accepts this duty conscientiously and works the periphery of the marae to ensure the **whānau** receive **manuhiri** with the highest of standards. Her direct approach is often challenged but being aware of the current economic position of **whānau** is important at these times. It is surrounded by the extended **whānau**/family that Ngawini can re-set, reclaim and re-present the **karanga** to suit her interpretation. Often ruffling a few feathers in the process. This re-alignment is important to how she further enhances her **Te Aupouritanga/**tribal identity when she is at **Pōtahi** marae.

At a young age, environmental and intergenerational learning was used when **Karleen** asked her paternal grandmother to teach her **te reo me ngā tikanga o Te Aupouri**/the language and the protocols of **Te Aupouri**. **Karleen's** waking hours were spent on the farm, in the company of her grandparents either at the marae or at **whakamoemiti**/church. She sat at her grandmother's knees, listening to the conversations her grandparent shared with her peers. **Whānaungatanga**/relationships amongst our elders were positive and their reports about daily or weekly deeds were reciprocated. **Karleen** retains and maintains her **Te Aupouritanga** through common tribal interests she is involved with, she asserts, it is possible, to maintain engagement from outside the tribal district. She observes that neighbouring tribes have younger members assume the roles on the marae as callers, and speakers, in their **whare tūpuna** /ancestral house and asks whether **Te Aupouri** has considered such a programme. These are the methods utilised by other tribes to ensure the survival of their **reo me ōna tikanga**/language and customs.

For another **kaikōrero/**speaker, being aware that there are fluent speakers available in the community, has been an advantage to her as she continues extending her learning **te reo o Te Aupouri/Te Aupouri** tribal dialect. These speakers have been identified as they show patience, and encouragement, factors important to her as a second language learner. She has taken time to strengthen her relationship with them in their home, and during social events outside of the marae.

They understand the key role she plays in the community and they are happy to provide the necessary vocabulary. She is confident and unafraid to ask them for their assistance.

Whānau/family members returning to **Te Kao** for **tangi/**funeral**s** continue speaking **te reo o Te Aupouri** amongst themselves. The ease in which they converse in the local dialect is something she wishes to participate in and to inform them that she can understand their conversation and she would like to be included. The establishment of **Ataarangi** classes in the community is a

positive initiative for members learning **te reo o Te Aupouri** such as herself. These classes provide opportunities as she increases her confidence. Living in **Te Kao** and hearing the language being spoken by some individuals, this **kaikōrero** is aware that she must continue building on how she enhances her **Te Aupouritanga**. With the establishment of **Te Mātāwai**, it will be interesting to see how this initiative will influence and support the community.

There were a range of reasons why **whānau/**families sent their **tamariki/**children, out of **Te Kao** for educational opportunities. At boarding schools, **whānau/**families at home and their **tamariki**/children faced a few challenges. The economic downturn created by government policy affected the community. The closure of **Te Aupouri** Forestry affected several **whānau/**families who were forced to leave **Te Kao** in search of employment. As a result, the secondary division of the school closed when the school roll decreased. Senior students were no longer able to pursue their senior subjects and they continued to be transported out of the community to local Kaitaia College over an hour south. From age six, R**osie's** educational experiences were different, and this highlighted her resilience. When the school roll at the Seventh Day Adventist School decreased and eventually closed **Rosie** and Dave Ratu attended **Te Kao** School. There, they not only met their extended **whanau/**family**,** but she and Dave realised they were taught a different school curriculum. By the time she attended secondary school at Kaitaia College, **Rosie** was ready to face the world and she withdrew from attending in Form 6/Year 12. Brief stints of employment and living in Australia followed.

On her return to Auckland, she met her husband Lupe and the birth of their daughters influenced their decision to return to **Te Kao**. The characteristics of urban living were unattractive to **Rosie** and Lupe, they wanted their daughters to experience a similar childhood to their own. Rosie and Lupe's daughters have also remained connected to their paternal **whanau/**/family in Niue and since the commencement of this study has made a couple of trips there. Rosie continues her lead administrative role for the tribal organisation/**Te Rūnanganui o Te Aupouri Trust**.

Queen Victoria School, in **Taurārua**/Parnell, Auckland presented **May Lee** with several learning opportunities but also history as her paternal great grandmother attended Queen Victoria School.

There, she met girls from different tribes, some speaking their dialects and with similar backgrounds to her own, and not followers of the Anglican faith. The friendships established at school, remain lifelong. The knowledge about different tribes soon clarified for her, stereotypes she held about different tribes and the disadvantage of being raised in a small community like **Te Kao**. The **whanau/**family atmosphere created in the dormitory, also pervaded the educational side. The bilingual emphasis of the curriculum during that time was encouraged.

The build up to and the eventual closure of Queen Victoria School created instability amongst the students. Towards the end of her sixth form year/year 12 the students were told that the school would close. A change of enrolment to Epsom Girls' Grammar in Epsom, Auckland was a bit of culture shock. The school is in a similar neighbourhood in Auckland about three kilometres west of Queen Victoria. At the time, over twelve hundred students attended and the values at the school were certainly different to what she was familiar with. When she and her husband, Hemi gave birth to their children, **May Lee** declared living in Auckland was crazy, and they decided to return home. Regular trips during the weekends and school holidays attracted them to Te Kao. During their conversations and planning they decided that they would return, she would be a domestic executive and Hemi would teach in neighbouring schools.

The principal vacancy for Te Kao School was advertised in the Education Gazette, Hemi applied and won the position. Since 2011, their desire for their children experiencing a similar education as hers, a healthier lifestyle, and learning the history and te reo o **Te Aupouri** were key features to their decision to relocate home rather than allowing economics to influence their decision has been affirmed. Although **May Lee's** role at the school is in administration, she has supported the children to visit different areas outside of **Te Kao**. In February 2015, they visited **Omamari** a neighbouring location to **Kaihu**, **Mangonui** Bluff on the West Coast of Dargarville and they followed the trek of the ancestors and in November 2016, **May Lee** accompanied **Te Kura a Iwi o Te Kao** to Rarotonga.

Wellington no longer remained an attractive option for **Ngainanga**. More than twenty years ago she and Karaka made the decision to return home. Relocating to **Te Kao** has made life more affordable for them with having their own meat and having seafood readily available as they are surrounded by three seas. Unbeknown to **Ngainanga**, the elders had plans for her future to enter the political scene and they elected her to serve on the **Te Aupouri** Trust Board. There was no time for feelings of lacking confidence. Her personality and **Ngainanga's** no nonsense attitude did not often suit the **iwi**/people. She is often impatient when people are not risk takers which she feels is necessary in this political climate.

Renee's position in Te Kao has many facets. She is extending her confidence speaking **te reo**. She works alongside Anaru and she has attended **Te Ataarangi wānanga**. She enjoys the experience. When she attended Te Kao School the staff were 'homegrown teachers' like Eruini Keepa and Te Ikanui Kapa who instilled a love of **kapa haka** and te reo. She understands why the **whānau** live elsewhere but she encourages and urges them to return regularly and remain connected to **Te Aupouri.** In **Te Kao** she feels the '**wairua o te whenua'**/ spirit of the land she strongly believes learning about **te reo me ngā tikanga o Te Aupouri**/the local language and cultural protocols can only take place at home.

According to **whānau**/family, diaspora has been the dominant contributing factor in the decline of the religious affiliation for **Te Aupouri**. In previous years, followers have been observed as being divisive, and having an attitude of superiority. Religion has always dominated **Te Aupouri** lives not only for **Moana** but as far back as I can remember. As followers, **Moana** had her opinions about religion which was encouraged by her grandparents. She selected the church service she would attend. For children to have their own opinion was discouraged in other homes. In contemporary times, discussion has been initiated by ministers to gather information regarding the **Te Aupouri** position about religion. Religion was one of the colonising tools used by the colonialists to civilise our ancestors. It continues to be an ongoing topic for debate. At the time of the interviews, **Moana** had returned home, and she lived in teacher accommodation at the school.

Writing back

Writing back to ourselves, re-righting, rewriting and reclaiming our stories are some of the aims of this study. Many stories about our ancestors were shared, listened and heard on this journey. Honouring the elders and writing them in to the story has been one of the objectives. As a child they were highly visible, heard, noticed and remembered on the marae. They are sadly missed.

Kura/Tribal, whānau learning

One of the successes which has emerged independent of this study has been the establishment of **kura** for **Matiu whānau/** periods set aside for purposeful learning as it is known to **Te Aupouri.**

Individual members can confidently assume the different roles on the marae. Younger members attending **wharekura**/Immersion secondary schools and **Kura Kaupapa Māori**/**Māori** language schools can speak confidently at **kura** and lead the **whānau** in these times. Two **kura** were held in Otara to test the **whānau**/family readiness and to set the platform for the future. At the second **kura, whānau/**family from **Te Kao** attended, asking us to return to **Te Kao** at Labour Weekend 2017. The reasons for their request were later presented. The menu will be supplemented with the availability of seafood, the **wairua**/spirits of our parents were present, and we would have the facility of accommodating large numbers of members who were travelling a distance. One hundred and twenty-seven members attended in **Te Kao**. Observers could ask why we had not held the first **kura** in **Te Kao**, in all honesty the response would be, we weren't ready.

As a revitalisation strategy, **kura** can also provide opportunities for **iwi kainga**/residents to participate. Elders attended the **kura** because they were raised with our parents and they added their stories about our grandparents, Pani and Hemi **Matiu**. The objectives of our **kura** were about meeting each other, informing diasporic **whanau**/family about **tupuna**/ancestral narratives, **whakapapa**/genealogy, encouraging and speaking te reo me **ngā tikanga o Te Aupouri**, sharing information about the draft **Tangihanga** booklet, and visiting historical sites. There was numerous other learning that took place. A different way of thinking about making the **whanau**/family, the priority rather than managing individuals' wants was required. The creation of nine groups with some ten members in each group ensured the conversations would continue thus distributing the skillsets and individual knowledge being shared, mentored and succeeded. The culmination of the **kura**/learning was the presentation of the **Whakapapa**/genealogy book to each representative of our **tūpuna Pani** and Hemi Matiu and the support for Anaru to travel to Rapanui for a **Te Ataarangi** experience early 2018. The evaluative feedback comments provided us with planning for future **kura**.

Whanaungatanga/relationships with our cousins some are the **kaikōrero**/speakers continues strongly today irrespective of the fact we live our lives in different locations. The ties are lifelong. The foundation was set during the early years of our parents' marriage and whanaungatanga with **Bernadine's** father, Waatahirama baby sat Reuben and me for our parents to attend dances, he regularly visited us in Ngataki and then later at Perth Street. In the seventies, when Joey, **Bernadine's** mother was still alive as a baby in arms **Bernadine**, her sister Rowena, brothers Peter and Walter, with their different dogs George and Rangi and their father walked to Perth Street from Featherston Crescent. Our parents continued their relationship.

Our cohort was honoured to attend a session led by Professor Jenny Lee-Morgan (2015). As a storyteller, she provided a few stories, but an example was the time of her childhood. She spoke about her **kuia**/grandmother telling her that when they hosted visitors, she was not to ask them what they liked to drink, she was to serve everything up. This allowed the visitors to choose what they would like, either to drink what was being provided or not. Likewise, this thesis, everything is being served up.

Limitations

Eleven **kaikōrero,** a small sample were involved in this research. Most **wāhine**/women volunteered their participation.

Although they share common **whakapapa**/genealogy, and know each other, some are cousins, and aunties to me, the researcher. However, without them this study would not have been possible.

This project is about **ngā wāhine o Te Aupouri o Te Kao/**the women of **Te Aupouri** one of the smallest tribes in **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand and one of my maternal tribes and how they retain and maintain tribal identity in the revolving world. Their life experiences would be different to other tribes.

Learning for the researcher

Te Aupouri women are survivors, incredibly strong, resilient and on a mission to live. At the time of their teenage years, **Māori** boarding schools appeared to be a satisfactory option for most **whānau** /families of **Te Kao**, but also remnant thinking of former times to attend these schools, to learn farming skills and to leave the community for better quality learning experiences. Staff at **Te Kao** School encouraged **whānau** /families to send these women elsewhere for their education. At the time, some cousins were financially supported by the **Te Aupouri** Trust Board.

On the arrival to the boarding schools, these relatives faced a few challenges, they had to cope alone, face the root shock living in a city and living with students from a range of ethnicities, homesickness and being away from the **whānau/**family.

But a **kaikōrero**/speaker noted it was a sacrifice, our relatives who remained home and attended the local school, speak the **Te Aupouri** dialect fluently.

The first **Te Aupouri** academics were our **whaea tūpuna and tūpuna /**ancestresses and ancestors. They are the experts in **mātauranga a iwi/** tribal knowledge. During my life I have sat alongside, observed them and listened to their stories about **Te Aupouri**.

They have provided the spiritual and emotional support throughout.

There have also been **Te Aupouri** elders who have provided the balance between the Western and the **Te Aupouri** worlds, reporting the past and reinforcing contact with the present and future. Some reminded me during this study **'kia tūpato**/be careful. They have been central to this study. The elders taught me that my role of researching and storytelling came with considerable responsibilities that were embedded within from **Te Aupouri** worldview and culture. They promoted the importance of respect, reciprocity, listening and the importance of

acknowledging that there are many ways of knowing, being and doing research all over the world, and that there are different interpretations of the truth Mertens, Cram, Chilisa (2013).

Kaupapa whānau/ research cohort

My cohort consisted of three teachers, three lecturers at **Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi**, a lecturer at Eastern Institute of Technology, a nurse, staff from resources, a barrister, staff at **Te Wānanga o Aōtearoa** in Gisborne, a representative from the Ministry of Education, two teachers of tribal immersion schools. We have all endured life's interruptions during our studies and ploughed on, a small group has managed to continue the vision of the cohort.

We learned and shared our narratives during **wānanga** and became a **kaupapa whānau**/ ethos of a family. As well as attend the **wānanga** at Whakatane, Associate Professor Te Tuhi Robust organised weekend **wānanga** at Waitangi River Resort, Haruru Falls. His plan was to host his academic colleagues and local educators to share their academic journeys and to talk about their professions with us. The sharing of their experiences was invaluable in providing an extra dimension to the lectures we had received in Whakatane and meeting them at another level. On another occasion, we were fortunate to have Professor Jo-ann Archibald in our midst. She and Professor Kuni Jenkins were on their way to Rangihoua, to the site of the first mission school in **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand. What an honour to listen to their words of encouragement. Tēna kourua.

Ethic of service

Part of my motivation to undertake research has come from **manaakitanga**/an ethic of care and **whanaungatanga**/relationships set by our parents.

Our mother was the fifteenth of her **whānau/**family she loved being with people but not as much as our father who was more gregarious. We lived in Otara and some distance from our tribal districts, our parents modelled an ethic of service to **whānau**, to the community, to the church, **Te Aupouri** and **Ngai Tamanuhiri**. They fully supported **Te Kao Tamaki Association** from its inception, the **Komiti Whaiti** and the **Komiti Haahi** at **Kia Mataara**, and **Ratana Pa**, the **Board of Governors at Hillary College, Play Centre**, working in the **Tari o te Haahi**, education in general as well as transport us to our different sports' practices. They were very active in retaining and maintaining those connections. They visited the sick in hospitals throughout Auckland, sometimes Whangarei, Hamilton and Hastings. They quickly became

aware of the changes that existed in the health sector its effects through their visits and often commented about these on their return. Letters would quickly be written and sent off to the different Members of Parliament.

On some occasions I felt our mother had a direct line to these Members of Parliament. Travel and funding were not problematic. Her **anga nui**/attendance was important. I often mentioned to her that I would speak with my principal as I wasn't the Minister of Education, for her to return to Te Kao. My comment would be followed with a swift rebuke. An ethic of service and using whatever skills or talents I must contribute to **whānau**/family, community, **iwi** /tribal well-being somewhat differently to our parents.

Kāhore te kumara e kōrero mō tōna ake reka / the sweet potato does not talk about its sweetness**.**

The core of this tribal saying is about humility. So, whilst I feel a sense of sharing my research journey with whānau, other researchers, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, it feels very **whakahīhī**/boastful.

The organization of **kura** requires planning, a sense of humour and immense patience. **Kura** is a positive strategy to maintain and retain our connection with each other and to being **Te Aupouri**. The benefits far outweigh the challenges and we will continue working as a **whānau**/family to achieve the recommendations in this thesis.

Recommendations

The evaluative comments received about the Pani, Hemi Matiu **kura**/ learning held in Te Kao at Labour Weekend 2017 were positive. There were pre-**wānanga** held in Otara, Auckland which set the plan. The organising committee set the criteria for the **kura/**purposeful learning period:

1. For **whānau/**family to look beyond the horizon;
2. To learn the narratives about our **tūpuna/**ancestors;
3. To encourage **whānau/**family to learn **te reo me ngā tikanga o Te Aupouri/Te Aupouri** dialect and tribal protocols**, whakapapa/**genealogy**;**
4. To assume roles such as **karanga/**calling, **mihi**/speechmaking and learn **waiata/**song; and
5. To visit the historical sites of **Muriwhenua.**

These meeting times have been valuable for our **whānau/**family to meet and talk, to learn the stories about our **tūpuna/**ancestors and to learn **te reo o Te Aupouri/** the **Te Aupouri** dialect.

Our grandparents bore sixteen children. Most **whānau/**family members relocated to locations in **Aōtearoa**/New Zealand for their survival. The setting from these **kura/** purposeful learning period has enabled us to also learn about the skills and knowledge **whānau** members have and to utilise these.

The **kura**, **/** purposeful learning period held in **Te Kao** presented evaluative comments from the eight groups. These comments were positive about the healthy **whānaungatanga/**relationships and the sharing of individual strengths and knowledge. They felt united knowing we shared a common **whakapapa/**geneaology**. Whānau/**family are keen for us to eat healthily and acknowledge that our lifestyles present challenges. They are confident and enjoy the social media platforms available.

They are keen to initiate and develop cultural capital, a tourism industry, create employment for the **whānau/**family and therefore sustaining **whānau/**family based on the environmental beauty of **Te Hiku o Te Ika.**

Whānau/family members were asking about the availability of **Te reo Māori/Māori** language scholarships. Since then they have been encouraged to be vigilant with the tribal scholarships and to keep connected.

The male relatives are keen to have similar research written about them. This **kaupapa/**project has been discussed with **whānau/**family members.

For the future

This study aimed to answer these overarching questions:

- How do **ngā wāhine o Te Aupouri ki Te Kao/**the women of **Te Aupouri ki Te Kao** maintain and retain our **Te Aupouritanga in Te Aō Hurihuri/**tribal identity in the revolving world?
- What has contributed to not knowing our **whaea tūpuna**/ancestress' stories? How do we know?
- Why is it important to know our **whaea tūpuna**/ancestress stories?
- What do we need to do now for the future?

A wide range of literature presented throughout this thesis confirms that Christianity, the education system and government legislation influenced the invisibility of the tribal stories of **ngā whaea tūpuna o Te Aupouri ki Te Kao**/the **Te Aupouri** ancestresses living in **Te Kao**.

The purpose of narrative inquiry "addresses **Māori** people's concerns about research into their lives in a holistic, culturally appropriate manner because storytelling allows the research participants to select, recollect and reflect on stories within their own cultural context and language rather than in the cultural context and language chosen by the researcher" Bishop (1996).

Thoughout the interviews, unlike early research the **kaikorero**/speaker was in control from their public selection, their availabilility, the request to not ask questions throughout the interview and their direction of the interview. This was the intention of this research.

Future Research

There is still much work to be done for the tribal narratives of the **whaea tūpuna Te Aupouri ki Te Kao**. Future research could **consider ngā wāhine o Te Aupouri ki Te Kao** living overseas and how they retain and maintain our **Aupouritanga**/tribal identity. This research would need to consider strategies for them. It would depend on;

the **wāhine/**women returning to **Te Kao** for the **kura/**learning;

finding a suitable time to return;

assisting with the planning stage; and

leading a **kaupapa/**section during the **kura/**learning.

The establishment of a **taumata kōrero mo ngā wāhine o Te Aupouri**/platform for **Te Aupouri** is a strategy that has been suggested. This strategy exists. Our **whaea Tiereiniamu** lives in **Te Kao** is a regular contributor to **Te Hiku o Te Ika**/ The Tail of the Fish radio station. Planning times to learn and hear stories about the **whaea tūpuna/**ancestresses is also about meeting and knowing them. Regular trips to **Te Kao** to hear the language being spoken is suggested.

For speakers who are fluent in **Te Aupouri** dialect this strategy would be available for those who feel marginalised and unable to confidently speak the **Te Aupouri** dialect.

A multipronged approach for learning **te reo me ngā tikanga o Te Aupouri** is to meet the expectations of the **Te Aupouri** descendants. It is not possible to be reliant on tertiary educational contexts using a range of dialects that our future generations are not familiar with, but certainly for those who are confident speakers of the tribal dialect, to strengthen areas we can **hui**/meet and **kōrero i te reo**/speak the dialect. **Te Aupouri** descendants living in the urban areas are requesting **te reo me ngā tikanga** experiences. Having been raised away from **Te Kao** and now having their own **tamariki/**children, they are wanting to increase their **kōrero**.

The availability of the tribal page **Tū Ake Te Aupouri o te Aō** is another useful tool, **uri**/descendants can use. It is a tool to further communicate with **whanaunga** /relatives in ways that not only maintain contact but also increase their knowledge about **te reo o Te Aupouri/Te Aupouri** dialect and reports about our lives.

The stories of **ngā wāhine o Te Aupouri** /**Te Aupouri** women would not have been possible without the commitment and trust of the outstanding **kaikōrero/**speakers. How has their participation and experience impacted on their confidence and on their own personal lives? The **kaikōrero**/speakers have more stories to tell. It is about giving them the space and confidence to tell us in their own time.

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini

My strength is not only mine but that of the tribe's

APPENDICES

Ngā Pātai/the questions

1.   Tell me about yourself, your life.

2.   How has your decision to live in **Te Kao** benefitted your

        whānau/family?

3.   Describe your time at school. What have been some lessons?

4.   Tell me about some stories about our ancestors.

5.   How has religion influenced your life?

6.   Why did it take so long for you to tell someone about yourself?

7.   Have you lived away from **Te Kao**? What were your reasons?

8.   What are your views about **Te Aupouri** living elsewhere?

9.   Tell me about your experience in tribal organization.

10.   How has speaking **Te Aupouri** dialect helped you in your life?

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O AWANUIĀRANGI

10/12/2019   Student ID: 2090912

Judith Ann Riki

7 Perth Street

Otara

Auckland

2023

Tēnā koe Judith

Tēnā koe i roto i ngā tini āhuatanga o te wā.

Ethics Research Committee Application Outcome: Approved

The Ethics Research Committee met on Monday 09th December 2019 and I am pleased to inform you that your ethics application has been approved. The committee commends you on your hard work to this point and wish you well with your research.

Please contact your Supervisor Professor Virginia Warriner as soon as possible on receipt of this letter so that they can answer any questions that you may have regarding your research, now that your ethics application has been approved.

Please ensure that you keep a copy of this letter on file and use the Ethics Research Committee document reference number: EC2019.48 in any correspondence relating to your research, with participants, or other parties; so that they know you have been given approval to undertake your research. If you have any queries relating to your ethics application, please contact us on our free phone number 0508926264; or e-mail to ethics@wananga.ac.nz

Nāku noa nā

Kahukura Epiha

Ethics Research Committee Administrator

Ethics committee document reference number:
EC2019.48

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O
AWANUIĀRANGI

Supervisor Name: Professor Virginia Warriner

Supervisor Email: Virginia.Warriner@wananga.ac.nz

Glossary

Ahi kā	homefires burning
Ahi kā roa	keeping the homefires burning, and maintaining engagement
Ahi kā mātao	the fire has been extinguished
Ahakoa nō kōnei tōku tane o Ngā Puhi, nui rawa ōku whakaaro mo te kainga. Mo te hoki ki te kainga, mo Te Aupouritanga noho ana i Ahitereiria mohio ana au, ko ētahi o rātou e hiahia ana te hoki mai.	Although my husband is from Nga Puhi, I constantly think about my birthplace. To return home, for the Te Aupouri cultural practices I am aware those tribal members living in Australia wish to return**.**
Ana, pai ana te taumata, e kore ngā kaumātua kei te taumata, Kua tu etahi kuia ki te mihi atu, ki te kōrero	when there was an absence of orators on the speaking platform our living female elders would stand to speak
Anga nui	face to face
anō te pai me te āhuareka	including the positive and the well intentioned
Aōtearoa	New Zealand
Apotoro	apostle, minister
aroha ki te tangata	consideration for others
atawhai	to care
Ataarangi	Māori language immersion using cuisenaire rods
awhina	assistant, helper
E aha ana koe i konei?	What are you doing here?
Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, Engari	My strength is not mine alone

he toa takitini	but the tribe's
E mokemoke ana ki te hoki mai,	some are longing to return,
Engari ko te tino raru ko te kore mahi	but the main obstacle is the
nui ko te mahi	lack of employment
Engari ko tōku nei awangawanga he aha	but my issue is what is
te tino putake o to tatou kaupapa	our sole purpose
E pa ana ki te kura ko ngā māhita, kia	the local teachers teach
tino hūmārie, tino	humility, to care for,
ki te tiaki,	nurture and embrace
poipoi awhi, i ngā tamariki o te	the children. We
whānau. I haere mātou ki ngā	visited all the historical,
wāhi o Te Aupouri	tribal sites
Hāhi	religion
Haere mai ana au ki te kura, i tētahi taima	At school I had a
me te wāhi pīhi nei,	piece of dried shark to eat,
te kaha haunga ne?	it had its distinct aroma
hakari	feast
Hakoa e mōhio ana koe ki tou whakapapa	although you know your
	genealogy
hoki mai ki te kainga	return home often
hangi	earth oven
hapū	subtribe
Hato Petera	St. Peters
hau	is the essence of who we are
	and is instilled in our
	landscape, wind,
hau kainga	resident, place
he taonga	a treasure
He Whakaputanga o ngā iwi o Niu Tīreni	Declaration of Independence
	of New Zealand tribes

He whakaaro rangatira	a chiefly thought
Hei whakakōtahi i te iwi	to keep the people together
Heoi anō ki au e noho ana au Ki Te Kao	I thought I was still living in Te Kao
Heoi anō te timatatanga mai te Pākehā nei, me ako mātou i te reo Pākehā	But when this Pākehā teacher began, we had to learn English
Hikoi	journey
Hui	meet, meeting
Hui whenua	Land meeting
Hunga kainga	home residents
Hura kōhatu	unveilings
I ahu mai koutou i hea?	Where did you come from?
I a mātou e kuraina konei, ki a mātou, pai to mātou kaiako.	When we were taught in Te Kao, we thought our teacher was kind.
I konei anō mātou mai ranō	we have been here from the beginning
I ngā taima e marokē ana i ngā kau hei mirakahia, ka haere ngā whānau ki te rapu anō tētahi oranga, te nuinga o mātou i Te Ahu, haere ana mātou te keri kapia.	during the times when the cows were dry, families walked to the gumfields, most residents of Te Ahu would go to search for revenue
Iwi	tribe, tribes
Iwitanga	tribal existence
Ka haere ki Te Hapua	travelled to Te Hapua
Ka haere au ki Kaitaia Primary, Kaitaia Intermediate, Kaitaia College ka	I attended Kaitaia Primary, Kaitaia Intermediate, and Kaitaia College
neke mātou ki konei	we moved here

1974 ka neke mātou ki Rāhiri	1974 we moved to Rāhiri
Kao	dried kumara
Kapa haka	performing arts
kapata kai	food cupboard
kāpura	homefires
Kaupapa Māori	Māori worldview, Māori Language and protocols
Kāhore te kumara e kōrero ana mō tōna ake reka	the kumara does not speak about its sweetness
kaiako	teacher
kaikaranga	callers
kaikōrero	participants, speakers
kaimahi	workers
kaimātaki	observer/s
kaimoana	sea food
kainga	homes
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kairāranga	weaver
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
ka nuku mātou ki Te Kao	We moved to Te Kao
kariwaka	smelts
kaumātua	living male elders
kaupapa	purpose, topic of learning
Kaupapa Māori	Māori processes, Māori Knowledge
kaupapa whānau	the people – staff, students, related through a common purpose
Ka waiwai āku kamo ki a koutou mā, ka pupu te aroha	my eyes fill with tears and I am overcome

kia kā te kāpura	keep the homefires burning
Kia Mataara	Ratana parish in Bond Street Otara
kia orere	be prepared
Kia tika te koti i te korari	take care when cutting the flaxblades
kia tūpato	be cautious
kina	sea urchin
kite mai tōku karani māmā i au, ka katakata, ka mea mai, koia te kōrero o tōku karani māmā	My grandmother observed me, she grinned, she stated, that is what my gran said.
ki taku whakaaro e ū ana kia mahi mai e rātou, me hoki mai ki te kainga	they want to work when they return home
Ko ētahi atu e pā ana ki te wahine, ma te wahine, te noho o te wahine i roto i te whare te kaha o te wahine mo te tautoko waiata	Some of it is about women, women who stay home, are confident in the language waiata are beautiful
kōhanga reo	language nest
kohi	donation
koia ētahi o ngā pakeketanga,	learning English was difficult,
na te mea ko te nuinga o	most of us couldn't speak English
mātou kore oti i te kōrero Pākehā	
Koia te kōrero o tōku karani māmā	That was my grandmother, Ngataua's comment
Kōkiri Aronui	Visual Arts institute
Ko Mamari te waka	Mamari is the canoe
Komiti Whāiti	fundraising committee

kōrero	conversation
kōrero i te kāpura	fireside conversation/s
kōrero whakamutunga	In conclusion
Koroneihana	coronation
Ko te tino pūtake o tō rātou kōrero ki ahau, kia ū ki te whānau,	the content of their conversation was to be loyal to the
kia manaakitia i ētahi, ahakoa ko wai	family, care for others even if they are strangers
koura	crayfish
Kua haere ahau ki ētahi atu hui, ētahi atu iwi, i ētahi atu rohe, ētahi marae, na, kua kite atu,	I attend gatherings in other Marae I observe younger tribal members
kaha ana rātou ki te tū	are confident and participating in their tribal waiata
Kua mea mai taku auntie a Rangi,	My auntie Rangi instructed me,
"Mauria tera mea ki raro, panga atu."	"Take that thing and dispose it down there."
kua pinau te kāpura	the fire has been extinguished
kūaka	godwit
kuia	Female elders
kumara	sweet potato
kura	school
kura hāhi	church school
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori immersion school
kura whānau	family at school
mahara ana ahau kua whakakiingia	I remember it was filled
ma muri ka oti a mua	without the back the front will be unable to function
manākitanga	caring

manāki	care
mana wahine	Māori women's prestige
manuhiri	visitor
mana	influence
manawa	heart
Manu Ariki	Taumarunui based
Māori	coloniser's name for people of the land
marae	marae is known to Te Aupouri as the ancestral house, dining area and ablution block
maramatanga	The Ratana philosophy
Mātauranga a iwi	tribal knowledge
Mātauranga Māori	Māori Knowledge
mātāmua	eldest
Me anga atu, ngā kanohi rā **Ki nga maunga kei reira te awhina**	Cast your eyes to the to the mountains you will find assistance
matua	father, uncle
mau rākau	Māori weaponry
Maunga Tohoraha	Mount Camel
mea mai toku karani mama,	My grandmother
'e hoa ma kua tarengia tēra	commented, that
mango, kua uaina,	the shark was hung, rained
kua marokengia ka kaingia	upon dried, rained on several times and later eaten
Mīharo rawatia ki ou tātou **whānau i tāwahi me ētahi atu** **kainga i Aōtearoa nei**	Amazing seeing our tribal members living overseas and the different tribal districts of New Zealand

mokopuna	grandchild, grandchildren
mokopuna tuārua	great grandchild
Mōrehu	Ratana church follower
Muriwhenua	female ancestor, geographical
	Far North
Kaha ana rātou ki te kōrero.	These nannys would speak
Na, ko Auntie Roera, kaha ana aia me	Aunty Puti, Auntie Roera
Nanny Kahu na ko ratou katoa	Kahuwhero. They would
Auntie Puti ma e kore ratou e	never sit in silence.
noho wahangu	They were confident
Nanakia te tukuna mai o tou māmā	your mother's permission is clever, cunning
na te mea, ko ēnei ōku whakaaro	Here are my thoughts
na te nui o te whānau e noho ana i Otara	there were so many living in Otara
Nau mai, piki mai e nga iwi e	Welcome to all the tribes, people
ngā reo, ngā mana, tēna rā koutou katoa	To the heritage languages, the influential, greetings to you all
ngā kaikōrero	The participants
ngā mihi nui ki a koe	Acknowledgements,
	Warmest regards
Ngati Otara	Tribal residents of Otara
Ngā Tai e rua	marae based in Tuakau, Two tides
Ngā Tapuwae o te Mangai	Ratana temple in Te Kao
ngā tūpuna	ancestors
ngā uri e noho ana i wāhi kē	descendants living elsewhere
ngā whaea tūpuna	female ancestors
ngā Whānau Reo	families of language

Ngā Tamatoa	warriors
noho marae	live in
pāhūhū i ngā kōrari	prepare the flax for weaving
Pākehā	NZ European
pānui	notice, letter, permission
Papatuānuku	Earth mother
papakainga	tribal accomodation
Parengarenga	harbour
Parengarenga B2A	tribal organisation
pataka	pantry
pena he mōhioranga tou, ū tonu ana koe ki te reo o te kainga,	If you know any knowledge and you hold fast to
koe ki te reo o te	the local dialect when you enter other tribal districts there
kainga, Engari ka hou atu koe ki ēra	are slight differences
rohe kua rerekē te reo	
ponga	native fern posts
Pōtahi Marae Trustees	Trustees with marae portfolios
pōwhiri	welcome
pukapuka whakamoemiti	blue book of the Ratana faith
pūrākau	story, myth
ranga	circular formation
rangatira	chiefs
rapu oranga	search for sustenance
raupapa	to lay out
ringa wera	chefs, cooks
roimata	early ancestral burial ground

Runanga	Tribal organisation
taiāpure mātaitai	tribal fishing grounds
tamata	Woven floormat
tamariki	children
tangata whenua	people of the land
tangi, tangihanga	funeral, death
taonga	gift
tauira teina	student
taumata	speaking platform
tāpapa kumara	kumara seedling bed
tapu	sacred
taputini	a type of sweet potato
Tawhitirahi	tribal hill, tribal mountain
Te Aatarangi	Māori language method using cuisenaire rods
Te ahua o ngā tūpuna	the ancestors' conduct
Te Amongaariki	Ancestress of Te Aupouri
Te Aō Hurihuri	The revolving world
Te Aō tūpuna	The grandparents' world
Te aroha o ngā tūpuna	the ancestors' devotion
Te Aupouri wāhine	Te Aupouri women
Te Aupouritanga	tribal identity
Te Aupouri kōrero	conversation, story
Te Aupouri ki Te Kao	Te Aupouri of Te Kao
Te Aupouri ki Te Kao wāhine	Te Aupouri women of Te Kao
te haerenga atu	travel
Te Hiku o te Ika	The tail of the fish
Te Hononga ki te iwi	the connection to the tribe
tekau ōku tau, ka neke mātou ki Kaitaia	when I was ten years old we moved to Kaitaia

Te Kōhanga	The nest
Te kōti tāhae whenua	Te Aupouri ancestors renamed the Native Land Court responsible for land theft
Te Kūpenga	the net
Te Kūpenga kapa haka	Te Kupenga haka group
Te Kura Takiwa o Te Kao	Te Kao School
Te Mātauranga	Education
Te Mātāwai	The independent statutory entity charged with revitalising Zealand's indigenous language
Te Mātauranga a te Pākehā	Western education system
Te Moana nui a Kiwa	Pacific Ocean
Te Pou o Parengarenga	The stronghold of Parengarenga
Te Puni Kokiri	Ministry of Māori Development
Te reo	the language
Te reo Māori	Māori language
Te reo me ngā tikanga o Te Aupouri	The language and protocols of Te Aupouri
Te reo o Te Aupouri	Te Aupouri dialect
Te reo Māori	The Māori language
Te reo o Ngati Hine	the Ngati Hine dialect
Te Rūnanga o Te Aupouri	Te Aupouri tribal authority
Te Tai Tokerau	Northern area of the North Island of New Zealand
Te Tai Rāwhiti	East coast of the North Island of New Zealand

Te tikanga o Kaitiakitanga	practices of guardianship
Te tūnga o te wahine i te marae	the woman's position on the marae
Te Uru Tāhuna	The advisory body
Te wā o ngā tūpuna	The period of our ancestors
Te Wāhanga tuārima	Chapter five
Te Wāhanga tuātahi	Chapter one
Te Wāhanga tuāono	Chapter six
Tataringia	categorising flax bundles
Te whakapā tuātahi	initial contact
Te Whakatakoto i te kaupapa	setting out the purpose
Te Whakatūwheratanga	Clearing of the pathway
Te whānau whānui	the community
Tikanga	the first law of the land, tribal protocol
Timata ahau i Ngataki, i reira Aunty Josie	I began school in Ngataki with Auntie Josie
raua ko Uncle Pera	and Uncle Pera
tohu	garments for prayers
whakamoemiti	prayers of thanks
Tōhunga	healer, healers
Tokerau	East Beach
Toko i Te Arawa	cemetery
Tōku aō	my world
Tōku whakatupuranga	my childhood
Tō mātou māmā	our mother
tuākana	elder
teina	younger
tūpuna	ancestors
whaea tūpuna	female ancestors

Tū Ake Te Aupouri	Te Aupouri Facebook page
tukutuku	wall weaving
tūmuaki	leader, principal
Tupuranga	generation, Māori stream at Kia Aroha College
Tūrangawaewae	place to stand
wāhine toa	warrior women
waihotia te whānau	leave the central flaxblade with the mature blades on the either side of the central flaxblade
waiata	song
wairua o te whenua	spirit of the land
waka	canoe
Waka te Haua	tribal fishing reserve on the West Coast of Muriwhenua
wānanga	learning institution
whaea	mother, aunt
whaea tūpuna	female ancestors
whakahīhī	boastful
whakaako	teaching
whakaaro tahi mo te katoa	United in thought for the collective
whakairo	carving
whakamaumahara	memories
whakamoemiti	prayers of the Ratana faith
whānau wānanga	family learning time
whakapapa	genealogy
whakarāpopoto ngā korero	summarized versions
whakatauki	tribal saying
whānau	family

whānau kura	school family
whanaunga	relative/s
whanaungatanga	relationships between and amongst people
wharekai	dining room
wharekura	Māori immersion secondary school
whiria te muka	plait the flax fibres
Wikitoria	Queen Victoria School

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