He tirohanga a Ngāti Awa uri taone mo ngā ahuatanga Māori

An urban Ngāti Awa perspective on identity and culture

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Attestation of Authorship

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

Kimiora Raerino

Date:

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Abstract

Tribal traditions and practices are integral to *iwi* identity. From the past to the present, the biggest impact on *iwi* identity was colonisation and subsequent urbanisation. Urbanisation changed the foundation of identity largely due to the demographic rural-urban shift, effectively creating a distance physically and spiritually for Māori between their place of residence and their traditional tribal *turangawaewae*. Today a larger proportion of tribal members reside in the main urban centres of New Zealand and Australia. This phenomenon provides an ideal opportunity to explore how *iwi* identity is maintained in an urban setting – away from the traditional sites of cultural practice.

The study, which focuses on Ngāti Awa members residing in Auckland, provided evidence that the foundation of an *iwi* identity is still heavily reliant on strong *iwi*-based *whānau*. The corollary is that, strengthening the tribal knowledge base of *whānau* residing in urban centres may require new or increased active participation in the customs and practices of their *iwi*. Regrettably, only three of the ten research participants had an in-depth knowledge of their *whakapapa*, histories and traditions. However, all the participants indicated the need to become more pro-active in creating and expanding on their knowledge base of *iwitanga* (including *te reo*). There was also acknowledgement that urban-based *iwi marae* and *whānau wānanga* can provide individuals with the opportunities to learn more about their *iwi* traditions (and thereby reinforce their sense of tribal identity). Encouragingly, each participant confirmed that identifying as Ngāti Awa was important to them, largely due to the sense of belonging and identity. The study concluded that the sustainability of *iwi* is reliant on *iwi* members supporting their *iwi* regardless of the location of their upbringing.

Introduction

The formation of a Māori and *iwi* (tribe) identity has endured many changes and challenges over the last two centuries. In past times, a collective identity was gained by the immersion and active participation into the customs, values and practices of the Māori community. The traditions and practices of *iwi* and *hapū* (sub-tribe) were passed down through the links of *whakapapa* (genealogy) in the tribal communities. In contrast, today many Māori now live away from their traditional tribal communities and the opportunities to witness and participate in the traditions of their *iwi*, have significantly lessened. Durie (2005) identifies two major impacts to Māori identity occurred through the processes of colonisation and urbanisation. Key consequences of colonisation and urbanisation included the subjugation of *te reo* (Māori language) and Māori customs and the shift in the foundations of Māori and *iwi* identity that became no longer 'exclusively dependant on *hapū*, *iwi*, customary lands or *marae* (local community and its meeting-places and buildings) (ibid. p.23)'. The reality for many Māori today is that they no longer reside in traditional Māori communities, and their knowledge of their *iwi* traditions and history is often limited.

The study was a snapshot of the lives of a small group of Auckland-based Ngāti Awa *iwi* members that provided an insight into their awareness of their identity. It also provided an opportunity to gauge the level of participation in Māori and tribal communities. Examining the ties that link urban Māori to their rural *iwi* was the main objective of this thesis. This involved exploring the relationships between urban Māori and their traditional *iwi* and tribal lands. It was evident that these members have maintained strong psychological links with their ancestral lands despite the fact they do not reside within the traditional tribal boundaries.

This thesis builds on previous literature concerning urban Māori and the role of *Māoritanga* (Māori culture) and adds a new perspective by researching a specific *iwi* and gaining a direct insight into the current state of an urban *iwi* identity. Throughout this study, it was evident that *Māoritanga* (*te reo, whakapapa* and

iwitanga) and involvement with Māori and tribal communities assisted in supporting an urban *iwi* identity. It is anticipated that this study will add new understanding and knowledge on an urban *iwi* identity from the reflections of ten urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members. Furthermore, the results of this research will provide an insightful and timely evaluation of an urban Ngāti Awa identity that will assist Te Runanga o Ngāti Awa in future plans of preservation, retention and development of *Ngātiawatanga* (Ngāti Awa traditions, histories and *whakapapa*).

Ngāti Awa *iwi* was chosen for this research study, based on the *iwi* affiliation of the researcher and the advantages of 'insider' research. The main advantages of 'insider' research, was the ability to access and conduct interviews with urban *iwi* members utilising the networks of *whānau* (family) and *iwi*. Additionally, the connection of *whānau* and *iwi* between the researcher and the research participants created an opportunity for the researcher to be privy to 'insider' information. This information may not have been shared with a stranger or person of another *iwi*. The researcher was already a member of the community being researched and had the support and guidance of Ngāti Awa *whānau* and *kaumātua* (elder). Furthermore, it is important to note that this thesis provided an opportunity for the researcher to deepen their own knowledge of *Ngātiawatanga*, and an invaluable opportunity to meet and *whakawhānaungatanga* (process of discovering inter-relationships) with fellow urban *iwi* members.

In this new millennium, Māori now live in contemporary Māori societies including urban centres, which has changed the formation and maintenance of a Māori identity previously gained from the traditional rural communities. For many Māori, including the research participants and the researcher, *te reo* has given way to English, rural living for urban living and many aspects of *Māoritanga* are no longer visibly seen or practiced. Active participation in *marae*, *hapū* and *whānau* settings have decreased for many urban *iwi* members, depriving Māori of elements of their identity and culture. The challenge of sustaining Māori traditions, culture and identity will always be a struggle with the continuous changes of a contemporary environment. A well-known *whakatauki* (proverb) '*Ka whawhai tonu matou'* encapsulates the journey ahead for Māori and *iwi*, in that the

retention of the values and practices of Māori will be a struggle without end. However, it is the struggle to retain culture and identity that will keep Māori identity dynamic, alive and traditions practised. Further to this, the values and practises of *iwi* are integral to *iwi* culture and identity, they are relevant and need to be sustained, and Māori people need to ensure that they do.

This thesis is divided into five chapters which cover the background of the research subject matter, the literature reviewed on the research subject and then the methodology to the research conducted. The last two chapters examine the research findings, and conclude with a reflection of the results. Incidentally, urban *iwi* members, within the context of this study refer to rural *iwi* affiliated members who reside in urban centres. This term does not include urban *iwi* members who affiliate with urban *iwi*. In addition, reference is often made to the *Rūnanga* - within this thesis, this reference is the shortened term for Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa.

Chapter One

The first chapter is the research setting which provides a general overview of the history of Ngāti Awa, from conception to present day. In addition, a summary is given regarding the transitions Māori identity has undergone over the last few hundred years. Discussion is made of the effects of colonisation and urbanisation to the *iwi* of Ngāti Awa (and the Māori population in general), including several treaty breaches that may have created the drive for Ngāti Awa members to move into urban centres. Exploration is made of the Ngāti Awa urban *marae* of Mataatua and the urban based hapū of Ngati-Awa-ki-Tamaki who spent many years fundraising, in order to build an urban-based *turangawaewae* (home ground) in the larger urban centre of Auckland. At the end of this chapter, the focus turns towards the future for Ngāti Awa urban *iwi* members, and the role of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa in creating initiatives to assist in future goals. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa speaks of their commitment to draw its people back to the *iwi*, and its desire to utilise its people's skills and knowledge base to improve the *iwi* as a whole.

Chapter Two

This is a comprehensive review of literature pertaining to Māori identity and the role of *Māoritanga* in supporting an identity. Scrutiny is made to the changes of Māori identity from the traditional times and communities of Māori, to the contemporary communities of today. The central theme of the literature reviewed is the importance of *Māoritanga*, in particular *whakapapa* to a Māori and *iwi* identity. Knowledge of *whakapapa* and tribal history is an important facet of a Māori identity, and are crucial to strong *iwi* affiliation. An assessment is made into the effects of colonisation and urbanisation to a Māori identity, and the many aspects and changes to *Māoritanga*. *Māoritanga* comprises of many components, and this review covers the various opinions on the components of *Māoritanga*, including literature that discusses characteristics to Maoriness. Acknowledgement is made that *whakapapa* (*whānau*) is a key component of Māori identity today, and for tribal identity, *whakapapa* is pivotal. Much of the literature reviewed, asserted the need to maintain *Māoritanga* (also *iwitanga*) and this included retaining important cultural markers such as *te reo* and involvement in *marae*. This chapter brings together literature that speaks to the differing opinions on a Māori identity today, concluding with the potential focus for the future.

Chapter Three

This chapter introduces and defines the Māori research based methodology of the *Kaupapa a Iwi* (Iwi-based research methodology) approach. This method was chosen as the preferred approach to conduct *iwi* research, to explore, interpret and analyse the *tuturu* (traditional) Māori worldview from an exclusively *iwi* perspective. Deliberation is made of Māori research and *iwi* research, with the central *kaupapa* (theme) of the research being Ngāti Awa members and the *iwitanga* (tribal culture) of Ngāti Awa. The similarities between the *Kaupapa Māori* (Māori based research methodology) approach to research and *Kaupapa a Iwi* are made within this chapter, outlining the main difference of *Kaupapa a Iwi* research is that the approach is situated with a tribal social context not the pan-Māori social context of *Kaupapa Māori*. An analysis is made of the principles and assumptions of *Kaupapa a Iwi* research, and a deviation of this particular research study. Next, this chapter provides a wider outline of the participant selection

process, the research criteria, the interviews, the questions chosen and the methods chosen to capture and report the data. The last part of this chapter discusses the data analysis process, including identifying the limitations to the study and ethical considerations required when interviewing research participants.

Chapter Four

This is a review of the findings of the research, and deliberates the answers given by the participants to each of the nine research questions. Explanation is made of each questions purpose, and the intent of the each question for the research study. Each question was added into the interview questionnaire in order to ascertain a basic understanding into knowledge level of each urban participant, and their participation or non-participation in their Māori communities and tribal communities. This chapter also acknowledges that some questions, once asked of the participants, and did not provide the full answers anticipated. However, the overall requirement of the study was to gain an insight into the state of a rural affiliated urban identity and from the information given by the participants this objective was achieved. At the end of this chapter, a brief summary of the research results are provided.

Chapter Five

The final chapter of the thesis reiterates the aims of the research and reviews the research results. There were several themes and patterns to emerge from the research findings, and the commonalities of the research results are identified and detailed. One of the main outcomes of the research results was the need for strong *iwi*-based whanau to provide a solid foundation for urban based *iwi* members. Further indications derived from the research results are discussed, including the need to *whakawhānaungatanga* by creating opportunities to have *whānau wānanga* (learning seminar), or utilise the urban *marae* of Mataatua. The important role Mataatua *marae* can play for urban members is explored, and recommendation is made that more urban members utilise it facilities. Mataatua *marae* can offer a significant function for *iwi* members, to fulfil the goals of creating opportunities for the physical encounters within *marae*, but for the spiritual fulfilment also found within *marae*. Key recommendations are made, for

the general health and well-being of an urban based *iwi* identity. This thesis ends with a review of the role of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa concerning future initiatives and objectives for their *iwi* members. The findings suggest that *iwi* members need to be encouraged to use their skills to assist their *iwi* in any manner, which will serve to strengthen their sense of affiliation and belonging to Ngāti Awa.

Chapter One – The Research Setting

Ko Mataatua te waka
Ko Toroa te rangatira
Ko Awanuiarangi te tipuna
Ko Ngāti Awa te iwi

Mataatua the canoe
Toroa the captain
Awanuiarangi the ancestor
Ngāti Awa the tribe

The *iwi rohē* (tribal area) of Ngāti Awa is situated in the eastern Bay of Plenty region. The map below gives a visual indication of the geographical location of Ngāti Awa in New Zealand.

Map 1 - Ngāti Awa tribal area

(www.teara.govt.nz)

Currently, one of the primarily sources of statistical information on the *iwi* of Ngāti Awa can be sourced from the latest Census (2006) results. While statistics are only approximate measurements and the results are often guided by pre-determined set answers, they provide an interesting point of reference. Key information supplied by Census 2006 totals the current Māori ethnic population as 565,329 and from this figure 24.3 percent live in the greater urban centre of Auckland. According to Census 2006, the urban Māori population has had a notable increase since the 1956 census. In 1956, two-thirds of Māori lived in rural areas, and now fifty years later 84.4 percent of Māori live in urban centres. The main urban centres of New Zealand are identified as Whangarei, Auckland, Hamilton, Tauranga, Rotorua, Gisborne, Napier-Hastings, New Plymouth, Wanganui, Palmerston North, Kapiti, Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch, Dunedin and Invercargill. The census further identifies Ngāti Awa as the tenth largest *iwi* in New Zealand, with a total population of 15,258. Within the total population figure of Ngāti Awa *iwi* members 2,688 now reside in the main urban centre of Auckland (www.stats.govt.nz).

The *pepeha* (proverb or motto) at the beginning of this chapter identifies the key *whakapapa* connections that bind the people of Ngāti Awa together as one *iwi*. Over many centuries to the present day, the location of *marae*, *awa* (river) and *maunga* (mountain) has spread and varied. However, the *waka*, *rangatira* and founding *tipuna* of Awanuiarangi has always remained the same. The focus of this thesis and the subsequent research is to gain an insight into an urban Ngāti Awa Māori identity, from the reflections of ten urban Ngāti Awa research participants who reside in Auckland. All the research participants acknowledge primary affiliation to the *iwi* of Ngāti Awa. Further to this, all the research participants are current registered members of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, acquired through the familial links of *whakapapa*.

The location of the Ngāti Awa *iwi* and *hapū* has principally been in the eastern Bay of Plenty since the arrival of Toroa onboard the Mataatua *waka* into the river estuary of Kākahoroa (Whakatāne) in 1650AD. However, in the last few decades' urban *marae* and *hapū* have been added to Ngāti Awa *iwi* to accommodate the

increasing Ngāti Awa population that now live in two of the main urban centres of New Zealand; Auckland and Wellington.

In 1981, a confederation of Ngāti Awa *hapū* established Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, first as a charitable trust and then as a Māori trust board in 1988. Presently, the Ngati Awa *iwi* website (www.ngatiawa.iwi.nz) lists twenty two *hapū*, nineteen *marae* and over fifteen thousand individuals as registered with Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa. The twenty two *hapū* of Ngāti Awa are Ngāti Hokopu (at Wairaka), Ngāti Hokopu (at Hokowhitu), Taiwhakaea, Patuwai, Ngāti Pukeko, Ngāti Rangataua, Ngai Tamapare, Ngai Te Rangihouhiri, Ngāti Hikakino, Te Pahipoto, Nga Maihi, Ngai Tamaoki, Ngāti Tamawera, Te Warahoe, Ngāti Hamua, Te Tawera, Ngāti Tuariki, Ngāti Maumoana, Wharepaia, Te Kahupake, Ngāti Awa-ki-Tamaki, and Ngāti Awa-ki-Poneke. The biggest *hapū* of Ngāti Awa is Ngāti Pukeko with 2351 members, and the smallest *hapū* is Ngāti Maumoana with 105. For all the *iwi* members of Ngāti Awa, urban and rural, it is acknowledged the beginning of this *iwi* started with the arrival of Toroa and his *whānau* from their home land in Hawaiki.
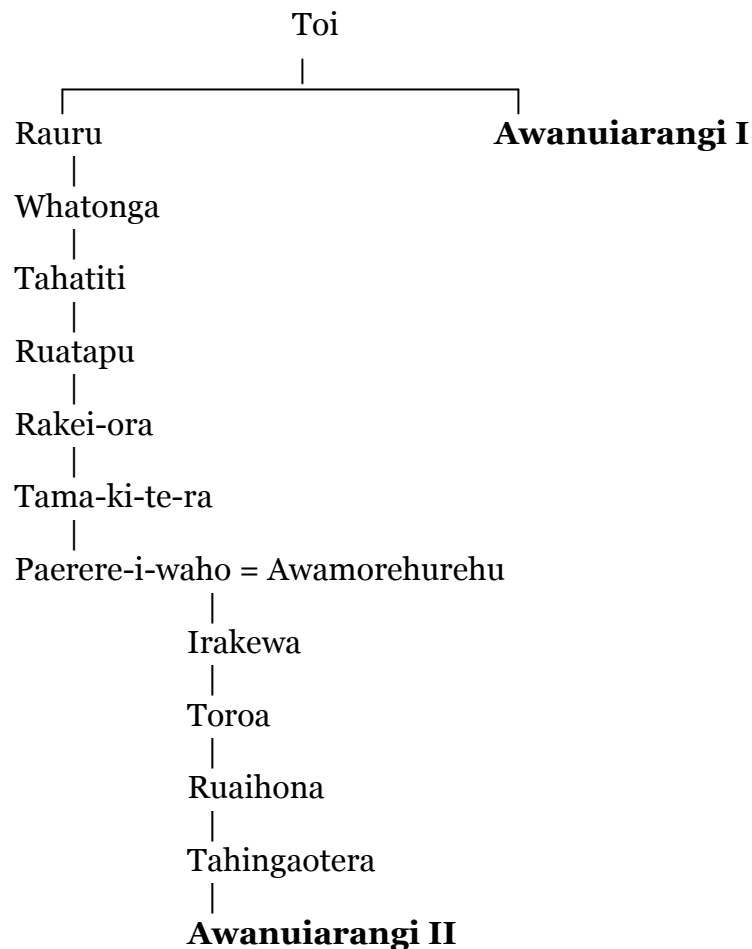
Toroa, captain of the Mataatua *waka*, following the directions of his father Irakewa, sailed in Kākahoroa from their homeland. On board the Mataatua were several members of Toroa's *whānau* including his brothers Puhi and Taneātua, sister Muriwai, son Ruaihona, and daughter Wairaka. In due course, Toroa, Taneātua, Muriwai and their immediate *whānau* settled into the eastern Bay of Plenty region of New Zealand and intermarried with existing *tāngata whenua* (people of the land). It is from these people that the *iwi* of Ngāti Awa, Tūhoe and Whakatohea were founded. Toroa's brother Puhi left the region onboard the Mataatua with his followers after a dispute with Toroa concerning the cultivation of *kumara* (sweet potato), travelled to the far north of New Zealand, and founded his own *iwi* Nga Puhi. The remains of the *waka* Mataatua can still be found in the far north of New Zealand today.

Establishing communities throughout the eastern Bay of Plenty region, Toroa and his *whānau* settled in Whakatāne, Te Teko, Matatā, Edgecumbe and Kawerau. In

addition, smaller communities were also established throughout New Zealand including Te Taitokerau (Northland), Te Taihauru (West Coast) and Wellington. However, the West Coast *iwi* in Taranaki and the Wellington branch of Ngāti Awa are now called Te Ati Awa.

The *iwi* name of Ngāti Awa is derived from two principle *tipuna* Awanuiarangi I and Awanuiarangi II. Figure one shows the *whakapapa* connection of Awanuiarangi I and Awanuiarangi II starting from Toi (also known as Toikairakau):

Figure 1 - Ngāti Awa whakapapa

```
                         Toi
                          |
          ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
        Rauru                      Awanuiarangi I
          |
       Whatonga
          |
        Tahatiti
          |
        Ruatapu
          |
       Rakei-ora
          |
      Tama-ki-te-ra
          |
   Paerere-i-waho = Awamorehurehu
                       |
                    Irakewa
                       |
                     Toroa
                       |
                   Ruaihona
                       |
                  Tahingaotera
                       |
                 Awanuiarangi II
```

(Hirini Mead. Landmarks, Bridges and Visions. p. 251.)

Awanuiarangi I was the second son of Toikairakau, a Māori voyager who travelled to New Zealand in 1150AD in search of his *mokopuna* (grandchild) Whatonga, and

settled in the eastern Bay of Plenty many generations before the arrival of Pākehā into New Zealand. Further to this, Awanuiarangi I was the founder of Te Tini o Awa, a formerly numerous *iwi* of the Bay of Plenty and Hawkes Bay region. The second Awanuiarangi was the great grandson of Toroa, who was born over ten generations after Awanuiarangi I, and whom Ngāti Awa acknowledges as their eponymous ancestor. Every *iwi* member of Ngāti Awa can trace his or her *whakapapa* to Awanuiarangi II.

Ngāti Awa *iwi* is a coastal *iwi*, and the tribal area of Ngāti Awa has been immortalised in a *whakatauki*:

> *Ngā mate i Kōhī me tangi i Kawerau;*
> *Ngā mate i Kawerau me tangi atu i Kōhī.*
>
> Deaths at Kōhī were mourned at Kawerau;
> Deaths at Kawerau were mourned at Kōhī.

This *whakatauki* relates to Muriwai (sister of Mataatua captain Toroa) as she placed a restriction along the eastern Bay of Plenty coast, where her two children drowned. Muriwai identified Kawerau and Kōhī as the *iwi* boundary areas that would grieve the death of her children. In addition to the tribal areas of Kawerau and Kohi are a network of islands; 'Mōtiti, Rūrima, Moutohorā and Whakaari' *(www.teara.govt.nz)*. Similar to many *iwi* throughout New Zealand many centuries ago, Ngāti Awa was continually challenged about their tribal area. Neighbouring *iwi* with common links within *whakapapa* to Ngāti Awa, were also involved with the ongoing conflict and rivalry with Ngāti Awa contesting key tribal areas.

Within the tribal lands of Ngāti Awa, there are the significant mountains and landmarks of the *iwi*, including 'Te Rae-o-Kōhī, Te Tiringa, Whakapau-Kōrero, Ōtipa and Pūtauaki (ibid.)'. The following map identifies the key tribal townships, *maunga*, *awa* and islands of Ngāti Awa.

Map 2 - Ngāti Awa landmarks

(*www.teara.govt.nz*)

The three *awa* of Tawera, Rangitāiki and Whakatāne and their surrounding wetlands were Ngāti Awa's principal means of transport, sustenance and security many years ago.

Ngāti Awa history is outlined in the treaty settlement booklet *'Ka ao, Ka ea, Ka awatea – The Crowns Settlement Offer to Ngati Awa' (Te Runanga o Ngati Awa, 2002)*, issued to all registered members of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa. The booklet notes that in 1800s, Ngāti Awa was a prosperous and self-governing *iwi* comprising of a confederation of *hapū*. Ngāti Awa occupied and exerted authority over a wide territory in the Bay of Plenty, from Ōhiwa Harbour in the east to Pukehina and Maketu in the west. Included in Ngāti Awa's tribal authority was a network of islands, confirming an expansive tribal coast line. Further to this, Ngāti Awa owned flour mills and ships, and provided large quantities of pigs, flax, vegetables, wheat, timber and potatoes for sale. The prosperity and land ownership of Ngāti Awa changed in 1866. The Crown confiscated approximately 440,000 acres of land in the Bay of Plenty, including 245,000 acres of Ngāti Awa land.

Through a series of protest in the courts, Ngāti Awa had 77,870 acres returned, however, the returned land consisted of mostly reserves and much of that land was in flood-prone swamp land or hill country. The Crown also labelled Ngāti Awa as *tāngata hara* (rebels) and moved *hapū* off their traditional land and imprisoned or executed a number of the *iwi* men. Consequently since 1867, Ngāti Awa has been making claims to have their land returned, including the sacred mountain of Pūtauaki, and have been asking for acknowledgement and compensation for the many wrongs inflicted on the *iwi* by the Crown.

In 2005, the settlement of Ngāti Awa treaty of Waitangi claims saw the end of an almost 150 year process. The Crown settlement offer to Ngāti Awa included four main components; acknowledgement of Treaty breaches, an apology by the Crown, a commercial and financial offer and a cultural redress offer. One of the key acknowledgments made by the Crown addressed the long-lasting effects of the land confiscation:

> The confiscation of Ngāti Awa tribal land had a devastating effect on the welfare, economy and development of Ngāti Awa and deprived the iwi of its many wāhi tapu, access to its natural resources and opportunities for development (The Crown Settlement Offer to Ngāti Awa, 2002. p. 18).

Added to this acknowledgement, was the apology made by the Crown also regarding the long-lasting effects of land confiscation:

> The Crown profoundly regrets and unreservedly apologies for the cumulative effect of its actions over the generations which has left Ngāti Awa virtually landless, and which has undermined the social and traditional structures and autonomy of Ngāti Awa hapū (ibid. p. 20).

The Crown's apology and acknowledgement makes some headway in addressing the continued outcry of unjust treatment, raised by Ngāti Awa *iwi* members for over one hundred years. The effects of the land confiscations were described by a paramount chief and *Tohunga* (expert) of Ngāti Awa, Hāmiora Tumutara Pio in the late 1800's:

Koia tēnei; ko te toroa noho au,
E tangi ana ki tōna kainga, e mihi ana.

This is a fact; I live like the albatross
Crying out to its nesting place, and greeting you (in sorrow).

This lament embodies Ngāti Awa collective pain for the unjust actions of the Crown that led to generations of Ngāti Awa *whānau* carrying the burden of grief, shame and embarrassment at their dislocation from the lands of their *tipuna* and the stigma of being labelled *tāngata hara*. This despair is evidenced in the Ngāti Awa Raupatu report (1999) which castigates the actions of the Crown. As a result of the Crown's duplicity many Ngāti Awa *hapū* were forced to relocate away from their ancestral homes, and 'They were aggregated on land liable to flooding, between the Rangitāiki Swamp and the Whakatāne River. It was not their customary land, and soon there were disputes amongst them, and between them and the custom holders' (p. 7). It was not until the late 20th century, that Ngāti Awa leaders were able to begin the difficult task of reconstructing their tribe after the land confiscations and *iwi* member's alienation from their land.

Today, for many *iwi* members of Ngāti Awa the alienation from their land for their *tipuna* in the late 1800's has meant dislocation from their *iwi*, tribal lands and *iwi* identity. Raerino (1999) discusses the consequences of the Crowns actions against the *iwi* of Ngāti Awa:

> Ngāti Awa in general has been a persecuted iwi. Not only were their lands confiscated, but also many were forced to live on land that did not traditionally belong to them, a colonist way of ensuring people never settled. Many drifted in the great urban migration of the "fifties" to the bigger townships. Leaving with little intention of ever returning (p. 17)

Similarly, Sir Apirana Ngata, Ngāti Porou leader and politician, spoke of the hardships of Ngāti Awa in 1899, stating 'Ngāti Awa is a sick people because of the punishments of the law ... and I wept for them that had been made to suffer so harshly by the government'. For many Ngāti Awa *iwi* members, the actions of the

Crown have meant that they have never resided on their traditional lands and that, the previously in-depth knowledge of the histories and traditions of Ngāti Awa has been lost.

Land confiscation and land alienation, were two of the many processes that *iwi* of New Zealand has had to endure and overcome in the last two centuries. Durie (2005) outlines the transitional phases Māori have endured since 500AD, identifying the first key transitional phases as Pacific, moving to indigenous, colonial, institutional, urban to the current phase described as global. The table below details the main transitions.

Table 1 – Māori transitions

Transitional Challenge	*Time*	*Adaptive tasks*
Pacific transitions	500-1000 AD	Pacific voyaging, navigation and migratory planning.
Indigenous transitions	1000-1300 AD	Adaption to Aotearoa climate and environment, laws for survival, formation of social groups.
Colonial transitions	1820-1900 AD	Negotiation of arrangements for power sharing, survival against infectious diseases, warfare, oppression, alienation of resources.
Institutional transitions	1858-1900 AD	Formation of new organisations to facilitate Māori transitions.
Urban transitions	1945-1975 AD	Relocation to towns and cities, changes in social systems and cultural values.
Global transitions	1980- AD	Multinational and international threats and alliances, retention of cultural identity and intellectual property.

(Mason Durie. Ngā Tai Matatū. p 3)

Based on this list of key transitional challenges, Māori (people) have had to adapt and endure many changes. Over many centuries, from the arrival of Māori into New Zealand to the present day, the foundations of identity have also undergone many changes. A key consequence of the transitional phases has meant that one of biggest struggles for Māori is the challenge of forming and maintaining a Māori

and *iwi* identity. The transition of urbanisation created a major challenge to the formation and maintenance of a Māori identity, due to the speed of the transitional period and the uprooting of *whānau* from traditional societies to the more contemporary societies of urban living. In short period of thirty years (1945-1975), a large demographic shift occurred within the Māori population between rural Māori and urban Māori.

Prior to the Second World War, 90 percent of the Māori population was rural. Walker (1990) asserts 'the war acted as catalyst in stimulating people to abandon rural poverty, and sell their labour for wages in the factories of the urban milieu (p. 197)'. The urban population of Māori rapidly increased over the ensuring years, and in the 1960's the Department of Māori Affairs encouraged a further increase in the urban Māori population with an urban relocation programme. During a period of approximately five years, the department relocated 399 Māori families. In addition, 485 families relocated into urban centres of their own accord. By 2006, one in four people of Māori ethnicity now live in the Auckland region, 24.3 percent of the total Māori population. The consequences of the transition of urbanisation not only resulted in the relocation of Māori into urban centres, but also a major shift in the foundations for identity.

A traditional Māori *iwi* identity prior to urbanisation was almost exclusively dependent on *hapū* members, tribal lands and *marae*. In more traditional times, the passing down of tribal histories and traditions was the role of *tuakana* (eldest member of family). Raerino (1999) speaks of his upbringing in Te Teko, a small community within the *iwi* region of Ngāti Awa, over sixty years ago:

> I was raised in a strong Māori speaking community. People of the
> community lived and breathed nga ahuatanga me nga tikanga Māori.
> I could not avoid becoming strong in kaupapa, tikanga and
> matauranga Māori. (p. 15)

Traditional Māori communities based around *marae*, ensured *iwi* and *hapū* members gained a solid understanding in *Māoritanga*. Each *hapū* had their own ancient repositories, including repositories of history, oral traditions, battle

histories, and an understanding of their ancestral ties and descent lines. Today, for urban *iwi* members the foundations for identity have to be acquired through a more contemporary method. This can include; learning directly within the immediate *whānau* or by an individual *iwi* member's search for knowledge. Contemporary methods for acquiring tribal knowledge can comprise of; attending tertiary and university organisations, attending *iwi wānanga*, self-directed research and utilising the internet for *iwi* websites and information. Durie (2005) identifies the use of technology as an effective tool for reconnecting urban *iwi* members with their respective *iwi*:

> Abrupt transitions left many urban migrants effectively divorced from te ao Māori. But communication technology has telescoped the concept of distance to such an extent that Māori in London or Los Angeles, who are living lifestyles quite different from relatives in Wairoa or Whangarei, might still be able to participate in te ao Māori, enjoy the legacy to which they are entitled, and contribute to the ongoing transmission and development of Māori heritage (p. 3).

The ability to participate in *Te ao Māori* (Māori world) through the means of technology has made *iwi* information more accessible to Māori at a global level. Globalisation has provided internet information on *Te ao Māori* available to all Māori who have access to a computer. Harawira (1999) discusses the processes of globalisation:

> At one level, the term 'globalisation' refers to the processes by which the world is becoming more interdependent. Interdependence is a concept that is extremely well understood by indigenous peoples because it is embedded in our psyche. Our genealogy or whakapapa …. Globalisation also refers to other processes –for example the notion of the global village, to the way in which we are becoming politically and socially more and more interdependent (p.1).

For many *iwi*, globalisation has increased the availability of *iwi* information. Internet information has become invaluable to many urban *iwi* members living away from their tradition lands, providing a tangible link to their *iwi*. There is now a great need for *iwi* information to be readily accessible to each *iwi* member throughout New Zealand and overseas. At a recent Auckland Mataatua *marae* meeting Ngāti Awa *Rūnanga* representative T. Hunia (personal communication,

May 14, 2007) confirmed that Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa has recognised the potential of their website to draw in their widely spread *iwi* members. With work underway now to develop their website further to include 'not only more in-depth *iwi* information, but also individual *hapū* based pages'.

At present, another opportunity available to urban *iwi* members to assist with increasing their *iwi* knowledge can be accessed from their respective urban based *marae*. With the many communities found in urban centres, urban *marae* communities can provide an opportunity for urban *iwi* members to develop their Māori identity in an urban setting. Hence, there is now a strong reliance on urban *marae* to create opportunities for *iwi* members to establish *whakapapa* links, and learn about their *Māoritanga*. (The role of *Māoritanga* in supporting a Māori identity is examined in-depth in the next chapter of this thesis).

Marae play a crucial role for urban Māori, in that they provide a physical structure for Māori to meet and experience the *tikanga* (protocol) and *kawa* (formal protocol) of the *marae* in action. It is also on the *marae* that *te reo* (Māori language) is the first choice of language to be spoken, in a formal and informal setting (*wharenui* vs. *wharekai* – meeting house vs. eating house). Furthermore, *marae* provide the best venue for Māori to *hui* and *whakawhānaungatanga*. Therefore, in an urban setting *marae* enable Māori to meet with Māori, and to be Māori. Penetito (2000) summarises the importance of Māori meeting Māori:

> Māori like to do things together, to acclaim their Maoriness to one another to meet and strengthen their social bonds for each other, to participate in games that challenge and unite, to share food, stories, and histories, and to remember those no longer in the world of light (p. 64).

Based on this quote, *marae* provide the perfect setting for Māori to meet with Māori, and to participate in activities that support their Māori and *iwi* identity. For urban *iwi* members, urban *marae* can be vital link to their supporting to their identity and the only meeting place available to them to be apart of a Māori community. Walker (1990) notes that urban *marae* were an accomplishment for Māori during the transitional period of urbanisation:

> The establishment of the marae-meeting house complex in towns and
> cities around the country marked the accomplishment of the second
> development task by migrants: the transplantation of their culture
> into the urban milieu (p. 201).

The transplantation of Māori culture into urban centres has been a difficult and ongoing task. In the main urban centres of New Zealand, Māori and Māori culture has many other nationalities and cultures to contend with, aside from the more dominant Pākehā culture. In the largest urban centre of Auckland, the total population for the greater Auckland metropolitan area is over 1.2 million people, which equates to over a quarter of New Zealand's entire population. Further to this, according to the Auckland City Council (www.arc.govt.nz), 29,139 Māori live in the city area. Urban *marae* may provide the majority of urban *iwi* members, their only opportunity to be part of an active Māori community that encourages and supports *Māoritanga*.

Throughout Auckland are several *marae; tāngata whenua* based, school and university based, generic *marae* and *iwi* based specific *marae*. The *iwi* specific based *marae*, including Te Tira Hou (Tūhoe), Te Mahurehure (Ngapuhi) and Mataatua (Te Runanga o Ngati Awa) observe the *tikanga* and *kawa* of their respective *iwi* into an urban setting. Urban Māori, who have traditional tribal lands at a great distance from Auckland, can now affiliate with their urban *iwi marae* – creating opportunities to not only meet with fellow Māori, but also to be with fellow *iwi* members. One of the core roles urban of *marae* is to assist with the maintenance and formation of a Māori identity with the practice of *Māoritanga* in an urban setting.

The Ngāti Awa urban *marae* Mataatua is situated in the centre of Mangere Township in Auckland. In 1978, the building of the *wharenui* and *wharekai* had been completed and Mataatua was opened. Raerino (N. Raerino, personal communication, April 28, 2007) reflects that prior to the building of Mataatua, a group of predominately Ngāti Awa urban *iwi* members had created their own sports club in the suburb of Ponsonby during the 1950s and 1960s. Ponsonby had

large population of Māori during this time, who had moved to Auckland in search of work. Forming a society named Mataatua, based on the *waka* common to all the members. The Mataatua Society was formed largely by Ngāti Awa members seeking to meet and socialise with fellow Ngāti Awa members and other *iwi*. Netball and rugby competitions were held on a regular basis. Often the society member's homes were full with visiting sports teams and *whānau*, and extra affordable accommodation was hard to find. It was then that the members of the society decided to fundraise and build their own urban *marae* in Auckland. The founding members then set about the enormous task of fun-raising in 1960s and 1970s, and by the late 70s, the *marae* was built and completed.

Founding members of the Mataatua *marae* had met with Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa at various stages of building, and during those *hui*, the *hapū* name and *wharekai, wharenui* names were chosen. The *hapū* name of Ngāti Awa ki-Tamaki was chosen by 'the *Rūnanga* in order to differentiate the *hapū* from other *hapū* (Raerino, ibid.)'. The Ngati Awa *tipuna* name of Awanuiarangi was chosen for the *wharenui*, and Tuteiere another Ngāti Awa ancestor was chosen as the name for the *wharekai*.

The *marae* was created to fulfil a small set of needs of urban Ngāti Awa members. To create a urban *marae* for Ngāti Awa members, to establish a readily available meeting place for *iwi* members, to house visiting *whānau* members to Auckland, and a strong desire to create a *tūrangawaewae* for the children of the founding members. This was to include, future Ngāti Awa members who would be making Auckland their home. Henare (1985) discusses the importance of *tūrangawaewae* for Māori:

> The concept of a marae, a Tūrangawaewae, a place to stand on, is profound. Indeed, it is almost a pre-requisite to the fostering of Māori culture, the cultivation of the language, preservation of customs including art and crafts and inspirations which is an integral part of our New Zealand heritage (p. 2).

Mataatua *marae* committee members are continuing to work towards its goal of being a *tūrangawaewae* for its urban *iwi* members, and have since added a

Kōhanga reo (Māori pre-school) onto the *marae* site. The *Kōhanga reo* is available to all members of the Mangere community, and by the end of this year a community house also situated on the *marae* site, will be open and available to all members of the community. Mataatua *marae* has adopted the words of Te Kooti spoke in 1893, for its own *whakatauki* that speaks of the holistic purpose of the *marae*:

> *Mataatua hangaia e koutou he tāwharau*
> To provide shelter for Mataatua peoples

The words of Te Kooti encapsulate the mission and purpose of Mataatua *marae*, the *marae* is a shelter, a safe haven, or refuge for its people. Raerino (N. Raerino, personal communication, April 28, 2007) expands on the words of Te Kooti, discussing the role of Mataatua as an urban *marae*:

> Urban marae are a refuge, a sanctuary for people who come from that
> area. A place where they can come together and practise their
> culture, and the language. Speak the language and dialect of where
> they come from. So, that is the main purpose of urban marae. It is to
> keep and maintain the survivability of the Ngāti Awa culture and
> kawa.

At present, the *marae* is governed by registered members of Ngāti Awa, forming the Mataatua *marae* Committee. Similar to many *marae* throughout New Zealand, Mataatua is maintained and operated by voluntary workers. Income required to support the maintenance of the *marae* is derived from hireage of the *marae* facilities for *tangihanga* (funeral), *wānanga, hui* and community projects. At present, Mataatua has an active *whānau* participation of approximately 50 to 60 peoples. Evidence from Mataatua Meeting minutes identifies that in the greater Auckland region there are over two thousand Ngāti Awa people whom are not involved in the *marae* in any capacity, based on current attendance at committee meetings and *hui*. Analysing the exact reason for non-participation by urban Ngāti Awa peoples is beyond the scope of this thesis. One of the most important reasons for the existence of a *marae* is that it is there for its people and it is one of the last remaining sites against acculturation. Māori culture is safe with the confines of a *marae*, and Māori culture is practised within *marae*. In order for *marae* to

survive, they require firmer positions within the community, which means urban *marae* must be utilised more by its people.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa confirms that the *hapū* of Ngāti Awa ki-Tamaki of Mataatua *marae* is an important inclusion to the *Rūnanga* confederation of *hapū*. Furthermore, maintaining the connection between the *Rūnanga* and urban *marae* is vital. Mead (2003) discusses the role of the *Rūnanga* with urban *marae*:

> The urban hapū of Ngāti Awa are still kinship-based as every member has to be able to whakapapa to a hapū of Ngāti Awa. The difference here is that the whanaunga link is not as close as in the home-based hapū. Moreover, the hapū is a constant that brings together a slice of the iwi and provides the urban members of Ngāti Awa a connection to the rūnanga and a place in the organisation of the iwi (p. 215).

The connection of *iwi* members to the *Rūnanga* is an important link. For the future of Ngāti *iwi* identity of urban members, the link needs to be strong, and draw members back into *iwi* affairs. Current Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa CEO Jeremy Gardiner (2007) addressed the vision for the future for Ngāti Awa and its *iwi* members, in a speech given at the Ngāti Awa Education Awards Hui, April 2007 at Rewatu *marae*:

> And what is the new vision for Ngāti Awa for the next 25 years? In answering that question, we need to think about what future we see for ourselves and our whānau, our hapū and marae and the iwi as a whole. We also need to remember how we got to where we are today and learn the lessons that those who came before us have taught us and we also need to think about what role each of us will play in seeing that vision through.

The future for Ngāti Awa *iwi* requires active participation from all *iwi* members, including the large urban population. Urban *iwi* members are an integral component to the *iwi* of Ngāti Awa, particularly with the increasing urban population. In the future, measures may need to be put into place to assist urban *iwi* members with the formation and maintenance of their identity and not just a Māori identity, but also an *iwi* identity. Creating ties that links each member to their past, their *tipuna,* and their own history.

Iwi identity and knowledge is an important component of an urban Ngāti Awa identity. Living in urban centres has fractured the traditional methods of learning *iwitanga* (specific tribal culture), therefore the processes of learning has now become more individually self-defined. Returning to tribal lands for *wānanga* may assist with the formation and maintenance of an *iwi* identity, however establishing links with *whānau* and *iwi* members still residing on tribal lands is often difficult.

Rangihau (1994) asserts that in order to understand the importance of identity to Māori is to understand that Māori place a great deal of importance on where you come from, and that 'Being Māori means continually seeking answers to these questions: *Ko wai koe? No hea koe? I ahu mai koe i hea, a e ahu ana koe ki whea'* (Who are you, where are you from, from whence have you come and where are you heading? p. 142). For urban *iwi* members, answering these questions posed by Rangihau offers an understanding of what a Māori identity is. For Ngāti Awa urban *iwi* members, questions now arise as to what is the state of a Ngāti Awa *iwi* identity for urban *iwi* members, how much or little is known of *Ngātiawatanga* (Ngāti Awa culture) and the many other aspects of *Māoritanga* that support a Māori identity.

Chapter Two – Literature Review

Whakapapa Māori -Te oha o ngā tāngata mātua
Being Māori – Remembering the ways of the Ancestors

The focus of this literature review explores Māori identity and the role of *Māoritanga* in supporting Māori identity. The central theme examines conceptual changes in Māori identity by contrasting the complexities of contemporary urban Māori existence with 'traditional' tribal lifeways. Arguably, urbanisation has had key role in transforming 'traditional' notions of Māori identity (and culture). Te Puni Kokiri (1999) reported in *Māori in New Zealand*; 'Eight of ten Māori lived in urban areas in NZ (Fact Sheet 4)' With the majority of Māori living away from their tribal communities, being Māori and the knowledge and practice of *Māoritanga* is now vastly different from the times when Māori communities were rural based.

In the traditional communities of Māori, the formation and maintenance of a Māori identity was a relatively straightforward process, in that being Māori was the direct result of having Māori *whakapapa* and living in a Māori community. Rangihau (1992) and Marsden (1992) concur that their identity and worldview was derived from their upbringing in their traditional tribal communities. Durie (1997) explains that it was within the kinship groups of *hapū* and *whānau* in the traditional Māori communities that identity formation was effectively facilitated. Identity formation for Māori comprised of several key factors which included; 'ancestral connections through *whakapapa* or genealogy, combined with access to ancestral land as *tūrangawaewae* bound together by the ancestral language, te reo Māori' (p. 142). Māori identity that included these key factors contributed to individual and collective wellbeing of Māori and their sense of belonging.

Kinship based *whānau* and *hapū* bound people together (see Rangihau, 1992; Patterson, 1992) and Māori society was traditionally organised around the kin-based groups. Maaka (1998) further describes the three distinctive social units in

Maori tribal society as; *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Walker (1996) adds that the social identity of Māori was another important aspect of traditional identity.

> From the point of view of an individual who was born into a whānau, his social identity was derived from this membership in recognised corporate groups ranging in order of size from the whānau, to hapū, iwi and waka (p. 28).

Therefore, Māori identity was founded in kinship groups based on tribal *whakapapa* and traditions, and belonging to the social units was a central component to each individual Māori sense of identity and belonging. Another component central to Māori identity in the traditional Māori communities and *whānau* units, was *Māoritanga* and it was in the *whānau* and *hapū* units that the initial teaching and socialising of things Māori took place. Moeke-Pickering (1996) highlights the importance in the role of Māori communities acknowledging that each individual was able to maintain his or her sense of belonging and identity in their communities through the knowledge and practice of *Māoritanga*.

Walker (op.cit) claimed that *Māoritanga* (including tribal *whakapapa*) was primarily taught in *whare wānanga* (learning houses), and that the learning of *whakapapa* was a vital aspect of a Māori upbringing because the worldview of Māori is encapsulated in *whakapapa*. Rangihau (op.cit) observed that a feature of the *whare wānanga* was that it gave *hapū* and *iwi* members the opportunity to learn their tribal *whakapapa*, histories and traditions at the same time as they carried on with their ordinary living and work. Ngamaru Raerino (1999) expands on the importance of *whakapapa*, noting that 'in a Māori worldview that environment and humans share a common relationship, that is the *ira tāngata* (human life) and the *taiao* (universe) share the same *whakapapa*. People and the world around them are inextricably bound by genealogy' (p 45). In addition to *whakapapa*, Māori are also linked by *mauri* (life essence), and it is the inter-connectedness of Māori to *whakapapa* and *mauri* that is unique to Māori identity. Barlow(1991) explains the connection of *mauri* to people:

> Everything has a mauri, including people, fish, animals, birds, forests, land, seas, and rivers; the mauri is that power which permits these

living things to exist within their own realms and sphere. When a person is born, the gods bind the two parts of body and spirit of this being together. Only the mauri or power of Io can join them together (p 83).

From this universal context , Durie (op.cit) contends that from the recitations of ancestry and the histories interwoven into them, the shaping of individual and collective Māori identity emerges. Knowledge of *whakapapa* and tribal history had an important role for each Māori individual. Stirling (1980) concurs with Durie on the significance of *whakapapa*.

...in the Māori world you have to know your tribal history and your whakapapa, otherwise you're nothing! You can't say anything, you can't do anything, you can't move on in the right way and you're a nobody. Only when you know your whakapapa, can the mana of your ancestors shine on you' (p 30).

In the traditional context, an individual Māori identity was based on *whakapapa* and tribal history. Without knowledge of these crucial aspects of *Māoritanga*, it would have been difficult to affiliate with any *iwi*, *hapū* or *whānau. Māoritanga* is a basic component of identity, reiterates Walker (1996) which incorporates traits such as; language, spiritual beliefs, tribal affiliation and *whakapapa*. While any one specific definition of *Māoritanga* is difficult to pin down, a basic interpretation would be Māori culture. Furthermore, Marsden (1992) explains that *Māoritanga* is concerned with both the tangible and intangible aspects of Māori culture, 'it is the corporate view that Māori hold about ultimate reality and meaning' (p. 117). It is a thing of the heart rather than the head. *Māoritanga* is the shared cultural ethos of Māori and it encompasses everything Māori.

The term Māoritanga embraces a way of life, a way of acting, thinking and feeling, of attitudes to language, traditions and institution, or shared values and attitudes of people, places and things, to time, the land and sea, the environment, life and death (Hohepa, 1978, p. 99).

Māoritanga provides a foundation for Māori to situate their position within their culture and obtain their worldview. Ramsden (1993) states that *Māoritanga* can be located within every Māori, and is integral to the life of each Māori. Further to

this, Patterson (1992) acknowledges that Māori view their world and their place in the world quite differently to Pākehā and the best approach to understanding the worldview of Māori is through *Māoritanga*. Gaining an insight into *Māoritanga* involves utilising the best forum of learning, therefore;

> '...anyone wishing to understand Māoritanga must approach it through one of its tribal forms. From that vantage point, it becomes possible to recognise and appreciate the interplay of between varying forms, especially at hui' (Metge, 1976, p. 52).

In essence, the formation and maintenance of a traditional Māori identity was founded in the kinship groups of *whānau* and *hapū*, and supported by *Māoritanga*. Rangihau (op cit.) and Mead (op cit.) personalise *Māoritanga* a step further for their respective *iwi*, referring to their traditions and histories as *Tūhoetanga* and *Ngātiawatanga*. It is from the unique tribal qualities and characteristics of *iwitanga* that enable Māori to achieve not only their Māori identity, but also their distinctive *iwi* identity. In contrast, contemporary Māori identity has become an identity of choice, which can incorporate all or none of the varying aspects of *Māoritanga*.

Māori identity has undergone a significant change from the traditional times of Māori. Edwards (2000) identifies colonisation and assimilation as two of the main contributors to the way Māori view themselves and their culture. Colonisation and assimilation have impacted and continue to impact on the erosion of Māori identity, and 'Māori beliefs, values and desires were been replaced by those of the colonisers in order to aid the colonisation process'(Edwards, 2000). Fanon (1967) describes the techniques of colonialists as a means to subjugate the colonised people and a principle technique of the coloniser was the colonial education. In Africa, Rodney (1981) asserts that colonial education as a means to dehumanise the people, and that education was 'for subordination, exploitation, and the creation of metal confusion and the development of under-development (p. 263).

As a result of the processes of colonisation, Māori identity now has many negative definitions. This has reproduced itself in many of today's generation, who now

view Māori and Māori culture as being negative. Beaglehole (1968) supports the negative definitions of Māori culture and cultural practices, by arguing that the less admirable components of *Māoritanga* needed to go, and thereby effectively change the identity and culture of Māori.

> Aboriginal Māori culture has gone for good, with all its cruelty, its cannibalism, its warfare, its sorcery, its muru, its utu, its cosmogony, its arbitrary chiefly power, its slavery ... In effect, over the past hundred years Māori have slipped out of the warm embrace of aboriginal culture into the cold air of a rather fragmentary existence (p. 352).

Beaglehole's commentary on *Māoritanga* offers a non-Māori view of Māori culture. On one hand, he criticises 'aboriginal Māori culture and then condemns Māori to a 'fragmentary existence', which overlooks that *Māoritanga* has become fragmented largely due to colonisation. Marsden (1992) also explored the changes to *Māoritanga*, and concluded that over the process of time, customs have changed and the ancient reason for certain ritual acts have faded over the passage of time, and that considerations of convenience and practicality have forced these changes. Urban *iwi* supporter Tamihere (2003) reflects that one of the biggest impacts on Māori identity and culture over the last century has been urbanisation, bigger than any other population trend. Urbanisation has over time, entailed Māori leaving their traditional lands and communities in search of work in the city centres. Hohepa (op.cit) describes the disastrous impact of urbanisation on Māori.

> The fact that many migrants left Māori communities where their people were in the majority, reached the cities in their adolescent years when their training in aspects of ritual and Māoritanga was superficial, and then had to live in an environment where they lacked opportunities to be with kinsfolk and to learn more, and instead of learning were continually subjected to the pervasive pressures of conforming to majority ways – all this has it's effects on urban Māori (p. 104).

Therefore, when Māori left their tribal communities, they were also leaving their traditional lifestyle and their reliance on *Māoritanga* as a cultural framework. Te Puni Kokiri (1999) identifies that urbanisation fractured the relationship of individual Māori to land, *whānau, hapū*, tribal traditions, *whakapapa* and

histories. In addition to this, Barcham (Barcham) explains that the speed in which urbanisation occurred, meant that Māori identity and culture has had little chance to fully adapt to the changes. Consequently, many Māori no longer live in their tribal areas and knowledge of *Māoritanga* has significantly decreased, or is non-existent (Marsden, 1992).

Living in urban centres for many Māori, also meant living away from their kin-groups, which then had a marked effect on the next generation. Durie (op.cit) acknowledges that 'without the presence of elders to advise and support their *whānau* members, or parents who have the desire to retain their links with their traditional communities, the younger generation were being deprived the enriching experience for their self-perception and esteem as Māori' (p. 151). Barcham (op cit) contends that urbanisation is one of the key instigators of the weakening of Māori links to their traditional *iwi* structures.

The reality of living in urban centres for Māori has meant that very few Māori are able to live in 'extended family communities, and now live as urban nuclear families' (Durie, op.cit:151). Furthermore, the urban communities existed in settings that were 'non-traditional and alien to Māori' (Metge, 1964, p. 252). Durie (op.cit) explains that living in urban communities meant that the active participation in the day-to-day business of the kin group was longer feasible for the majority of urbanised Māori, and 'urban *whānau* that no longer actively participate in *marae*, *hapū* and *whānau* activities are at risk of losing their cultural identity entirely' (p. 152).

Due to the processes of urbanisation, colonisation and assimilation Māori identity and culture has changed. The tribal groups, of *iwi* and *hapū* as social groups no longer provide the degree of meaning and interaction that it once did to Māori individuals, and Māori communities have changed, adapting to the new social forces and the result of this adaption is that *iwi* have become nothing but abstract definitions to many Māori. Interestingly, Maaka (1994) contends that traditional tribes and *Māoritanga* could not have functioned unchanged in the modern world. This has created a challenge for individual Māori, about how to maintain a cultural

identity within the constantly changing contemporary social environment. In order to achieve cultural continuity, 'the realisation of the existence of multiple sites of belonging and identity for modern Māori must be recognised' (Barcham, 1998, p. 310).

Identifying as Māori has become a choice, explains Edwards(2000) and many Māori are compelled to become 'other', neither Māori nor Pākehā. Due to some of negative connotations of Māori identity, and the perceptions and belief of Māori culture being 'uncivilised', identifying as Māori is not always chosen. O'Regan (2001) contends that for Māori of today, there are now several options of identity to choose from:

> Individuals are no longer bound only by the traditions and customs, religion and laws that may traditionally form the basis of their cultural identity of their respective ethnic groups. Instead, they can claim a different, wider identity such as a national identity, or indeed parts of many different identities (p. 90).

Nonetheless, while there are many Māori that are choosing not to identify as Māori, the majority of Māori still do (Te Puni Kokiri, 2005). Ramsden (1993) makes the point that her Maoriness is her choice and her identity is her choice. Further to this, Carter (1998) notes that choosing a Māori identity is constructed differently than in traditional times, and 'despite the differences in the ways we grow up, all of us were born with potential to be Māori … and it is this potential which makes us Māori (p. 259)'. Edwards (2000) offers a concise perspective, that a Māori is a Māori until they reject being Māori or Māori things, not because they adopt non-Māori cultural traits and patterns. Furthermore, Puketapu-Andrews (1997) adds that only Māori can truly understand Māori consciousness and the reality of what it is to be Māori.

The current reality for Māori today, is that claiming a Māori identity is not a 'clear-cut generally agreed upon formula for deciding whether a particular person is Māori or Pākehā and individuals make their decision on the information that is available to them in particular situations (Metge, 1976, p. 39)'. Even in choosing a

Māori identity there are different facets within a Māori identity, Carter (1998) explains.

> The fact is there is no unitary Māori reality, no 'one' Māori identity, no single way of growing up Māori. All of us have been subjected to colonisation and colonisation has affected us all in different ways. Some of us identify as 'part-Māori' and others lay claim to being 'full-blooded'. Some of us grow up speaking te reo and some of us grow up not even know we're Māori (p. 259).

Because there is no 'one' type of Māori identity or ways of growing up Māori, there has been many theories offered on what are the key components to obtaining a 'full' Māori identity, including identifying aspects of *Māoritanga* that support a Māori identity. Ritchie (1963) and Metge (1976) have contributed their own criteria of determining factors of *Māoritanga* that support a Māori identity. Ritchie refers to Māori characteristics as a Maoriness scale and has based his components of *Māoritanga* around the eight components of *Māoritanga* defined by Sir Apirana Ngata.

> The Māori language, the sayings of the ancestors, traditional chant-songs, posture dances, decorative art, the traditional Māori house and marae, the body of marae custom (particularly that pertaining to the tangi and the traditional welcome), the retention of the prestige and nobility of the Māori people (p 37).

Ritchie (1963) listed ten characteristics for his Maoriness scale, including; 'blood, visits the *marae* often, would use the services of a *tohunga*, uses a Māori name, conversational Māori better than fair, Māori is home language half or more of the time, can name traditional canoe, can name tribal and *hapū* affiliations, can name meeting-house, lives in a pa (p. 39)'. The Maoriness scale contains many of the same components as Ngata's list, however, Ritchie's scale reads like a checklist for being Māori and does not take into account that there many variables that are involved with identity.

Metge (1976) summarises what she considers to be significant aspects of *Māoritanga*, and stress strongly that her list is 'neither complete nor definitive (p. 49). In brief, Metge list comprises of; the Māori language, attachment to ancestral

land, emphasis on kinship, *marae*, the marking of significant events, distinctively Māori methods of group organisation and decision-making, respect for and practice of traditional knowledge and skills. Metge (1976) acknowledges that her summary of *Māoritanga* is an 'outsiders' point of view of what she understands to be the significant aspects of *Māoritanga*. While, Metge's list of *Māoritanga* is not as clear-cut as Ritchie's it does allow for the parts of culture that is hard to pinpoint and define. However, it is still very difficult Māori or non-Māori to itemise *Māoritanga* or Maoriness to an exact list, as Metge acknowledged.

Walker (1996) also maintains that listing and defining key concepts of *Māoritanga* is a difficult concept, because *Māoritanga* is the analogue to culture.

> Māoritanga is difficult to pin down by the process of listing criteria as Ritchie attempted to do with his Maoriness scale of 1-10, and Metge with her list of twelve characteristics for 'Māori ways'. Paradigms of this kind are static, and as a consequence are difficult to match with the dynamism of human behaviour (p. 25).

Determining the key components is not an easy task, and producing a comprehensive list is very difficult. However, O'Regan (2001) contends that identifying degrees of Maoriness can be beneficial.

> By accepting that people may posses varying levels or degrees of identity we engage in a process of redefining and revaluing the criteria of cultural identity in order to accommodate the social and cultural reality (p. 91).

Examination of the contributing factors to Māori identity could be of great benefit to Māori of today, who live away from their traditional communities in urban centres, and who wish to discover or rediscover components of their *Māoritanga*. Mead (op cit) acknowledges that it can be very frustrating to lack key pieces of information about Māori identity, and that knowledge of *iwi* traditions, *waiata* (song) and proverbs are important, because without this knowledge *iwi* members will not be able to completely fulfil their role of custodians. The role of *kaitiaki* (caretaker) or custodians for *iwi*, involves ensuring that tribal traditions and histories are maintained for future generations. Raerino (N. Raerino, personal

communication, March 31, 2006) points out that custodians must ensure that Māori cultural capital and Māori economic capital is safe-guarded for the future, keeping in mind that custodians are not constrained by legislation and should only have the interests of future generations in mind.

Due to the changes in Māori identity and culture, and the varying upbringing of Māori, knowledge of tribal *whakapapa*, histories and traditions are no longer common knowledge of every *iwi*, *hapū* or *whānau* member. Tribal identity has become a crucial component of identity for many Māori, and understanding and knowing *whakapapa* has become a central foundation of their identity. For contemporary Māori, *whakapapa* gives Māori the right to identity as Māori. Puketapu–Andrew (1997) explains the role of *whakapapa* for modern Māori.

> … knowing who you are has always been an integral aspect of life for Māori. This involves having knowledge of our whakapapa and includes not only knowing our recent ancestors but also linking back to our original tūpuna and our Tūrangawaewae. Whakapapa is what gives a Māori the right to identify as Māori (p. 72).

Whakapapa is the rope that links people through each generation, and the 'history involved in *whakapapa* help Māori understand themselves as people' (Pere, 1993, p. 276). Tribal identity is derived from *whakapapa* and provides individual Māori with access to claim to an *iwi* and *hapū* identity, rather than a Māori identity as a singular identity. Rangihau (1992) stated that his own tribal traditions and histories were of utmost importance to him.

> My being Māori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tūhoe person as against being a Māori person (p. 190).

However, not all Māori agree. Tamihere (2003) a well known leader of urban Māori argues urban Māori constitute a new *iwi* and that modern-day tribalism is too much about identifying Māori differences, and wallowing in the differences, because doing so allows some people to exert greater control. A Tūhoe *tohunga*, Hohepa Kereopa (2003) offers a less stringent means of identifying Māori – he

believes that being Māori is enough, and as long as the individual feels Māori then it does not matter where he lives or what *hapū* or *iwi* he thinks he may belong too.

While some Māori contend that *whakapapa* and tribal identity are no longer an essential component of Māori identity, Blank (1998) believes that *whakapapa* gives him the freedom to chose and develop his identity.

> My whakapapa means that I am Māori and from there I determine what it means for me. It is an intellectual and political exercise, and I am informed by values and beliefs that circulate outside Te Ao Māori as well as within it. I feel powerful and free because my definitions are not finite. (p. 225)

Arguably, *whakapapa* allows individual Māori to determine their own identity. Ritchie (1963) agrees that being Māori must also be affirmed in ways which permit the individual to claim distinction himself. Tribal identity contributes to a strong sense of identity, and will give Māori confidence and pride in their identity. Puketapu-Andrews (1997) advises that a strong sense of identity is what connects Māori to their past and directs their future. Therefore, the survival and well-being of the tribal groups are of prime importance, understanding that a sense of identity connects Māori to their culture.

Steps need to be taken to ensure that Māori identity and culture is maintained and preserved. Rangihau (1992) acknowledges that the traditional method of teaching Māori culture has changed, and that it is imperative to find new ways to pass this information down. Mead (1997) and Stirling (1980) agree that part of the solution is in the younger Māori generation, despite their urban upbringing. This is the challenge of our time, and something must be done to bring the youth into the Māori fold.

Māoritanga needs to be taught, used and understood. In order to accomplish this requires Māori support if it is to survive into the twenty-first century. Stirling (1980) reiterates the need to sustain *Māoritanga* and Māori identity.

> Apirana warned us to hold fast to our Māoritanga no matter how far
> we move into the Pākehā world, because that plume on our heads is
> the mana, the mauri and the power of the ancestral lines coming
> down to each new generation, but I think that some of the young have
> left that plume lying on the ground behind them, and some others
> cherish it, but do not understand it's proper meaning (p. 214).

The need to maintain *Māoritanga* or cultural sustainability means that major cultural markers such as *te reo*, the *marae* and *tangihanga* must be retained. Stirling (op cit) reflects that Māori people are forgetting the customs of the old world, and the day will come when they will search in every place for their tribal identity. There are Māori who have been alienated from their tribal and cultural roots who are in the process of discovery. Carter (1998) contends that one of the most exciting events of her life recently, was the rediscovery of her Māori identity.

Clearly, *Māoritanga* has a place in the contemporary world and is an important contributory factor to feelings of wellbeing and identity. The New Zealand Social Report (2005) confirms cultural identity is an important contributor to people's wellbeing and gives people a feeling of belonging and security. In essence, all indigenous cultures need support for their unique values and practises which 'are inherently tied with their identity' (Puketapu-Andrews, 1997, p. 73). Kereopa (2003) acknowledges that taking the steps to learn about *Māoritanga* and Māori identity is essential and part of the process of learning.

> Sometimes, you have to take the first step, even if it's a small one,
> before you start trying to take larger steps. Because, it is the small
> steps in life that matter. You see, nowadays, we have a lot of our
> Māori academics going overseas to talk about things Māori, and they
> can't even speak Māori, so they haven't taken the small steps first (p.
> 167).

Māori identity and culture are firmly linked together, supporting each others role in the lives of Māori individuals. Although, there have been a several changes to Māori identity and *Māoritanga* from the traditional times of Māori, there are still many aspects of identity and culture that are alive and well today. The challenge is for every Māori to continue to pursue knowledge of their *Māoritanga* for their own personal well-being and sense of belonging

as well as for the survival of *iwi* traditions and *whakapapa*. Māori living in urban centres may need to re-establish links with their traditional communities or join urban Māori communities that will support their identity and culture; however, the choice will continue to remain up to each individual Māori.

The complexity of Māori identity is encapsulated in Sir Apirana Ngata's *whakatauki rongonui* (well-known proverb). It is common knowledge that it was written over 50 years ago in a school notebook for Rangi Bennett, daughter of Sir John Bennett. The *whakatauki* applied in many different contexts to and is especially relevant to Māori living in urban centres coming to terms with their Māori identity.

> *E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao; ko tō ringa ki*
> *ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ara mō tō tinana, ko tō*
> *ngākau ki ngā tāonga a ō tūpuna Māori hei*
> *tikitiki mō tō māhuna; ko tō wairua ki tō atua,*
> *nāna new ngā mea katoa.*
>
> Grow up and thrive for the days destined to you,
> your hand to the tools of the Pākehā to provide
> physical sustenance, your heart to the treasures of
> your Māori ancestors as a diadem for your brow,
> your soul to God, to whom all things belong.

Knowledge of the different aspects of *Māoritanga* can help support an identity not only for a generic Māori identity, but also for incorporating tribal identity. Māori individuals can and will continue to live in urban centres, in environments that may be non-traditional or unfamiliar to them, however for there own sense of well-being and the future of Māori culture and identity, if their heart and soul is committed to *Māoritanga*, then Māori culture and identity will thrive regardless of location.

Chapter Three - Methodology

E mōhiotia ana a waho kei roto he aha
One cannot know from the outside what is contained within

The research project explored facets of an urban *iwi* identity to gain an insight into the formation and maintenance of an urban *iwi* identity. As a result, this will provide a current analysis of the 'state' of an urban *iwi* identity today for urban members of the Whakatāne-based *iwi* of Ngāti Awa. Examination is made into the factors that can support an urban *iwi* identity including *Māoritanga* (*te reo, whakapapa* and *iwitanga*) and involvement in Māori and tribal communities. It is anticipated that this research will add new insights and knowledge on an urban *iwi* identity from the reflections of a research group of ten urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members. Furthermore, the results of this research will provide an insightful and timely evaluation of urban Ngāti Awa identity that may assist Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa in future plans of preservation, retention and development of *Ngātiawatanga*.

The study relies primarily on qualitative research methodology using a *Kaupapa a Iwi* approach as the preferred method to explore, interpret, and analyse tribal research. *Kaupapa a Iwi* can be considered as a Māori research paradigm that extends from a *Kaupapa Māori* research paradigm (Smith, 2003; Smith, 1999). However, Smith (1999b) contends that defining *Kaupapa Māori* research a paradigm can be problematic and that '…others involved in *Kaupapa Māori* would quite deliberately be reluctant to engage in such debate because it sets up comparisons with Western science, which is exactly what *Kaupapa Māori* is resisting' (p. 6). For the purposes of this study, *Kaupapa a Iwi* is being acknowledged as 'more or less a research paradigm' that was utilised for this study. This involves understanding that *Kaupapa Māori* is a framework that acknowledges a Māori position and allows Māori to view other societies around them. Feedback and reflection on other positions or viewpoints would then be based solely from a Māori view point. *Kaupapa a Iwi* approach moves on from *Kaupapa Māori* in that the viewpoint and fundamental philosophy underpinning

the research is strictly from a specific *iwi*. The importance of *iwi* identity, knowledge, language and culture is validated within this paradigm.

Similar to *Kaupapa Māori* research, *Kaupapa a Iwi* research is created for Māori by Māori, working towards the betterment of Māori. This approach involves *iwi* members and *kaumātua* selecting what they consider to be important, allowing for *Ngātiawatanga* ways of thinking and doing. Principally, the *Kaupapa a Iwi* approach to research is concerned with maintaining and sustaining an *iwi* identity, supported by *iwitanga*. Walker (1996) stated *Kaupapa Māori* is nothing less than a blueprint for survival, *Kaupapa a Iwi* can be considered to be the blueprint for *iwi* survival.

Qualitative research methods have been utilised in this study, which involves an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern human behaviour. However, it is important to note that there are significant differences in the processes used to analyse the '*Kaupapa Māori'* within contexts that are uniquely Māori. In contrast qualitative research methodology is embedded in science:

> Qualitative research replicates many of the characteristics and terminology developed within the 'pure' sciences. This is unmistakably demonstrated in the application of scientific terminology such as, sampling, data collection, data analysis and validity to research design. The main divergence in quantitative and qualitative research methods is epistemological. The qualitative method relies more on the interpretation of results that is not necessarily reliant on objectivity as a key factor (McNeill, 2005, p. 124).

The actual theme of the research Ngāti Awa tribal sustainability provides the focus from which the analysis of the data is interpreted. In relation to Māori research, a *Kaupapa a Iwi* approach is the preferred method to explore, interpret, and analyse the tuturu (traditional) Māori worldview from an exclusively Māori perspective. The *kaupapa* of the research is *Ngātiawatanga* - so *tuturu* beliefs and practices need to be distinguished from other cultural influences. Most importantly in the context of the overall data analysis phase of the research - Ngāti Awa *kaumātua*

versed in the traditions will be available to *whakatikatika* (clarify) any traditional tribal concept.

It is important that any Māori research must be situated with a Māori cultural framework, and that tribal research be placed with an *iwi* cultural framework. Bevan-Brown (1998) addresses the importance of a Māori cultural framework stating 'This means it must stem from a Māori worldview, be based in Māori epistemology and incorporate Māori concepts, knowledge, skill, experiences, attitudes, processes, practices, customs, reo, values and beliefs' (p. 231). The *Kaupapa a Iwi* approach is firmly based on a Māori cultural framework, which correlates with the philosophy of *Kaupapa Māori* theory. Pohatu (2003) outlines the emergence of *Kaupapa Māori* theory:

> ...Kaupapa Māori theory has been deliberately chosen as the main theoretical framework here, because it accepts the integrity and potential within Te Ao Māori. It has grown out of the distinctive historical, political and social contexts of Aotearoa, privileging Māori ways of knowing, validating for Māori first, Māori things, knowledge, language and application (p. 20).

Based on this, Māori are being placed in control of their own research and methods of research. To distinguish between the two approaches of *Kaupapa Māori* and *Kaupapa a Iwi*, McNeill (op. cit.) points out that *Kaupapa a Iwi* can best be described as *tuturu* Māori and this approach places the research approach firmly with tribal rather than pan-Māori social context.

The intent of this *Kaupapa a Iwi* research is to expand and create new knowledge on the 'state' of an urban *iwi* identity in this new millennium. Acknowledgement is made that the formation of an *iwi* identity from the traditional societies of old has changed due to the more contemporary societies of urban living. This research seeks to ask, with the changes to Māori identity, how is an urban *iwi* identity formed and maintained.

Several assumptions can be aligned to the *Kaupapa a Iwi* research approach, which again draws a parallel to *Kaupapa Māori*. *Kaupapa a Iwi* research is attentive to *iwi* obligations and practices. Therefore, the following assumptions

can be made of *Kaupapa a Iwi* applying this approach to this study on urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members:

- it is related to being Ngāti Awa
- it involves Ngāti Awa *iwi* members researching fellow *iwi* members for the betterment of the *iwi*
- it is connected to Ngāti Awa *tikanga* and *kawa*, philosophies and principles
- it takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of an *iwi* identity, and the importance of *iwi* language and culture

Assumptions are inherent in all research, and in *Kaupapa a Iwi* research the assumptions are *iwi* based.

Literature reviewed in chapter two provided direction for the research into the examination of an *iwi* identity from an urban Māori perspective. The review outlined that the formation of a Māori identity has changed for the various reasons, and that for many Māori today identifying as Māori has become an option or a choice. Urbanisation has played a major role in the changes to the formation and maintenance of not only a Māori identity, but also an *iwi* identity. Hence, the supporting components to a Māori identity examined in the literature review, are integral components of a Māori identity. The supporting components include; *te reo, whakapapa*, traditions and histories of their *iwi*. This research is founded on the literature review, assisting in delving into the state of an urban *iwi* identity.

In accordance with the principles of *Kaupapa a Iwi* research, the researcher is already a member of the community they are researching. Being a member of the community, is not necessarily a pre-requisite to *Kaupapa a Iwi* research. However, obtaining the personal insights of *iwi* members on their identity and culture can be easier, when approached by a fellow *iwi* member. For Māori-based research, being an 'insider' of the community may provide opportunities that are not readily available to 'outsiders' of the community. In this research, the researcher relationship with each participant was based on the familial links of *whakapapa*. The researcher and the research participants were all from the same *iwi*, and in some cases the same *hapū* and immediate *whānau*. Therefore, relationships between the researcher and the research group were established prior to the research interview. It is anticipated that the relationships between the

researcher and research group will continue long after the research is finished. For the sake of the research information, the researcher endeavoured to remain a neutral listener during the interviews.

A deviation in this study, from the principles of *Kaupapa a Iwi* was the use of *te reo* in the interview process. More importantly, the limited use of *te reo* including the dialect of Ngāti Awa being used within the research interviews. The language medium for *Kaupapa a Iwi* research is preferably the tribal dialect. However, this research involved participants who have been alienated from their tribal roots and language, which explains the dependence on bilingualism. In addition, the researcher was a basic level *te reo* speaker and had not yet learnt the nuances of the Ngāti Awa dialect. Nevertheless, an Ngāti Awa *kaumātua* was available to conduct any interview requiring a fluent Ngāti Awa native speaker. Bevan-Brown (op. cit.) acknowledges the use of *te reo* in the research interview process, and identifies *te reo* and knowledge of *Māoritanga* as a key characteristic of Māori research:

> Māori research must be conducted by people who have the necessary cultural, reo, subject and research expertise required. They must also possess a commitment to things Māori, the trust of the community being researched, cross-cultural competence, personal qualities suited to doing Māori research and an understanding and commitment to the obligations, liabilities and responsibilities that are an integral part of Māori research (p. 231-240)

This study acknowledges that the lack of *te reo* understanding by the researcher may have placed some limitations on the research study and results. This is primarily, due to *te reo* being considered to be crucial *kaitiaki* of Māori thinking and how it fashions and energises behaviour, initiating entry-points to deeper readings of Māori positions and worldviews (Pohatu, op. cit.). However, each of the participants *te reo* knowledge varied and all the participants were acceptable to the interviews being conducted in Pākehā. Furthermore, within the research findings it is acknowledged that limited *te reo* knowledge and limited *Ngātiawatanga* knowledge is a consequence of urbanisation and urban living. However, it must be noted that the results of the lack of *te reo* knowledge, is too variable to calculate as a strong factor to 'harm' the research outcomes.

In the evaluating of the research findings, research process and the research report, adherence to the *Kaupapa a Iwi* approach set the guidelines. This included taking care to ensure the information was suitable for sharing and not too personal for each participant. When researching Māori for the benefit of Māori, special care needs to be taken when dealing with their precious information (*taonga*), and needs to be treated as such. The decisions about how the research would proceed and what will be done with the findings, was conducted with the guidance of *iwi* members and *kaumātua* of Ngāti Awa.

The research process applied to this study, involved *'kanohi ki te kanohi'* (face-to-face) in-depth interview of a small group of urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members, and the main research tool was a questionnaire. The qualitative research method of in-depth interviews, were used for this study because this research process is concerned with the personal, face-to-face, and immediate approach to research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Qualitative research is largely descriptive 'pragmatic interpretive and grounded in the lived experiences of people' (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 2) and because qualitative research allows for descriptive answers it can fulfil its purpose which is to collect sufficient knowledge to lead to understanding. According to Marshall & Rossman (op. cit.) qualitative in-depth interviews are much more like conversations than formal interviews, and the participant's perspective on the research subject should unfold as the participant views it, not as the researcher views it. This method of research was ideal for interviewing urban *iwi* members on their personal reflections of their identity and the components supporting their identity. In terms of *Kaupapa a Iwi* based research, face-to-face interviews are an important concept within the *tuturu* Māori approach to research. *Kanohi ki te kanohi* interviews with Māori research participants are important because it allows for the process of making connections and building relationships, a fundamental facet to *tikanga* Māori and an integral component to Māori research. In addition, *kanohi ki te kanohi* interviews involve the researcher 'fronting up' to the participants and being a part of the research process.

The interview process involved a semi-structured discussion concerning identity and culture issues for urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members. Silverman (1997) acknowledges that face to face interviewing 'provides a way of generating empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their lives' (p. 113). Semi-structured interviews with a set of pre-determined questions assist with the process of open-ended interviews that will obtain the best type of knowledge from each individual research participant. Kvale (1996) comments on research interviews:

> 'An interview is a conversation that has a structure and a purpose. It goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views as in everyday conversation, and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge (p. 6).

In addition, at the core of in-depth research interviews, is an underlying interest to understand the lived experience of other people and the meaning they can make of that experience. Conversely, interviewing does have limitations and weaknesses. Interviews involve personal interaction between the research and the research participant, therefore cooperation is essential. Research participants may also be unwilling or may be uncomfortable sharing all that the research wishes to explore. Furthermore, the researcher may not ask questions that evoke the descriptive answers that are required for the study (Marshall & Rossman, op. cit.). Measures were put in place too counter these limitations and weaknesses. This included, ensuring that all the participants were fully aware of the research topic, and that the sharing of information was based on whatever the participants were willingly to impart.

The intention of this study was to individually interview a small group of urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members, with questions regarding their urban *iwi* identity and the supporting factors to their urban *iwi* identity. A questionnaire of nine questions had been designed and tested to produce the best possible answers for the study requirements. At the beginning of the study, all the participants were informed that the study would consist of two stages. Stage one of the research processes, involved two meetings with each participant. The first meeting was to be the

research interview, which once completed - a full interview transcript would be produced. The second meeting involved each participant reading through his or her typed transcript and making any amendments, additions or deletions they felt necessary. This meeting was also utilised by some participants to reflect on the study and give the researcher feedback about the research interviews. The participants were also required to sign a consent form to authorise the use of their transcript. The second stage of the research process, involved reporting back to the research group with the findings and discussion derived from the research interviews. Each participant was sent a copy of the findings and discussion chapter of this thesis, written up after the research process concluded. At the completion of the whole thesis, each participant will also be offered a copy of the full thesis.

Selection of the research group and gaining entry into the research context was a relatively straight forward process for the researcher. This involved identifying *whānau, hapū* and *iwi* members who resided in Auckland and contacting each participant to discuss the research study and then obtaining an interview time and venue at their convenience. Purposive sampling was chosen to guide the selection of the participants, this involved thinking critically about the parameters of the research required. Also, this method of selection involved identifying participants based on the possibility that each participant will expand the variability of the sample and perhaps have differing insights and reflections on the research subject matter. The sampling strategy of research participants can be described as a combination of criterion and convenience sampling (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

Once the method of participant selection had been chosen, the researcher contacted Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa for written approval of the selection process of urban *iwi* members. This measure was taken by the researcher to ensure that the research study was an open process between the researcher and the *Rūnanga*. Further to this, the researcher being a current member of the urban Ngāti Awa *marae* also approached the committee members to disclose the nature of the thesis research and to verify that the *tikanga* of participant selection was acceptable to the urban *iwi* members of the committee. Informal approval was given by Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa and the Mataatua *marae* committee of the selection of

research participants' process. However, members of Mataatua marae requested that participants for the study should all be contacted in person by the researcher – and not through the impersonal process of a mail send-out.

In order to meet the parameters of this study, five active participants of the Mataatua committee were selected and five non-active members. At Mataatua committee research disclosure meeting, several members approached the researcher volunteering to be research participants, thereby making the selection process a straight forward process. The selection of participants of current and non-current urban *marae* members was purposely applied to this study in order to gain a balance insight into attendance and non-attendance of the urban *marae* Mataatua.

The next step in the selection of research participants, involved selecting participants that met the profile requirements of the study. The research profile consisted of several key characteristics and criteria, listed below:

1. Identifies as Māori.
2. Current registration with Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa (this criteria ensures the first profile characteristic is met).
3. Lives in Auckland (for a minimum of ten years, in order to qualify as urban Māori).
4. Aged over 30

Anecdotal evidence suggests that younger *iwi* members are less inclined to participate in tribal affairs. It is for this reason that the target group was aged 30 plus. The usual size of the sample for a Masterate is between 10 and 15 participants. This precludes any comparisons with the same number of Ngāti Awa residing in *te hau kainga* (Ngāti Awa tribal territory). The number of urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members involved in the project was flexible with a minimum of 10 persons as the preferred number for interviews. A small group is sufficient to provide a snap shot of the perceptions and life styles of Ngāti Awa adults residing away from their tribal homelands. It is envisaged that future research on this subject will explore the perceptions of a larger group of urban Ngāti Awa expatriates.

The process of selecting participants may have introduced various biases into the data in that the research group contained more women participants than male, largely due to the researcher knowing more women *iwi* members than male. Within such a small research group, it was difficult to obtain a varied sample of age, sex and upbringing. Therefore, the research was limited to people known to the interviewer. Acknowledgement is made that in interviewing the research participants who were *whānau* members extended and immediate, there maybe some unforeseen bias in the finished research product. However, the intent of this research interview was for the researcher to remain as neutral as possible to the interview answers given by the participants. Emphasis was placed on obtaining the best type of responses from each participant, based on their own insights and reflections.

Due to the criteria of having lived in Auckland for a period of no less than fifteen years required for each participant, all of the participants were aged thirty years and over, the eldest participants were in their sixties, the youngest participant was thirty. The group of participants consisted of two males and eight females. Several of the participants were aware of other participants' involvement in the research study. However, none of the research information received was shared between the researcher and the differing research participants. Furthermore, to the current knowledge of the researcher no information was shared outside of the interviews between any members of the research group.

Procedures used to protect the rights of the research participants are paramount in any research. Therefore, prior to the commencement of each interview, the research group of ten participants were issued with an information sheet of the proposed research. In addition, a consent form for the interview and a consent form for the taping of the interviews were issued before the interview took place. Each participant was advised at the commencement of the interview that the interview could stop at any stage if he or she felt uncomfortable with the questions or the interview in general. Further to this, the research study and processes involved with the study were supervised by an Ngāti Awa *kaumātua*. Advice and consultation between the researcher and the *kaumātua* was large part of the

research process, with the *kaumātua* ensuring that *tikanga* and the cultural safety of the participants were protected and adhered to throughout the entire study.

During the interview process, at no stage did any participant ask for the interview to be stopped for any reason including feeling uncomfortable with the research questions and process. When researching Māori participants, Mead (2003) contends that not only should the researcher ensure that the participants rights be protected, but also 'processes, procedures and consultation need to be correct so that in the end everyone who is connected with the research project is enriched, empowered, enlightened and glad to be a part of it (p. 318). Checks where made to ensure the rights of the informants were protected, and that their information was kept safe.

A dilemma when researching Māori is remaining neutral to the process of the research while interviewing fellow *iwi* members. However, for each interview the researcher endeavoured to remain neutral to the answers, seeking only to have each question answered in whatever manner the participant felt appropriate. The relationship between the researcher and the research group was based on *whakapapa* relationships that existed before the research study took place and it is anticipated that the relationships will continue long after the research is completed. Consequently, a benefit of this study for the researcher is that it served as an effective tool to *whakawhānaungatanga* with fellow urban *iwi* members beyond the requirements of the research study. At the completion of most of the research interviews, the participants wanted to continue to *kōrero* (talk) on matters not directly related to the research study. These occurrences were welcomed by the researcher as opportunities to deepen the *whakapapa* links and *whakawhānaungatanga* with fellow *iwi* members. Bishop (1996) defines the *whakawhānaungatanga* as:

> … the process of establishing whānau relationships literally by means of identifying, through culturally appropriate means, your bodily linkage, your engagement, your connectedness, and therefore unspoken but implicit connectedness to other people.

For Māori based research, using the approaches of *Kaupapa a Māori* or *Kaupapa a Iwi, whakawhānaungatanga* is an important aspect the research process.

At the second interview and the sign off of the approval transcript by the research participants, a *koha* (gift) was given to each participant. In accordance with *tikanga*, a *koha* was given to each participant, to thank each participant for sharing his or her information and time for this research study. The giving of *koha* is customary and within the Māori principles of *whakakoha* (reciprocity). All the participants received the same *koha* of a food item.

Two of the interviews were held at Mataatua *marae,* three were at the work place of the participants and the remaining five interviews took place in the home of the participants. The interviews took place over a six week period and were conducted in Pākehā due to the limitations of the interviewer, a basic *te reo* speaker. However, the *kaumātua* of this study is a fluent native *te reo* speaker and was available to translate during the interview, if requested by the research participant.

At each interview with the research participants, all data was collected on a digital recorder belonging to the researcher. After each interview, transcripts of the full interview were typed into a word documents, and then issued to the participants requiring a signature approval. All the word documents and digital recording derived from the research study were saved onto a CD disc to be held in the secured office of the Auckland University of Technology at the completion of the study. In addition, a research journal consisting mainly of participant information, coding of the research participant and the research consent forms was maintained to collect information applicable to the research study. The research journal was also placed in the secured office of the University at the completion of the research.

Data collection relied heavily on the digital recorded data. The researcher's digital recorder was a palm-sized Olympus WS100 voice recorder, with a direct PC link capability allowing direct downloading of each interview into the researcher's home computer. This type of small held-hand recorder was intentionally chosen by the researcher, because it was small and inconspicuous. Another measure taken by the

researcher to ensure the research participants did not feel too self-conscious about the recorded interviews. Notes were not taken during the interviews, to ensure that each participant felt the respect of face to face interviews, and not to feel self-conscious about having notes taken. Participants had the full attention of the researcher throughout the interview. This method of interviewing was deliberately chosen to ensure that each interview flowed like a conversation for each participant.

The research questions for this study were formed and largely based on the key features that can constitute a Māori identity, as identified by Durie (1997) from the chapter 'Keeping a Māori identity' in the book *Mai i Rangiatea*. In this chapter, Durie outlines the key features of a Māori identity, acknowledging that certain features can be distinguished and can be a combination of some or all of the following:

- knowledge of ancestry (*whakapapa*)
- knowledge of *mātua tīpuna*
- knowledge of connections to *whānau, hapū* and *iwi*
- connections to *tūrangawaewae*
- acknowledgements by *iwi, hapū* and *whānau* of reciprocal kinship connections
- shareholding in Māori land
- upbringing
- facility with *te reo* Māori
- understanding of *Tikanga-ā-iwi*
- active participation in Māori organisations
- commitment to fostering Māori advancement
- freedom of choice (ibid, p. 159)

Based on these key features the nine research questions of this study were formed and developed into questions relevant to urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members. The research interview questions are provided in full in Appendix A.

A research journal was maintained to keep track of the entire research process, also containing all the relevant information and contact details pertaining to each of the research participants. Initially each participant was invited to participate in the research by the researcher in person. Then the research information sheet and

consent forms were sent (via post, email or personally delivered) to each participant prior to the interviews. All the interviews were taped recorded, and lodged in the research journal. Each participant was assigned a code to be used on all documents outside of the research journal. The interviews were typed in full, within the same week of the interview. A copy of the transcript was then issued to each participant, which also required a signed consent of approval of the transcript to be utilised for the study. Only one participant made amendments to their transcript (noted in the research journal), and provided a Māori translation of their answers.

All the participants gave freely of their time and thoughts, and were generous in accommodating the interviews. The interview lengths varied with each participant, as the response period of each answer was left to the discretion of the participant who was advised prior to the interview that their answers could be as long or as short as they felt willing to discuss. The participants were made aware that withdraw from the research study, was not possible after the transcript copy was signed off. Therefore, once all of the transcripts had been approved by the research group, the process of analysis and discussion of the information received began.

Only one question was altered during the actual research interviews. Question one was amended to include native speakers, as a level of *te reo* understanding. This amendment was advised by a fluent native speaker and a *kaumātua* of the study, who outlined the difference of native fluent speakers during the research interview. Several times during the interviews, some of the participants answered questions in a manner not strictly related to the question asked, and due to nature of the interview, where the participants were encouraged to speak un-interrupted – several research answers given by the participants were not related to the research and therefore not included or discussed in the research findings.

During the questioning of each interview, it was sometimes apparent that the initial research questions could have delved into particular areas of identity a little deeper, however due to the limitations of the research and the research group – the initial research approach and questions were adhered too. Overall, the information

gathered from the participants was restricted to information they were willing to share with the researcher, and the intended readers of the completed research.

The literature review and general research questions provided a guideline for the data analysis. Some general response categories were defined from the actual interviews. As data was collected, typed and checked, the categories were then reviewed, refined and added to. Once the transcripts were approved and signed off by each participant, the transcripts were then sorted into categories under each question heading, grouping all the research answers relevant for each question together. Quotes derived from the research participants reflections, that encapsulated particular insights relevant to the research question where ulitised within the body of the discussion of the research results.

Each phase of the data analysis process entailed data reduction, and placing data into manageable categories. The questions were designed into pre determined categories during the research design stage. Looking into the state of urban *iwi* identity, firstly through *te reo* knowledge, *iwitanga* knowledge, participation in Māori communities, and lastly the importance of their Ngāti Awa identity to each participant. Organising the data, involved reading through each transcript of the research interviews, and selecting and keeping information that was relevant to the research study. Any information that was self-identifying and unrelated to the research topic was not utilised. When reading through the data, common themes are patterns emerged in which the researcher grouped together to discuss in the findings chapter.

Generating categories, themes and patterns is considered to be the most difficult phase of the research process. Marshall & Rossman (op. cit.) points out that data analysis is difficult, complex, ambiguous, creative and fun – which involves:

> Through questioning the data and reflecting on the conceptual framework, the researcher engages the ideas and the data in significant intellectual work. For editing and immersion strategies, the categories are generated through prolonged engagement with the data – the text. These categories then become buckets or baskets into which segments of text are placed (p. 154).

The themes and patterns that emerged from the results are discussed and summarised in the findings chapter. In the conclusion chapter of this thesis will be a conclusive discussion on the final results.

To ensure the reliability and validity of this study, the researcher was mindful of not leading the participants to reach conclusions and insights that may have originated from the researcher and not the participant. Because the researcher was known to each to the participants, discussion was made prior to each interview to ensure the participants that their insights were important to the study, and only information relevant to the research topic would be utilised. The design of the questionnaire and interview techniques was important to the validity of this study. The questions were designed to be open-ended, focusing on the kaupapa of the research topic, yet still allowing participants to elaborate as they wished.

Research always has its limitations and the research conducted for this thesis, had limitations not only with the selection and with interviewing process of each of the participants, but also the information received and interpretation of the results. The study was limited to an interview group of ten urban *iwi* members producing a snapshot of the reflections on things Māori from this group and it is possible that interviewing a much larger group of urban *iwi* members the general discussion of the each interview could have been very different. This research took place knowing that the number of participants in a typical qualitative research study is usually too small to be representative of the population, however as each participant were giving insights and reflections on things Māori, each answer was a personal based experience, making each answer valid to each persons life experiences.

Ethical approval for this study was obtained from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics committee. The major issues of highlighted by the ethics committee, was ensuring that the participants received a comprehensive information sheet (Appendix B). Furthermore, consent forms needed to be issued for not only the consent of the interview, but also consent of the tape recording of

each interview (Appendix C). Lastly, it was crucial to the research to have measures that ensured the anonymity of the participants. Ethical principles require that researchers must maintain the confidentially of the information given to them and to take every possible step to protect the anonymity of the participants.

Information regarding the study was provided for each member of the research group on the Participant Information Sheet to facilitate full disclosure of the study details. As the informed consent for the interviews and the taping of interviews is based on the right to full disclosure and self-determination, all participants received the two consent forms and no interviews proceeded until these forms were signed. Additionally, research participants have a right to privacy, and the expectation that any data they have provided for the research study will be kept anonymous. For this study, strategies were put in place to ensure the participant could not be identified by the data given. Essentially, if the research participant gave information that was self-identifying (even to the fellow research participants) then it was not used.

Chapter Four – Findings and discussion

> *Ko Awa whare rau*
> There are many houses of Ngāti Awa

This chapter draws together the findings of the research study. Examination will be made of each question and the participant's responses, followed by discussion on the outcome of each question. At the end of this chapter, a brief summary of the outcomes of the research study will be made.

He patai tuatahi - Question one

> What is your level of understanding *te reo* Māori? (basic/conversational/intermediate/fluent/native) How did you learn what you do know?
>
> *Kai tewhea taumata tou mohiotanga ki Te Reo Māori? (Iti noa/ kōrerorero noaiho/ahua totika/taunga/tuturu) Pehea koe i akona ai ki nga mea e mohio nei koe?*

Question one of this study examined the *te reo* competency of each participant. Each participant was asked to gauge their *te reo* level and then to identify the source of their competency. The secondary question was included to ascertain whether their current knowledge of *te reo* was obtained from their upbringing, their schooling or their own self-directed learning. Learning the source of *te reo* knowledge for urban *iwi* members will assist with future initiatives to increase *te reo* competency amongst *iwi* members.

Te reo has a crucial role in supporting a Māori identity, and is considered to be 'the soul of Māori culture (N. Raerino, personal communication, April 17, 2002)'. For urban *iwi* members, the processes of colonisation and urbanisation (discussed in chapter one of this thesis) has resulted in a loss of fluency and language for many *iwi* members. Opportunities to learn and speak *te reo* may be considerably less for urban *iwi* members in comparison to their rural counterparts residing on their traditional lands. Without the ability to speak *te reo*, an insight into the intricacies and nuances that support a Māori identity, is hard to achieve. Tangaere (1997)

identifies the importance of *te reo* 'My language is an important tool which assists in the shaping of who I am. It is my identity. I have realised that I cannot live my culture without my language (p. 3)'. With *te reo* being an important component to a Māori identity and *iwi* identity, the first research question sought to provide a snapshot assessment of the 'state' of *te reo* knowledge for urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members.

The participants were given a standard of *te reo* levels, this being; basic, conversation to intermediate, fluent to native. The distinction of fluent to native was added to the *te reo* levels, on the advice of the study's *kaumātua*. Advisement was made that there is a difference of *te reo* knowledge between a fluent speaker and a native fluent speaker. This difference was noted that fluent speakers can be second language learners and speakers. However, native fluent speakers were *te reo* first language speakers, who have been raised in a *te reo* speaking *whānau* and community environments. In addition, native speakers have in-depth knowledge of their tribal dialect, a further result of being born and raised within their *iwi* and *hapū* community. A research participant, who identified as a native *te reo* speaker, noted that native language speakers are *te reo* first language speakers, and that learning *te reo* was a natural process of a Māori community upbringing:

> 'through being immersed in the culture when I was young, with my community, my parents and the rest of the family'.

All the research participants were able to acknowledge and identify their level of understanding of *te reo*. None of the research participants had a zero understanding of *te reo*. Four participants identified themselves as having basic *te reo* knowledge, four considered themselves conversational to intermediate and two were fluent to native speakers.

The primary place of learning for seven participants was sourced from their upbringing and their community, *whānau* and friends. Two of the seven participants were also involved in learning *te reo* through study as a secondary form of learning. One research participant explained that *te reo* was all they heard in their childhood home:

'… we just heard nothing else but Māori in the house, because my mother was Tūhoe and her English was pretty limited and we were also brought up in and around our grandmother as well'.

Three participants identified self-directed learning through *wānanga*, school and tertiary organisations as their primary source of learning. Of these three participants, one participant reflected that their learning of *te reo* began as a teenager in the city, and another participant spoke of their home influence and then school:

'I started learning my reo at school, high school in fact, I was brought up in the city. I wasn't even aware – outwardly so anyway, of Māoritanga as such, until I went to high school'.
'I learnt from home was the first place, like all the little things that mum brought us up on, and then really from school and going to tech'.

One research participant discussed their learning of *te reo* had begun primarily through moving to Auckland and working in a Māori speaking environment in Auckland. This participant acknowledged that their initial *te reo* learning was from their upbringing. However, the majority of their *te reo* knowledge was gained by the participant being in situations where *te reo* was spoken:

'…I was working at TVNZ with just a whole lot of people who only spoke Māori and really, that's because we were travelling around the country a lot filming people on marae … You had to learn otherwise you couldn't do the job basically'.

This research participant became an intermediate *te reo* speaker through their own motivation to learn by listening and speaking with *kaumātua* and being in situations where *te reo* was spoken all the time.

All of the participants referred to some if not all of their *te reo* knowledge being learnt from home, within their *whānau* and upbringing. The level of *te reo* learnt at home varied with each participant, from the fluent native speaker to the basic level of understanding *te reo* participants.

Within this snapshot assessment of *te reo* knowledge of urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members, evidence shows that, only two of the ten participants were fluent. Further to this, only one participant had learnt *te reo* (including Ngāti Awa dialect)

in the more traditional setting within their *whānau* and *hapū* communities. All the participants acknowledged varying levels of *te reo* competency, and the source of learning has been varied. Many of the research participants have had to create their own opportunities to learn *te reo*, firstly as a generic language and then in some cases their *iwi* dialect.

The ability to speak *te reo* is the key to the language surviving and flourishing, and will assist urban Māori to feel comfortable within their culture and identity. Barlow (1991) elaborates, 'Only if a language is spoken can it remain as a living treasure of this country (p. 115)'. Urban Māori need to place themselves in environments, whether it is work, home, or their urban *marae*, where *te reo* is spoken – in order to improve their *te reo* competency. *Te Kōhanga Reo* and *Te Kura Kaupapa* are effective and invaluable learning environments for young urban *iwi* members. However, adult urban *iwi* members need to find the impetus for learning *te reo*. This may be achieved by self-directed learning and becoming a part of environments, that *te reo* is regularly spoken.

He patai tuarua - Question two

> How important is speaking and understanding *te reo* to you?
> *Pehea te rangatira o te kōrero me te mohio ki te reo kia koe?*

The second question of this research asked the participants to comment on the importance of *te reo* to them, as urban *iwi* members. This question sought to understand the motivation of each participant to learn *te reo*, and ascertain whether learning *te reo* was important to each urban *iwi* member. Language is important for three basic reasons, its uniqueness, its identity and its commonality with people of the same country or ethnicity. The following statement of M. Simpson (1993) addresses the vital role of *te reo*:

> *Ka kore te reo, ehara i te tāngata, he mea noa iho.*
> *He reo tō tēnā manu, tō tēnā kararehe, tō ētahi ngārara.*
> *He reo kē ano tō tēnā momo tāngata, tō tēnā momo tāngata o ngā whenua mana o te ao.*
> *Hei tōna reo tōna wairua, tōna mana.*

> If you don't have a language, you are not a person, you are merely a thing.
> Every bird, every animal, every insect has its own language.
> Each person spread throughout the countries of the world has their own unique language.
> In their language is their spirit, their prestige (p. 117).

Te reo is unique to New Zealand, and is the language of Māori people. In recognition of the strong link between identity and language, it was of interest to this study to ascertain the level of importance of *te reo* to each participant.

All participants expressed the need to speak and understand *te reo* was very important to them. The reasons for *te reo* being important varied in each participant from *te reo* being directly linked to their Māori and *iwi* identity, to *te reo* being important for their work and *marae* involvement. One participant conveyed the general feeling of the group, stating:

> 'It gives me a sense of knowing who I am, can speak my own language and communicate with other – with my race in our own language basically'.

Two participants indicated that *te reo* gave them a sense of identity, and that the ability to speak in their own language enabled them to have a rapport with their own people and that without knowledge of *te reo* a person:

> '… will only be able to grasp a minute understanding of the people and of the country and the history of the landscape'.

Another participant acknowledged that *te reo* has become more important in adulthood, stating:

> 'When I was growing up it didn't have any relevance to me and didn't seem very important at all, but as an adult now, the older I get the more important it becomes to me'.

Two other participants spoke of their desire to learn more, and their commitment to increasing their level of understanding. The need to understand what was being said at a *tangi*, was a motivational factor for one participant, who admitted:

> 'I went to Aunty X's tangi and a lot of people said things about her and a lot of it was in Māori and I didn't understand it, and that was when it was a bit of a reality check – that maybe I need to do something …'.

Only one participant felt they were too old to learn *te reo* to a level of fluency:

> 'It's very important, but I'm at an age now where I feel I can't learn anymore than I know'.

Passing *te reo* knowledge on to their children was of paramount importance to one participant, who enrolled their children into *Kōhanga reo* and spoke Māori in their home to ensure their children had some knowledge of *te reo*. Working in Māori-based environments has meant for two participants they are constantly learning *te reo*, one of the two participants spoke of their work with Māori:

> '... the work that I was doing in terms of research for documentary and films and things like that, it was imperative that I understand the language, otherwise you couldn't make rapport with people ...'.

The importance of *te reo* was acknowledged by each of the research participant. *Te reo* offers a perspective into *te ao Māori* that is only achieved through knowledge of the language. Participants who purposely placed themselves into *te reo* speaking environments (*te reo* speaking work environment and *Kōhanga reo*), were also increasing their knowledge. Being in situations that encourage use of *te reo* has many benefits for a Māori identity. Durie stresses that the erosion of *te reo* as a everyday language has served to undermined classical determinations of healthy identity for formation (1997, p. 152). Therefore, urban Māori and Māori in general need to be a part of learning and extending their *te reo* knowledge, by speaking *te reo* as much as possible.

For several of the participants who expressed a desire to learn more *te reo*, programs offered at their urban *marae* in Auckland would be an ideal environment to further their knowledge. *Iwi* initiatives may need to be put into place to encourage learning of *te reo* for urban *iwi* members. Under the Māori Language Act 1987, the Māori Language Commission was set up to promote the use of Māori as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication. In the website for Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori they have created a practical guide to encourage *iwi* and *hapū* to develop long-term language plans. This plan recognises that *iwi* and *hapū* can be a powerful force in maintain *te reo*. Implementing long-term plans with urban *iwi* will further increase the opportunities for urban Māori to

learn *te reo*, but will also assist in maintaining and developing *te reo* further (www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz).

He patai tuatoru - Question three

> Are you involved in other Māori communities groups (i.e. *te reo* classes, kapa haka, *Kōhanga* reo committee)?
>
> *Kai roto ano koe i etahi atu roopu hapori Māori (i.e. nga karaehe Māori, kapa haka, komiti Kōhanga reo)?*

Question three delves into urban *iwi* member's participation in Māori communities. This question queries each participant's current involvement in other Māori communities. No classification was offered on what constitutes as a Māori community group, the distinction was left of the participant to make, if required. Auckland in itself is made up of many communities, based on race, age, sex, sport, education and religion. This question sought to gain an indication of Ngāti Awa urban *iwi* member's participation in Māori community groups, which may or may not assist in their sense of Māori and tribal identity.

Māori communities can offer urban *iwi* members sites for Māori to be Māori, previously discussed in chapter one of this thesis. Durie (1994) elaborates 'Māori people must be able to be Māori, to use Māori language on all occasions and in all places if they choose, to attend *hui*, to practice *whakawhānaungatanga*, to have access to Māori resources, to associate as *hapū* and *iwi* and to form their own organisations at local and national lives' (p. 169). Therefore, it is of interest to this study, to determine how many research participants belong to other Māori communities that may compliment and support their Māori identity in an urban setting.

Eight of the ten participants revealed that they were involved in a Māori community group in some form or other, and in some cases several of the eight participants were involved in more that one community group. The three predominant Māori community groups identified by the eight active community members were; *Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa* and Mataatua *marae* in Mangere. Five of the eight community members were active committee members of the

Mataatua *marae,* and two of the remaining group of research participants had been active members of Mataatua *marae* previously. Other various Māori community groups identified by the participants were; *Kaumātua* committees, Māori work organisations, other *marae* and *Kapa Haka* groups.

Three participants actively involved in several Māori community groups, spoke of their community involvement including their urban *marae*:

> 'I am involved in quite a number of Māori community groups. It's because of my need to understand the wider ramification, the wider importance of the language; I get involved in anything that has any community that promotes language and culture'.
> 'The marae, I am on the committee of Mataatua marae. I am currently doing home study, another reo class, that's about it really'.
> 'Several kaumātua committees, Owairaka and Mangere. Marae committee, Kōhanga reo committee also the school of Takiura o Aotearoa'.

Another participant involved in several communities, spoke of their need to build relationships, not only with urban *marae* but also with their tribal *marae* in the Whakatāne region. Community involvement, for this participant, included *Kōhanga Reo* participation, assistant Mataatua *marae* and a parent helper at their children's *Kura kaupapa*:

> 'I have just really been trying to sort of build my relations a bit more, in terms of my Marae's, not just here but back home as well and letting everyone pretty much know who I am, trying to be a familiar face to them, which as been really good'.

Of the two participants that were not involved in any Māori community, one participant spoke about their commitment to their church community. This participant further acknowledged that the church community was more of a multi-cultural community than a Māori community. Acknowledgement was also made that while current participant with Māori communities was non-existent, if parental assistance was required for *Kapa haka* or *marae* visits, the participant would readily offer their services.

Community by definition means: A social group of any size whose members reside in a specific locality, share government, and often have a common cultural and

historical heritage. Māori communities in the Auckland region face many obstacles that arise from the sheer size of Auckland and its population. Metge (1964) discusses the issues facing the formation of Māori communities in the 60's, and commented that 'Auckland Maoris were too numerous, too scattered and too diverse in may to constitute a single community in any real sense (p. 252). Urban *Marae* throughout Auckland can assist with creating *iwi* specific singularly Māori communities for urban Māori. According to the findings in this study, the majority of urban *iwi* research participants do belong to differing Māori community group that meets their needs as Māori urban dwellers.

He patai tuawha - Question four

> You are registered member of Ngāti Awa - Why do you idenitify as Ngāti Awa?
>
> *He mema rehita koe no Ngāti Awa – Na te aha koe i huri ai kia Ngāti Awa?*

Ngāti Awa identity and querying why each participant identified as Ngāti Awa was question four of the research interview. The criteria of being registered members of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa was meet by all the participants – therefore, this question was based on not if they identify as Ngāti Awa *iwi* members, but why. Registration of *iwi* members can be completed by adult *iwi* members, or parents who have registered themselves and their children.

The underlying question asked here, was to determine why the participants remain registered members of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, after residing in the urban centre Auckland for a period of fifteen years or more. Establishing the reason for continued registration to their distant *iwi*, could assist with future urban *marae* and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa initiatives to increase and strengthen the ties of *iwi* affiliation. Taking into account that a several of the research participants were born in urban centres away from their traditional tribal lands, yet maintain a strong affiliation with their *iwi*.

All participants spoke of *whakapapa* connections that enabled them to identify as Ngāti Awa, whether the *whakapapa* connection was from their mother or father.

Ngāti Awa was the strongest tribal affiliation for the majority of the research participants. Several participants identified Ngāti Awa as being their strongest affiliation or only *iwi* due to their *whānau* paternal and maternal affiliation past and present:

> 'I identify as Ngāti Awa because I guess it's the strongest whakapapa link that my father has always affiliated too ... My father has always, because he was born and bred in Te Teko, and that is of course the rohe of Ngāti Awa'.
> 'I identify as Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe, my mother is Tūhoe. Ngāti Awa is probably because my father is heavily involved in the whole Ngāti Awa movement, because he's still at home'.
> '... because of mothers side of the whānau, and that's quite deep in me. Although I have other tribes, but Ngāti Awa seems to hit me quite well and I settled well up here in Mangere ...'.

One participant acknowledged their community upbringing on their tribal lands as their foundation of their strong identity as Ngāti Awa:

> 'I was born in Te Teko and most of the knowledge and all cultural perspectives, aspects I've learnt from Te Teko and in turn that's Ngāti Awa ... all the cultural, all the tikanga, te reo, whakapapa and mohio comes from the basic grounding in Te Teko ...'.

In addition, a further participant spoke in detail about their strong emotional ties in identifying as Ngāti Awa:

> 'I am Ngāti Awa and that place down there, down in Whakatāne, holds a lot of kind of history for us, not just as a family but also just as an identity landscape. That's the place I know, that's where our pito is, that's were our ancestors lived and I've kind of got a right to go there and share in the benefits of the tribe. More that that, to share in the landscape and it's history, and what actually goes on down there, so that's probably why I say I'm Ngāti Awa'.

Whakapapa combined with past and present active participation by each research participant's parents or parent were the key source of acknowledgement of Ngāti Awa identification for each participant. One participant summed up the general sentiment of the whole research group, discussing the reason for their identity adding that simply:

> 'Because that's my iwi, that's the family iwi, that's just who I am I guess'.

Whakapapa is an integral component of being Māori and identifying as Māori. Knowledge and acknowledgement of *whakapapa* serves to strengthen the sense of belonging and connectiveness to *whānau* and *hapū*. Each participant was a current registered member of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa. Therefore, knowledge and acknowledgement of *whakapapa* links had already been confirmed.

In retrospect, this question and the answers obtained, namely the links of *whakapapa* for affiliation was an obvious answer. The underlying question of remaining affiliated to Ngāti Awa after a period of fifteen years or more of urban living, upon reflection should have been incorporated into the research question. In the design of the research questions, every effort was made to ensure the potential for long insightful answers could be elicited. While the potential was not always realised by each participant in answering the questions, the opportunities were available. For this research question, the results may have been different with the question being rephrased to 'You are a registered member of Ngāti Awa – Why do you still remain an *iwi* member after a 15 year period of urban living?'

Nonetheless, the results of this research question show all the research participants' associate *whakapapa* as their reason for identification. Identifying as Ngāti Awa, was a natural progression with each participant whose parent or parents remained strongly associated with the *iwi*. Research participants who were raised on their traditional lands, and participants who had family members still residing on *iwi* lands, made acknowledgement of this factor.

He patai tuarima - Question five

> Are you actively involved in your urban Ngāti Awa *marae*? (Why/Why not?)
>
> *Kai roto ano koe i nga mahi o to marae o Ngāti Awa ki te taone? (Na te aha ai? Na te aha i kore ai?)*

Then next research question of this research, question five, queries the research participants on their involvement with the Auckland Ngāti Awa *iwi marae*, Mataatua *marae* built in Mangere in 1978. The objective of this question was to ascertain whether urban *iwi* members felt a need to participate in their urban

marae activities in an urban setting. Each participant was asked to discuss his or her involvement, or the reason for non-involvement.

Over one hundred years ago, *marae* were the focal point of settlements and the central area of the village. Today, *marae* have an important role in sustaining a Māori identity and a tribal identity in an urban setting. Rangihau (1992) spoke of the importance of *marae* to him and more so to his tribal identity, explaining 'The *marae* is the repository of the historical things, of all the traditions, all the mythology and other things which make up the intangibles of Maoriness and which for me are a very important part of being Tūhoe' (p. 186). For Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa future projects of strengthening urban *iwi* member's identity, urban *marae* may hold the key.

The difference in numbers between active participation from urban Ngāti Awa members in their urban *marae* and the potential of active participants is huge. Census (2002) data on *iwi* populations show that in the greater Auckland area, the population of Ngāti Awa *iwi* members is 2,688. The current active participation of urban members, as evidenced in Mataatua *marae* committee meeting minutes and attendance at hui, reflect that only approximately fifty to sixty urban *iwi* members are currently actively involved. Therefore, there are a huge number of urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members who are not actively involved with their urban *marae* in any capacity. Based on the low rate of active participation, it would be benefical to the future of urban *marae* to ascertain why some urban members utilise their urban *marae*, and why the majority do not.

This research questions divided the research group into two halves, five participants that were actively involved and current Mataatua *marae* committee members, and the remaining five were no longer involved, or had never been involved with the *marae*. A total of seven participants had been involved, in some capacity, with the *marae* since its conception in the 70s, however current active members were now five participants.

Current involvement for two participants had evolved from the concept and building of the *marae*, one participant outlined their involvement:

> '...I've been a long time member since fundraising for the marae was brought together, and also in the development of its whole philosophy and everything ...'.

The other long time involvement participant was a founding member of Mataatua, who moved to Auckland in the 60s and had wanted to ensure that their children had a *tūrangawaewae* in Auckland.

The three remaining active participants in Mataatua *marae* spoke of gaining a sense of belonging from the *marae*, and the need to do something for their fellow Ngāti Awa people was met being a part of the *marae* and the committee. One participant explained the importance of the *marae* to their daily life in Auckland, acknowledging:

> '... it makes me feel whole, if I can sort of say that. I know the lifestyle on the Marae, I've always grown to love the Marae, so from a young age I've always grown up on the Marae and because I know what to do, I feel very comfortable up there ... I just enjoy the buzz that the marae brings to my life'.

Non-active *marae* involvement from the remaining research participants identified time constraints and distance as the two main factors for their non-involvement. Two participants were unsure of meeting times and queried notification of events occurring at Mataatua, one research participant noted:

> 'I don't think we receive any notification of when they have meetings or when they have other types of gatherings ...'.

Another participant, previously involved in the Mataatua committee, spoke of their non-involvement occurring due to the changes within the committee:

> '... I use to go to the marae a lot, and that's was when Layne was trying to get the urban movement and all the research that they did ... Then it sort of shifted committee members and then they just lost the link, they had my contact details and yet I haven't been contacted since'.

Living in West Auckland and the distance required to travel to Mangere, was a barrier to involvement for one participant, added to this participation in other

groups and communities meant they were unable to be active members of Mataatua *marae*. However, the participant contended that they would support and attend *marae* activities whenever possible. For another participant lack of notification was a major factor in their non-involvement, and that having a festival or an event similar to Pa Wars would be great for Mataatua *marae*, and would be an event that they would attend.

From the discussions with all the research participants, the general consensus was that all the urban members interviewed knew of their urban *marae*, Mataatua. Several of the participants acknowledged that they would like to be involved in some capacity with the urban *marae* if they were notified of events occurring, especially for special hui or occasions. Smith (1999) affirms that creating events for Māori to get together is also important for a Māori identity, because 'Events and Accounts which focus on the positive are important not just because they speak of our survival, but because they celebrate our resistances at an ordinary human level and they affirm our identities as indigenous women and children (p. 145)'. In the future, the Mataatua *marae* committee may need to encourage more urban *iwi* members to utilise it premises for varying events, or just to have *whānau wananga*.

In this research group, the participants were purposely selected to provide an equal sample of active participants and non-active. Due to the importance of *marae* to urban Māori identity outlined in chapter two of this thesis, it was vital to gain insight in equal measure to the reasons for and against active participation. From within the research group the five non-active members represent the large number of non-participants, and notification of future events and hui, appears to be a contributing factor. Added to this many urban *iwi* members, choose only to attend their traditional *marae* on their tribal lands. However, it must be noted that non-participation in their urban *marae* for these particular research participants – was not due to their attendance to their traditional *marae* only.

Marae need the support of its people to survive, regardless of where the *marae* is situated. Mead (1997) addresses the need for people to participate in their *marae*,

'What we need are more Māori people supporting, with their money, labour and dedication, the local *marae* and various committees which struggle to keep the Māori world together (p. 248). Supporting the *marae* can have many personal benefits for *iwi* members, and for one active research participant, the *marae* is fulfilling its vital role. This research participant also makes acknowledgement that being a part of the *marae* community made them feel 'whole'. The potential is available to fulfil this objective for many more of the urban *iwi* members. However, the question still remains as to how to draw them into the *marae*.

He patai tuaono - Question six

> How much do you know of your Ngāti Awa *whakapapa*, traditions and history? And how did you learn what you do know?
>
> *Pehea te rahi o tou mohiotanga ki to whakapapa, tikanga me to hitori mo Ngāti Awa? Ina i pehea koe i akona ai ki nga mea e mohiotia ana e koe?*

Question six asked each participant to consider the depth and source of their knowledge on *Ngātiawatanga*. Chapter two of this thesis explored the role of *Māoritanga* in supporting a Māori identity and the changes to Māori identity over time. This research question follows on from chapter two, by querying the depth of *iwi* knowledge for urban *iwi* members that supports their *iwi* identity. Further to this, it is of particular interest to this study to ascertain the source of *iwi* knowledge for urban *iwi* members. This includes, determining whether the source is of a traditional learning method, a contemporary learning method or a combination of both. By identifying the key sources of knowledge, it may hold the key to revealing how further knowledge can be passed onto urban *iwi* members in the future.

Reiterating the discussions of chapters one and two in this thesis, in times past the traditions of *iwi* and *hapū* were passed on in the form of oral transmissions through the *whakapapa* links of whānau from generation to generation. The traditional forms of learning for Māori came from within their *whānau*, the Māori family of old consisted mainly of three generations of family living together (Walker, 1990). Today, the opportunities to learn about *Māoritanga* and *iwitanga* within the confines of *whānau* are not always possible. Given that the depth of *iwi*

knowledge has lessened over time and distance, and present day urban, *whānau* do not always include three generations of *whānau* living together. Urban living has decreased the traditional learning environments within the *whānau*, namely the old teaching the young. New contemporary environments have been created within single unit *whānau*. Further to this, universities and tertiary organisations are substituting the old traditional methods of learning for a new contemporary method of learning.

Three participants commented that their knowledge of *Ngātiawatanga* was very limited and that it was not as in-depth as they would like it to be. One participant of this group added that prior to coming to live in Auckland many years ago, their knowledge level was in-depth. However, since living in Auckland this knowledge has decreased and been lost. This participant was optimistic that this knowledge could be gained back in the future:

> '... I know that it's there, it's just in the back and I need to – I guess I long to be with my own people who kōrero all the time, and do that sort of thing so that's it's fresh in my mind all the time'.

Another group of three participants felt their knowledge of *Ngātiawatanga* was in-depth:

> 'I would probably know a lot more than the average person and this has come about from my involvement in Ngāti Awa, the social and political development and aspirations of Ngāti Awa ... and have worked with my own hapū Nga Maihi in Te Teko and now my own hapū of Ngāti Awa-ki-Tamaki Makaurau'.
> 'I know heaps and heaps, sorry I'm not supposed to show off, but you did ask ...I was at university and there was a wealth of knowledge and resources there. So I had the backing from growing up, my natural interest and affinity in my Māoritanga'.
> 'I know quite a lot about our family histories and our connections to Ngāti Awa. Probably because my grandparents and my great-grandparents wrote a lot down and when I was a kid they were always speaking about stuff'.

From this group, a participant identified that their learning as mostly a by-product of osmosis, explaining:

> 'We always knew who was who and what's what and how we are related ... so I think I was just by osmosis, the process of osmosis

where we, just as kids, heard people talking or else we went to places and saw things'.

Two further participants did not state the level of their *Ngātiawatanga* knowledge; however, one of the two participants in this group spoke about how their knowledge was acquired:

'I have read books and attended our reunion and hui at Kokohinau marae and other Ngāti Awa marae to gain some experiences regarding the history and genealogy of Ngāti Awa ...'.

Self-directed learning was the main source of knowledge for three participants. This entailed attending tertiary organisations, *wānanga* and *hui* in order to attain *Māori* and *iwi* knowledge.

Five participants credited their *whānau* as the source of their knowledge, whether this knowledge was limited or in-depth. For one participant there were numerous sources from where their knowledge had been acquired:

'I had good masters in my father, my uncle and a number of elders from Nga Maihi to teach me about the culture of Nga Maihi first and then Ngāti Awa later'.

Obtaining knowledge of Ngāti Awa *whakapapa,* traditions and histories, was not always a conscious process, reflected four research participants. This group of four also spoke of some knowledge being 'inbred' and coming 'naturally', one participant spoke of attending *wānanga* and finding out they knew more than they originally thought:

'... I wonder sometimes how I use to know, but I think it was sitting around when we were all at the marae and things, and you pick up things ...'.

In the contemporary environment of urban living for *iwi* members, the initial source of learning has been identified as a largely subconscious learning in the *whānau* environment. While some research participants received an in-depth education of *Ngātiawatanga* within their home, the majority of the participants appear to have received at least a primarily level of understanding in their own home. Further study and knowledge, has been a self-directed journey for several participants attending *hui, wānanga* and tertiary organisations. Of particular

interest to this study, is the research participant that feels Auckland living has depleted their knowledge level. In order to regain their knowledge, a return journey to their traditional home lands to be with *iwi* members, will assist with the regaining of lost knowledge.

A combination of learning environments and sources were discussed by all research participants. Proving that for urban *iwi* members, the learning of *Ngātiawatanga* requires a mixture of environments and sources, and is very often a self-directed journey. This requires consciously choosing environments that can assist in increasing their *iwi* knowledge. Future studies into urban Ngāti Awa identity, may benefit from gauging the depth of *iwi* knowledge held by urban members. As the level of knowledge was not measured for this study, and the depth of knowledge was largely subjective on the opinion of the research participant. The benefits of future research would ascertain what aspects of *Ngātiawatanga* need to be taught or in some cases re-taught to urban *iwi* members. Thereby ensuring *Ngātiawatanga* is practiced and kept active in supporting an urban Ngāti Awa identity.

He patai tuawhitu - Question seven

> At present, do you wish to extend your knowledge of Ngāti Awa *whakapapa*, traditions and history?
>
> *I aianei, e hiahia ano koe ki te whakanui ake i tou mohiotanga ki nga whakapapa, tikanga me nga hitori o Ngāti Awa?*

The next question in the research interviews asked each participant if they would like to extend their knowledge of Ngāti Awa *whakapapa*, traditions and history. This question intended to gauge the interest of urban *iwi* members in learning more about their particular tribal *Māoritanga*. Furthermore, this question may serve as an indicator as to the need of *wānanga* and *hui* about *Ngātiawatanga*, for urban *iwi* members in the future.

With the number of Ngāti Awa *iwi* members living in urban centres, the communities involved with urban living can eclipse the need or want to further or develop *iwi* knowledge. Mead (1997) addresses the need to re-group Ngāti Awa

people 'The fact is more Ngāti Awa people live outside our tribal territory than in it. Our little octopus must stretch its tentacles outwards to draw our people towards the centre' (p. 262). He also adds that 'If we sincerely believe in the worth of being Māori, we must be prepared to reach out towards *Māoritanga*' (p. 248). Based on these quotes, it is imperative to get an indication into how many urban *iwi* members would like to increase their current knowledge level.

All participants expressed a desire to learn more about their *Ngātiawatanga*, and the continuing need to add on more *iwi* knowledge to what they already know:

> 'Certainly, I would like to extend it further and its something that I am constantly involved in, upgrading where ever I can'.
> 'Yes, my interests in any linage I have with my tupuna, land – make me feel I should pursue as much as I should'.

One research participant added that *wānanga* held on his or her own *marae* would be an excellent opportunity for their *whānau,* asserting:

> '… being brought up in the city, or being urban Māori, we don't – well haven't had very many opportunities to actually even sleep the night in our own wharenui on our own marae'.

Further to this, one participant added that more knowledge of *whakapapa* enables a person to know more about themselves and explained that knowledge is:

> '… like a big jigsaw puzzle that you put together when you find all those things out like your history, your tikanga, they all go hand in hand with each other.'.

Another research participant stated that they had been part of trying to organise a *wānanga:*

> '… but because we are in the city, it's just hard to get-together to meet and plan it, and also get that direction from home'.

Urban living has its own communities and commitments which make organising *wānanga* and *hui* difficult. However, once *wānanga* and *hui* were organised many of the research participants expressed any interest to attend, one participant adding:

> '… even if it's just learning waiata or another possibility is weaving'.

Self directed learning guided one participant, as well as going to events and occasions where more knowledge can be learnt, including speaking and listening to *kaumātua* from Ngāti Awa:

> '... about what's going on in the kaumātua councils and all that down there, it does give me access to what's going on and new insights into Ngāti Awa'.

Furthermore, this research participant keeps their own diaries and notebooks on information gathered, and hopes one day to pass this work onto another *whānau* member.

It was clear that all the research participants were eager to learn more about their *Ngātiawatanga*, from the participants with little knowledge to the participants who already had an in-depth knowledge base. While many of the participants spoke of their busy lives and being involved in numerous communities in Auckland, interest to expanding their knowledge was strong throughout the whole group. Some participants had already taken up the challenge of gaining more knowledge via their self-directed learning. The desire to increase learning is one of the greatest challenges to *Māoritanga*. Mead (ibid) addresses the need for urban *iwi* members to support and learn *Māoritanga*, 'Urbanities must seek out its covens, as it were, and go to those places of their own accord. If they don't know its ways, they had better find a learner's coven. But the important thing is that an effort has to be made to find the nearest convenient centre of *Māoritanga* and support it (p. 248)'.

The need for future *wānanga* and *iwi* events was endorsed by several of the research participants. Potential locations for the *wānanga* could be held on rural tribal *marae* and urban *marae*. Future *wānanga* held at the urban *marae* of Mataatua, will also serve to increase the profile of the urban *marae* for the urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members unfamiliar with its location and purpose. The purpose of the *marae* is to be available for its people and community, encouraging attendance of all urban *iwi* members will also assist the urban *marae* in meeting its primary purpose.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa has many projects in development that are *iwi* based events for all members of Ngāti Awa to attend. Recently this year, for the first time a ceremony was held on Rewatu *marae* in Whakatāne to issue grant recipients with their awards. The day after the awards ceremony, was an *iwi* sports event open to all Ngāti Awa *hapū* throughout New Zealand to attend and compete in. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa has recently announced that more events are planned for the future, including a Ngāti Awa festival similar to the Ahurei festival of the *iwi* Tūhoe.

In accordance with the reflections of several of the research participants, the process of notification of *iwi* events to all *iwi* members needs to be addressed. Furthermore, creating events that would entice and draw members who are spread throughout New Zealand and Australia, back to their *iwi* would be invaluable.

He patai tuawaru - Question eight

> How often do you return to your tribal home within the environs of Whakatāne? And for what purpose?
>
> *Ehia wa koe hokihoki ai ki te haukaainga ara ki te rohe o Whakatāne? Otira mo te aha te take?*

Question eight asked each participant how often do they return to their tribal home within the environs of Whakatāne, and what is the purpose of the travel. The objective of this question was to ascertain the type of events that urban *iwi* members travel to traditional tribal home for and the regularity of this travel. The underlying reason of this question is to find out how many participants find the need to return frequently, and how many participants return for *whānau* or *hapū* based events.

During the interviews with the participants on this particular question, it became apparent after this question was posed to the first few participants that the question in itself was limited in the type of response it would receive from each recipient. This question was the second of this research study that once asked *kanohi ki kanohi,* seemed a little lacking in the responses that it received from the participants. Extra questions, that in hindsight could have been added include; is it

essential that you return to your tribal *marae*? Is your tribal *marae* an essential component of your Ngāti Awa identity? Do you feel like a visitor on your own tribal *marae*? How do feel on returning back to Auckland, after a visit to your tribal lands? Would you return to live within the environs of Whakatāne? What is the importance of your returning to your traditional tribal lands to you and your *whānau*? Due to the preset question number of questions and the amount of data about to be amassed, it was decided to leave the research question as originally formed. Adding more questions to the total research questionnaire would have been problematic with regard to extra data being disseminated.

Six participants acknowledged that their travel to their tribal rural home was regular, and the remaining four research participants reflected that their visits were very irregular. Also, over time the visits had become less and less frequent. One participant reflected that initially, upon moving to Auckland, travel to their tribal home would occur every weekend, however, as time has passed, the visits have become further and further apart, until presently visits now occur perhaps three times a year at most:

> '... in the last few years since my grandmother passed away, I hardly get down there now. I might get down there; say four times a year and mostly to see family'.

All the participants travelled to attend *tangihanga* of direct *whānau* members held on their tribal *marae*, of this group seven participants also travelled for celebratory occasions. Six participants spoke about returning for *whānau* and *hapū hui*, and visiting remaining *whānau* and friends also. Three participants had returned to their tribal lands to bury their baby whenua, and one participant admitted any reason was a good reason for them to travel to Whakatāne. For this participant returning to their tribal region made them feel peaceful, adding that they were regular travellers for *tangi*, *whānau hui* and often for holidays:

> '... when you feel Auckland is a bit too much, go down to Whakatāne and it's so relaxing, just whānau everywhere. It makes the world feel a lot more peaceful when you have whānau around ...'.

One participant remains an active member of their tribal *marae* and urban *marae*, and returns at least once a month to visit *whānau* and attend *hui*. Another

participant spoke about their regular trips to Whakatāne due to their commitments to their *iwi* and *hapū*:

> 'I go back quite regularly to Ngāti Awa, to keep abreast of what is developing in the Ngāti Awa Rūnanga and what is happening for the social, education and economic advancement and development of the tribe'.

The cost of travel has meant for one participant, recent travel has become more and more irregular. Not only due to the financial cost, but also the cost to *whānau* and other commitments:

> '... I run myself thin going back when I can't afford too, and I don't just mean financially – not just financially, I can only spread myself so thin ...'.

For urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members, returning to tribal lands and *marae* can have a re-energising effect on their *iwi* identity. The opportunity to visit *whānau*, *marae* and to be a part of their own *hapū* community is invaluable to many of the research participants.

It is important to note, the returning of some research participants to their tribal lands to bury baby *whenua* (afterbirth), is a traditional method of maintaining ties between the land and its people. Ensuring that future generations of urban Ngāti Awa peoples have an affiliation with their tribal land and confirming their status as *tāngata whenua*. In summary, over half the research participant group travelled on average once a month to their tribal home and lands, and two participants travelled less than once a year.

He patai tuaiwa - Question nine

> What is important about your Ngāti Awa identity to you?
> *He aha te mea nui o tou mana Ngāti Awa ki a koe?*

The final question of the interviews leads directly to the heart of the research, tribal identity. Question nine asked each participant to identify what is important about their Ngāti Awa identity to them. This question was purposely left as the last question of the interview questions, giving each participant an opportunity to

reflect on their identity throughout the research interview. All the research questions were designed to assist each participant to reflect and give a personal insight into the supporting factors to their Māori and *iwi* identity. Querying each participant on *te reo* knowledge, *Ngātiawatanga* knowledge, Māori community involvement and commitments, participation with their urban *marae* and the regularity of their travel to their tribal lands. Each of these factors has an effect on an *iwi* identity, assisting in the forming and maintaining of an urban *iwi* identity.

For Māori today, Durie (1997) details the effect on identity, Māori or tribal, living in an urban setting 'Dislocation of the nuclear families and of individuals is a fact of life among urban Māori, creating a hiatus in identity formation and traditional concepts of what it means to be Māori' (p. 157). Keeping this in mind, why is it then important to the research participants that they identify as Ngāti Awa, and more importantly, what is the importance of this identity to them.

Four participants spoke about their Ngāti Awa identity being important to them as it gave them a sense of belonging and a sense of identity:

> 'For me it's a sense of belonging and it's a sense of identity, and it makes me unique not only as a Māori, but its unique tribally to know where you come from, to know your whakapapa'.
> 'I think it gives me a sense of belonging, a sense of know where I come from, of the history that's involved, that's what's important to me – just knowing what my background is and where we come from, and ultimately where I will end up one day, hopefully'.
> 'Identity is important to me, and I feel if I can't speak the reo then something is missing. I sort of don't feel whole'.
> 'I know just being Māori is important, an important identity to be and then to be able to be amongst other Māori and then to know my own Ngātiawatanga'.

One participant answered succinctly on feelings of identity:

> '… it's kind of important because that's who I am, and I can't separate myself from Ngāti Awa really, because that is who my family is and that's where I was brought up'.

Many of the participants referred to the most important aspect of their identity is based on *whakapapa*, and the fact that one of their parents were Ngāti Awa and therefore their Ngāti Awa identity was their birthright:

'It tells me who I am, that's about the only way I can say it. It's my heritage and it ties me to my home and my people, and my ancestors'.

Another participant spoke of the key role *whakapapa* has played in their everyday life:

'... What I do in life and what I achieve in life, what I strive in life – a lot of it is dictated by my whakapapa. Therefore, the ones who may benefit are the ones that are most closely associated'.

For one participant, their identity was important not only for them, but also for their children and mokopuna stating:

'Ngāti Awa for me, gives me a sense of purpose, of being Māori, the other thing is that if I know it well I can disseminate any new knowledge's, plus the knowledge I do know of Ngāti Awa, to my children and to my grandchildren'.

Another participant discussed the importance of their Ngāti Awa identity was not solely based on their father remaining in their tribal area, but also, that being involved actively in the *iwi* was also important maintaining:

'... having participation in the planning and having a say ... that's the main importance, just for us, to feel comfortable in being Ngāti Awa, and the land and having a say in our *iwi* development'.

This participant also spoke of the need for urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members to return to their tribal area, and to work for the Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, ensuring that Ngāti Awa people are the majority position holders at the *Rūnanga*.

Identity and *whakapapa* were the key themes to arise from this research question from the majority of the research participants. The importance of an Ngāti Awa identity to them was that it was a by-product of knowing their *whakapapa*. In addition, knowledge of *whakapapa* gave a sense of belonging, purpose and identity. *Iwi* identity is what makes them unique at a tribal level, and to have a parent with a strong sense of Ngāti Awa identity or *whānau* members remaining on traditional tribal lands – serves to strengthen their feelings of affiliation to their *iwi* and the importance of that affiliation to their Māori identity.

Obtaining a sense of belonging to Ngāti Awa is crucial for urban *iwi* members, who live a distance from their tribal lands. Mead (1997) speaks to all *iwi* members about being Ngāti Awa:

> The common link is our Ngāti Awatanga by whakapapa and by inheritance. My view is that we must find ways of enjoying our membership and our pariticipation in the affairs of our iwi. I also believe that to be strong we must over the dislocation of our population and turn this fact to our advantage (p. 262).

The key is active participation, in any form. Acknowledgement of *iwi* identity and examination into the importance of *iwi* identity is a great start.

Rāpopototanga huanga rangahau - Research findings summary

Within the research findings, were several key results that were prevalent for all the research participants. All the research participants had some level of *te reo* understanding and the primary environment for learning *te reo*, was within from *whānau*. *Te reo* was acknowledged as an important component of their identity. Further to this, the main reasons given for the understanding and learning of *te reo* included; communicating in own language, a sense of identity, understanding *te reo* in formal and informal occasions, passing knowledge onto their children. *Whakapapa* links and parental influence were the primary reasons for Ngāti Awa affiliation for all the research participants. Also, being Ngāti Awa was important to each member due to *whakapapa* which also established a sense of belonging and identity. Gaining further in-depth knowledge of *Ngātiawatanga* was a main desire of each participant, regardless of his or her current knowledge level. The last common factor amongst the entire research group, involved travelling to their traditional *iwi* communities within the environs of Whakatane. While the regularity of travel to their traditional *iwi* communities varied from participant to participant, all the research participants confirmed that the main reason for their return trips to tribal *marae* was for *tangihanga*.

There were several research findings that were of key interest to this study. One of first key results in the group of ten research participants was that only two of the research participants were fluent *te reo* speakers. Furthermore, one of the two fluent *te reo* speakers was a native *te reo* speaker, who was born and raised on tribal lands and within a tribal community. Another research result of interest reflected a positive outcome on contemporary Māori societies for one participant who was required to learn *te reo*, due to the nature of their work in an urban setting, this participant acknowledged that the motivation for learning *te reo* was attributed to their work in Māori media.

The majority of the research participants were active members of Māori community groups, and five of the active participants were involved with Mataatua *marae* in Mangere. The participants actively involved with Mataatua *marae*, acknowledged that their involvement gave them a sense of belonging from being with fellow Ngāti Awa *iwi* members. For the five participants not involved with Mataatua *marae*, the main reasons non-involvement included; time constraints, distance and lack of notification of events.

Knowledge of *Ngātiawatanga* was varied for each participant. In the research findings, only three participants identified their *Ngātiawatanga* knowledge as in-depth. In addition to this, the two of the three *Ngātiawatanga* knowledgeable participants were also fluent te reo speakers. An interesting key result revealed that for several of the research participants, expanding on their existing knowledge of *Ngātiawatanga* was often an individually motivated process. Learning more about *Ngātiawatanga*, has meant for some research participants that they purposely look for opportunities to be with fellow Ngāti Awa members and seek further knowledge from Ngāti Awa *koroua* and *kuia*. Learning *te reo,* has also encouraged several research participants to attended tertiary and university institutions to gain further *te reo* knowledge. This research result reflects the changing of acquisition of *iwi* knowledge, from the collective traditional community learning process to the smaller more individual urban community learning process of today.

Chapter Five – The Conclusion

Ngāti Awa, te toki tangatanga i te rā
Ngāti Awa, the adze which loosens the sun

Examination has been made into the current reality of an urban *iwi* identity, based on the insights of a small group of urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members residing in Auckland. The research group provided insights into their knowledge of aspects of *Māoritanga* and their *iwitanga*. Discussion was made of their participation or non-participation in their urban *marae*, traditional rural *marae* and Māori community groups. The importance of this research was to provide a snapshot assessment of an *iwi* identity that has changed through the processes of urbanisation. Keeping urban *iwi* members connected to their rural *iwi* is a struggle that all *iwi* throughout New Zealand are facing. For the future well-being of rural *iwi* like Ngāti Awa, understanding the 'state' of a current urban *iwi* identity and examining the connections that bind urban members to their rural *iwi* will assist with future projects of strengthening and maintaining the connections with urban *iwi* members and the future generations to come. In the future, many urban *iwi* members may never reside on their traditional rural *iwi* communities, or participate in the activities of their rural communities. Therefore, for the welfare of the future of rural *iwi* measures may need to be put in place to connect and re-connect with *iwi* members living in urban centres.

The results of this thesis research were founded on the personal perspectives of ten urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members. Each participant gave a glimpse into their worldview, regarding their identity, knowledge and place in *te Ao Māori*. Within the research results, there were several themes and commonalities that arose from the interviews of each participant on the key features that can support a Māori identity in an urban setting. All the participants had some knowledge of *te reo* and concurred that understanding *te reo* was important to each of them. *Whakapapa* links to Ngāti Awa was the primary source of affiliation for all the participants, and *whānau* influence was the motivation to an Ngāti Awa *iwi* affiliation. Extending knowledge of *te reo*, Ngāti Awa *whakapapa*, traditions and histories was desired by

each participant. Furthermore, all the participants travelled to their traditional tribal *marae* in the environs of Whakatāne. The main reason for returning to their tribal rohe was *tangihanga*.

Urban living for the research participants has had an effect in some form, on the formation and maintenance of their *iwi* identity for most of the research participants. With the many communities already in existence in an urban setting, it can be quite difficult for urban *iwi* members to make a commitment to *iwi* activities in an urban or traditional rural setting. As a consequence, at least one of the research participants had little or no involvement in Māori communities or their urban *marae*, and had a limited understanding of *te reo* and *Ngātiawatanga*. Only two of the research participants were fluent speakers of *te reo*, and the same two participants also claimed to have an in-depth knowledge of *Ngātiawatanga*. This research result confirms that *te reo* is indeed a key to a deeper understanding of *Māoritanga*. The more in-depth the knowledge of *te reo* was, the more in-depth the knowledge of *Māoritanga* and *iwitanga* was for the research participants.

Ngāti Awa identity and the importance of this identity to each of the participants revealed that a sense of belonging and identity was obtained through their *whakapapa* links, and that it was of paramount importance to each participant. Influence by the *whānau* through *whakapapa* links was a strong theme that was seen throughout the research answers. The role of *whānau* in forming and maintaining an *iwi* identity in an urban setting emerged as the main source of affiliation for the majority of the research participants. The research results also show that both urban and rural *whānau* have a strong role in the formation and maintenance of urban *iwi* identity. *Whānau* support and direction, whether consciously or non-consciously, was of great value to each participant. Several participants commented that it was only from their reflection on their *iwi* knowledge, that they discovered they knew more than they were initially aware. Further to this, they were not always conscious of being in learning environments when growing up. This research result highlights the importance of learning about *te reo* and *iwitanga* within the *whānau,* where it can be a natural unconscious process – identified by one research participant as osmosis.

Urban Māori *whānau* can face many challenges in maintaining an *iwi* identity away from their traditional lands and communities. Time and distance are the biggest barriers that the research participants identified as needing to overcome. In urban settings, with so many activities to pursue – the time to attend *marae* meetings and Maori community-based meetings is not always available. Furthermore, travelling to their urban or rural *marae* is often at a great distance from their urban suburbs. In amongst the often busy environments of urban living, the importance of being Māori and the advantages of knowledge of *te reo* and *iwitanga* – can often be overlooked. However, it must be noted that there were several members of the research group that were involved in many different Māori-based community groups. Therefore, for some of the research participants, they were actually overly involved in the communities groups. One research participant commented that they were involved in too many Māori community groups, to the determent of her own *whānau*.

The reliance to learn about *iwitanga* from within the confines of urban *whānau* is not always achievable. Urban *whānau* are often the small nuclear *whānau*, rather than the large extended *whānau* of the more traditional Māori *whānau*. Therefore, the knowledge base within *whānau* may not be as in-depth as it would have been in the more traditional times of Maori, when *whānau* included grandparents and other extended *whānau* members. Consequently, the impetus for urban Māori to learn more about their *iwi* identity often needs to be individually motivated and sought. For several of the research participants their current level of knowledge of *te reo* and *Ngātiawatanga* was acquired from their own persistent to learn. This involved attending Māori learning organisations, universities and tertiary organisations. Most importantly, many of the research participants had approached *kaumātua* and *kuia* (woman elder) to further their learning, and had placed themselves in learning environments like the *marae*.

It was through *whānau whakapapa* links and the strength of these links that the foundations of the urban *iwi* identity had been built for each of the research participants. Furthermore, the research group members that were active

participants in their urban and rural *marae* appeared to have a stronger sense of identity and belonging to the iwi of Ngāti Awa. For urban Māori it is through the links of *whānau* that entry into *te Ao Māori* can be more accessible. Making *whānau* connections, and building on those connections create many opportunities for urban Māori to further their knowledge of *iwitanga*, and deepen the level of their worldview into te ao Māori. There is little doubt that the implications and repercussions of the fragmenting of *whānau* and *hapū*, as a result of colonisation and then urbanisation, have had an enormous effect on Māori culture and identity. Penetito (1997) explains the impact of colonisation on Māori:

> More than a century of colonisation has seen the dominant group impose its culture, values, knowledge and practices on Māori society, and in most cases, this has had a devastating effect throughout generations of Māori. Māori have been subject to this hegemony for so long that in many cases they find themselves in situation where they believe their knowledge, customs, and practices are in some ways inferior and less coherent than Pākehā culture, knowledge, customs, and values (p. 57).

With the assistance of dedicated *whānau*, the knowledge, customs and practices of *iwi* can be reclaimed as the important links to an *iwi* identity. This would require that urban Ngāti Awa *whānau* make it a priority to create opportunities to *whakawhānaungatanga* with other Ngāti Awa *whānau* in their urban centres. Further to this, within the parameters of *whakawhānaungatanga*, discussion and learning can begin on the many other aspects of *iwitanga* that acknowledge and support their Ngāti Awa identity.

Within the research findings, all the participants felt more *te reo* and *iwi* knowledge was required. Three research participants openly acknowledged that they knew very little of their *iwitanga. Iwitanga* included many components including; *Te reo* (including tribal dialect), *tikanga, kawa, whakapapa* and tribal histories. Many *iwi* throughout New Zealand refer to their distinctive *iwi* customs and practises under their individual *iwi* name, i.e. *Ngātiawatanga, Tūhoetanga*, and *Ngātiporoutanga*. This distinction personalises their *iwitanga* from the broader term of *Māoritanga*. Rangihau (1992) asserted the need to refer to his *iwitanga* of *Tūhoetanga,* rather than the generic title of Māori:

> Each tribe has its own way of doing its own things. Māori individuals can speak of the Ngapuhitanga, his or her Tūhoetanga but not of his or her Māoritanga. I have a faint suspicion that this is a term coined by Pākehā to bring the tribes together, because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is bring them together and rule (p. 23).

This quote of Rangihau's is very important to an *iwi* identity because it exemplifies the need for Māori to stay connected to their *iwi* roots and traditions. Learning the customs and practices pertaining to specific *iwi*, serve to strengthen the connection to rural *iwi*. Building on the foundations of tribal acknowledgement and affiliation, knowing the intricacies of *iwitanga* serves to strengthen the foundation of an *iwi* identity.

Te reo is an essential component of an *iwi* identity, as it is in the language and the distinctive *iwi* dialect, that the *iwi* identity is founded and supported. In the research group, fluent *te reo* speakers were in the minority. This is a direct reflection on the Māori population in general, with a majority of Māori unable to converse fluently in *te reo*. Added to this, is that a majority of Māori also having little or no knowledge of their *iwi* traditions and histories, including *tikanga* and *kawa*. *Iwitanga* can be a huge component that supports an urban *iwi* identity. At present, the reality for urban *iwi* members is that the opportunities to witness and be a part of *Māoritanga* and *iwitanga* in practice are often considerably less than their rural *iwi whānau*. In addition, there are some components of *Māoritanga* and *iwitanga* that are no longer observed and practised as daily activities (i.e. *karakia* – prayer rituals), for urban and rural *iwi* members alike.

A key result of the research findings for this study was the involvement and non-involvement by urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members in their urban *marae* Mataatua. This result was important to this thesis, because it provides an indication into why the urban *marae* are not always utilised by its *iwi* members. For the purposes of this research, as discussed the methodology chapter of this thesis, the research group was purposely chosen on their active and non-active participation in the activities of Mataatua *marae*. This research criteria was chosen in order to give a

balanced reflection from urban *iwi* members of participation and non-participation in the *marae*.

The results of this research question in the findings were crucial, not only for the viability of the urban-based *iwi marae*, but also to help address the question of how can more *iwi* members become involved in Mataatua *marae*. Statistically, Mataatua should have a higher participation rate of active members, than it currently now has. Ngāti Awa Auckland population totals 2,688 members, and the current active members involved in daily running of Mataatua totals less than one hundred members. For specific *wānanga* and *hui*, the attendance rate has increased significantly – however, at present Ngāti Awa specific *wānanga* and *hui* have been far and few in-between. Therefore, it is apparent from low urban member participation rate, that the benefits of active marae participation is not yet ulitised by all Auckland based Ngāti Awa members. Also, they may be unable to become involved for various different reasons not discussed in the study.

The creation of the urban-based Ngāti Awa *marae* was a huge task for its urban *iwi* based members during the 60s and 70s. It is a testament to their commitment to their mutual iwi of Ngāti Awa, and their drive to create a *tūrangawaewae* in Auckland that they were able to achieve their goal. Mead (2003) praises the efforts of the urban-based *hapū* Ngāti-Awa-ki-Tamaki, who formed in Auckland, fundraised, and built Mataatua *marae*:

> For this group the act of building a marae, paying for it and managing it everyday for several years is proof of their ability to be hapū. The day the marae was opened was an important moment of recognition and validation by the rest of Ngāti Awa and of other tribes who gathered on that occasion. The marae is a huge investment and commitment by the group and the dawn ceremony to open the meeting house was a public test of validation (p. 218).

Mataatua *marae* was built for its urban *iwi* members and the more urban based members that utilise the *marae*, the closer the *marae* fulfils its potential for being a shelter for it urban Ngāti Awa *iwi* members. Urban *marae* have an important role in helping establishing an urban *iwi* identity. For urban *iwi* members it may be the

only physical structure that they can visit to see their *iwitanga* and *Maoritanga* in practice. These structures are vital to an *iwi* identity, not only for their connection to the land and an urban *tūrangawaewae*, but also for their resistance to the external forces of *te ao Pākehā*. Most importantly, Maori culture and language is safe within the confines of *marae*.

Two of the non-pariticipation research members in Mataatua *marae,* spoke of past association with the *marae*, and another research member spoke of an interest to become actively involved with the *marae*. For the future viability of Mataatua and the depth of identity for urban members, measures need to put into place to encourage *iwi* members like the non-participation *iwi* members, to become actively involved in the *marae*. This will serve to not only bring them closer into the Ngāti Awa *whānau*, but also assist in learning more about their *iwitanga*. Ensuring that Ngāti Awa *iwi* members are retaining a sense of belonging and identity with Ngāti Awa. Also, for some urban *iwi* members, it may be their first step in acknowledging and participating in the affairs of their own *iwi*.

Once the research questions were finished, collated and analysed, it became apparent that the insights gained from the research participants were just 'the tip of the iceberg' into the key factors of a Māori identity and their reflections of their urban identity. Further in-depth study would be required to gain a deeper insight into the formation and maintenance of an urban *iwi* identity. Furthermore, the study revealed the potential to add more questions to the initial research questions. However, the results did that there are three key factors of importance to urban *iwi* Māori. The three main factors were *whānau, iwitanga (te reo, tikanga, kawa)* and *marae* (urban, rural). These main factors where identified in the literature review of this thesis, and discussed by Durie (1997) as the key factors they contributed to individual and collective wellbeing of Māori and their sense of belonging. In this matter, little has changed from the traditional times of Māori on the importance of *iwitanga* to an *iwi* identity. The biggest change has been the communities in which Māori now live in. For many Māori today, it is from these key factors that a Māori identity is nourished and maintained in an urban environment. The research

results show that all these factors need to be replenished for all the research participants.

Acknowledgement must be made, that each member of the research group were already registered as Ngāti Awa *iwi* members. Therefore, their individual process of acknowledging their Māori identity had already begun, and a foundation had already been laid. The process of building on from the foundation is now a decision for each of the participants to make, and *whakapapa whānau* links have a crucial role in assisting this. For each of the research participants, who have defined what being Māori and Ngāti Awa means to them, it can be an important step in the process of having control of what a Māori identity is to them. It is through an individual process of self-definition of their identity and the traditions aligned to their identity that can put each participant in charge of what defines them as Māori beyond *whakapapa* links. Said (1993) discusses self-definition and culture:

> Self-definition is one of the activities practices by all cultures: it has a rhetoric, a set of occasions, and authorities (national feasts, for example, times of crisis, founding fathers, basic texts, and so on), and a familiarity all its own. Yet in a world that ties together as never before by the exigencies of electronic communication, trade, travel, environmental and regional conflicts than can expand with tremendous speed, the assertion of identity is by no means a mere ceremonial matter (p. 42).

This quote reiterates the importance of culture and cultural identity, and that beyond the changes brought on by urbanisation and progress including globalisation and modernisation, identity is still an important component to culture. Identity is the means of self-definition beyond the ceremonies that announce the cultural identity of the ceremonial participants. Further to this, Māori identity encapsulates the essence of Māori concerning who they are and where they come from. Also, Māori have a uniquely ethnic identity that defines who they are. Isajiw (1990) outlines two key factors to ethnic identity:

> Ethnic identity can be divided into an external ethnic identity (observable social and cultural behaviour such as language, pariticipation in ethnic functions, and observance of ethnic traditions) and internal ethnic identity (knowledge of values and history, moral sense of obligation, and effective attachment to the group) (p. 34-91).

An *iwi* Māori identity relies on both external and internal ethnic identity characteristics. In a contemporary society, Māori need to speak their language, practice their traditions and have knowledge of their *whakapapa* in order to fully connect with their ethnic identity. *Iwi* identity is important to Māori, as identity from a Maori perspective is more concerned with who you are rather than what you do, which is an underlying factor of a Māori worldview.

Several implications concerning an urban *iwi* identity arose from the research results. One of the most important implications involves acknowledging the potential loss and real loss of many aspects to an *iwi* identity. Māori identity has undergone many changes over the last one hundred years, as outlined by Durie (1997) in the transitions chart in chapter one. Changes brought on by several factors impacting Māori identity including; colonisation, modernisation and urbanisation. Evidenced within the research results was the lessening and loss of *iwi* knowledge, *Maoritanga, te reo* and the connection to their *marae* in varying degrees for a majority of the participants. The direct result of this will have an impact on the sense of identity and belonging of urban *iwi* members. Furthermore, the consequences of the *iwi* members having little knowledge or no knowledge of *te reo* or aspects of their *iwitanga* can have significant long term effects for *iwi* sustainability throughout New Zealand. The main consequence will be that specific *iwi* knowledge will be lost over time, and in some cases impossible to retrieve. In the future, the only viable source to learn about all aspects of Maoritanga and *iwitanga* may be only found in books and electronic resources. Therefore, this increases the need of experts (*kaumātua* and *kuia*) in specific *iwitanga* to write and preserve what they know for future generations.

The research group represented only a small number on the total amount of Maori that populate urban centres within New Zealand and Australia. However, even within the small group the overall knowledge base was significantly low. Only three of the research members were confident of the depth of their *iwitanga* knowledge, and of the three, only two were fluent *te reo* speakers. As a result of urbanisation, of the two *te reo* speakers, only one speaker was a native fluent

speaker born and raised in a Māori speaking community. The decline of native fluent speakers is not a sudden consequence of urbanisation, or an unforeseen one. However once again, this research result highlights the need for native fluent speakers to pass on their knowledge to fellow *iwi* members, and in some cases record or write down their expertise in *te reo*. While *Kōhanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa* are consistently working towards their goal of creating a new generation of fluent *te reo* speakers, for the needs of *te reo* specific to *iwi* the native fluent speakers need to assist with processes and systems that assist in preserving *iwi* knowledge.

For urban Māori in general, *whānau* have in some cases have become small fractured units in urban dwellings, that no longer feel the connection to their *iwi* on a physical or spiritual level. The loss of the spiritual connection for Māori is another consequence of urban living. For many urban and rural Māori, there is a real need to discover or recapture the spiritual side of their identity. This consequence has not gone un-noticed by many prominent Maori identity advocates. Durie (2005) stresses the need of spiritual connections:

> Although Māori language usage, land development, and whānau capacity are important measures of progress, they will have reduced significance if they are not accompanied by a parallel capacity to appreciate and understand the spiritual dimension (p. 237)

Durie adds further to this statement, maintaining that although urbanisation has reduced the opportunities for Māori to swim in the spiritual tide, it did not eliminate them altogether. Jackson (1994) also considers the reclamation of spirituality for urban Māori to be of vital importance:

> I feel that many answers lie in revitalising the Māori spirit and identity within our urban communities. We must seek to revitalise within our people a sense of hope for themselves and their children for the future. ... We must allow those symbols, traditions and values that are inherently ours, shine forth and sit with equal status with those of the non-Māori community. Without this, no amount of resources returned to iwi will restore the spirit and vitality that is required to create a stable progressive community. The key to our future is the revitalisation of our spirituality (p. 63).

The revitalisation of the spirituality of Māori is a key point for urban *iwi* members. Walker (1996) also reiterates the importance of language, spiritual beliefs, tribal affiliation and *whakapapa* to Māori identity. This may also work towards ensuring that Māori to remain positive about their urban Māori identity, through a spiritual connection.

Another major implication from the research results reveal that urban *iwi* members are largely reliant on *whānau* to provide the foundation base for their *iwi* identity. Research participants spoke of the need and want to learn more about their language, history and traditions. However, the consequence of this current reality is that *whānau* and extended *whānau* can no longer be relied on as the primary source of knowledge on *iwi* matters. Further to this, if individual Māori are not inspired or motivated to learn about their *iwitanga*, then they simply will not learn. The danger in the new millennium is that urban *iwi* members may be drifting further and further away from their roots of their traditional *iwi*.

Perhaps, one of the more controversial and extreme implications to the reality of maintaining an *iwi* identity in urban centres, can be seen in the some of the current problems in New Zealand. At present, New Zealand has a whole generation of Maori, who may feel neither comfortable in *Te Ao Pākehā* nor in *Te Ao Māori*. In a sense, within the context of this thesis, they could be viewed as the 'lost' generation of Māori. Sitting on the outer peripheral of both worlds, as Māori who know very little of their *Māoritanga* and nothing of their *iwitanga*. The implications can possibly be seen in the current issues concerning Māori and Māori *whānau*. This includes; Māori failing in mainstream schooling, troubled youth, gangs, child abuse and the Māori crime rate. The reality for Māori today is that in some cases *whānau* as a concept has little resemblance to the traditional *whānau* of past times. Furthermore, a cycle of bad parenting is continuing through a series of generations. Moeke-Pickering (1996) reiterates the change in some Māori *whānau* and adds that there is an ideal of *whānau* which provides a supportive and learning environment to its members, however the reality for some *whānau* are that they are exposed to bad leadership, parenting, physical and sexual abuse).

The issues involved in the changes to *whānau* to this degree are very complex and beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it needed to be identified as a very real issue and consequence of contemporary living. A direction correlation to the changes brought on by urbanisation. There is little doubt that in New Zealand today, there are many *whānau* in crisis. *Whānau* are vitally important to the well-being of a Māori and *iwi* identity, therefore Māori-based communities like urban *marae* need to create occasions that invite urban *whānau* to join in and participate. Reconnecting the 'lost' *whānau* with their wider *whānau* and communities should provide opportunities to *whakawhānaungatanga*. Furthermore, reconnecting will support and encourage *whānau* to feel a real part of their Māori community and *iwi*. A reason to come together to celebrate and embrace being Māori, may just be the simplistic start that is needed.

From the research results and the implications of the results, three main areas of an *iwi* identity stand out as issues that may need to be worked on. The three main areas need the commitment from *iwi* members in order to assist with the viability of Ngāti Awa's future. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa has already created initiatives to assist these areas, however, they now need to be embraced and utilised by urban and rural *iwi* members. The first recommendation is the need to strengthen and educate *whānau*, secondly the need to use *marae* for this purpose, and lastly for *whānau* members to unite as *iwi* members for *iwi wānanga*.

For many urban *whānau*, there is a strong need to get together more with extended *whānau* and to *whakawhānaungatanga*. In urban living, it is often difficult to meet any *whānau* members on a regular basis. However, for the sake of the future of many *whānau*, emphasis needs to place on continually creating opportunities to meet and share information. McCarthy (1997) outlines the problems of the modern Māori *whānau*:

> ... for some Māori, the family unit has come to be synonymous with the single parent or nuclear family rather than with the extended family. This is problematic for some Māori who in their struggle to

have their children imbued with their culture and language are also struggling with a disestablished whānau base (p. 30-31).

For the single parent *whānau* or nuclear *whānau*, urban *marae* may hold the key in re-establishing an urban *whānau* base. *Whānau* is such an important component of an *iwi* identity, as shown in the research results. Questions now arise on how *whānau* can be supported in urban settings. Not only do urban *whānau* need to 'want to participate' in *iwi* initiatives that promote *whānau* and *whānau* well-being, they also need to understand the wider benefits for their *whānau*. There are many urban *iwi whānau* throughout Auckland, who are able to remain strongly connected to their *iwi* identity and tribal *marae*. Furthermore, these *whānau* continuously work together with other *whānau* to meet, *wānanga* and *whakawhānaungatanga*. These *whānau* are to be commended and celebrated. Perhaps, they hold the key to understanding how to encourage isolated *whānau* in Auckland to reconnect with other *iwi whānau*. One of the best places for this to occur, especially for Ngāti Awa *iwi* members, would be in the urban *marae* of Mataatua.

Mataatua *marae* is the safe haven for its urban *iwi* members, to practice and participate with all matters regarding their *iwi* identity. Furthermore, if urban *iwi* members no longer have the secure connections to their traditional tribal *turangawaewae,* then Mataatua and the urban *hapū* of Ngāti-Awa-Ki-Tamaki can provide a new refuge and affiliation for urban members. Being Ngāti Awa today does not require that you are born and bred on tribal lands, nor have affiliation to traditional *hapū*. Being Ngāti Awa can be a choice of affiliation through whānau and joining the urban-base *hapū*.

At present, Mataatua *marae* is under-utilised by its potential urban Ngāti Awa population. Like many urban *marae* throughout New Zealand, the *marae* committees are often focused and intent on the matters regarding the financial survival of the *marae*. It is often difficult to find the time and resources to create initiatives to encourage more urban *whānau* to use its facilities. The irony is that the participation of urban *whānau* is also the very key to urban *marae* survival. However, utilising resources to encourage urban *whānau* participation places a

large strain on the survival of the *marae* (financially). Reedy (1979) spoke of her personal connection to her *marae*, many years ago:

> The marae for me is the last bastion against annihilation of my taha Māori. So, given a choice, I would choose this because it not only embodies all the above and many more of the facets of my taha Māori but also much that is immeasurable. It will be a physical reminder of my identity, my roots. The marae will be my tūrangawaewae, my strength, but if our culture is to survive then we must entrust the information to our young (p. 47).

This sentiment is still relevant today, the role of *marae* for Māori young and old is invaluable and it must utilised whenever possible. In addition, Mataatua *marae* can be considered by its *iwi* members as a home base away from home. Once again, this is not only important for the survival of the *marae*, but also for the holistic well-being of individual *iwi* members and 'lost' *whānau*.

A key recommendation is that Mataatua *marae* committee members may need to strategise continuous projects that involve Auckland *iwi* members meeting and learning together. The *marae* committee has in the past, held *hui* and *wānanga* on *Ngātiawatanga*. However, general awareness of these events taking place has been very low. In this new global era, there are now many avenues to attract and encourage urban *iwi* members to attend theses events which can be ulitised. Creating opportunities to simply *whakawhānaungatanga*, and then learn *te reo*, *waiata* and other traditions. Mead (1997) emphasises the need for all *iwi* members to learn about their *iwitanga*, in order to become *kaitiaki* of Ngāti Awa:

> It is a very frustrating experience to lack certain pieces of information about ourselves, our marae, our tribe. Being Ngāti Awa does require us to become knowledgeable about our traditions, our waiata, our proverbs and so on. Without this knowledge we cannot play the role of trustee very well (p. 261).

The process of creating *wānanga* for *iwi* members is supported by the *Rūnanga* and the more people that attend then the more *iwi* members that are reconnecting with *iwi* identity. Furthermore, active participation by urban members will also increase the future viability of Mataatua. It was built for its people, so therefore it

must reach its objective, and welcome and embrace them home. One the best ways to utilise *marae* and witness *Maoritanga* in practise is to have *wānanga* that is aimed at *iwi* members, with the primary object to *whakawhānaungatanga*. *Wānanga* can be a key factor in the rebuilding of the foundations of an *iwi* identity. Furthermore, *whānau wānanga* are one of the best opportunities for urban and rural *whānau* and *iwi* members to meet. *Wānanga* can encourage *whakawhānaungatanga* discussion and debate on all matters retaining to *iwitanga*.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa provides funding for *wānanga* of Ngāti Awa *iwi* members, based on wānanga meeting set criteria. Key criteria is that *wānanga* must be one hundreds hours in total, with a participants rate of at least fifty *iwi* members. For an example, the *whānau* of the *tipuna* Ngakuru Raerino Patupo in Te Teko, just recently applied for this funding and have held four of five *wānanga*. The *wānanga* are being held at two rural *marae*, Tuteao (Te Teko) and Rangitihi (Matatā). The five *wānanga* are to be held over a four month period, with the main *kaupapa* (theme) being *whakawhānaungatanga* and learning of the mutual tipuna Ngakuru Raerino Patupo. These *wānanga* enabled rural and urban *whānau* to reconnect, and in many cases meet for the first time. History, *whakapapa, tikanga* and *kawa* are discussed at every *wānanga* and all whānau members are encouraged to ask questions about their *iwitanga*. The concern of the *kaumātua* of this *wānanga* was that valuable *whānau* information was not being passed down, and that some *whānau* members were strangers to each other. This *whānau wānanga* also provided a safe venue for some *rangatahi* to learn and practice the art of *whaikōrero*. In addition *whānau waiata, pepeha* and *ngeri* (rhythmic chant) were also taught. Attendance has been successful, taking into consideration the distance a large proportion of the *iwi* members live from Te Teko. Whānau members travelled Australia and throughout New Zealand, to take part in the *wānanga*. Overall, the *wānanga* provided many opportunities for the whānau of Ngakuru Raerino Patupo. *Whānau* that have never slept on their *marae* now may do so. *Whānau* members who have never been a part of the inner workings of the hub of *marae* can now join in with other *whānau* members. One

of the biggest benefits was the invaluable opportunity of meeting *whānau* on traditional *turangawaewae*.

Wānanga provide the platform for building on the foundation to an *iwi* identity. *Whānau wānanga* held on *hapū marae*, with the core *kaupapa* being to *whakawhānaungatanga* should be held as often as possible. The outcomes of becoming more familiar with *whanau* members, watching *iwitanga* in practice, learning *iwitanga* and spending time with *kaumātua* and *kuia* is an invaluable experience.

Coming to the end of this chapter and the end of this thesis, the original motto of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa best encapsulates the journey process of this thesis:

> *He manu hou ahau, he pī ka rere.*
> I am like a fledgling, a newborn bird just learning to fly

This whakatauki was the dying words of Ngāti Awa and Ngai Tūhoe chief Te Mautaranui. While for Te Mautaranui, his life's journey was coming to an end – for the researcher, the research group and the body of work within this thesis the journey has just begun. This study can be viewed as a baby step, a new born bird preparing to fly, against the potential to explore and expand on the many issues discussed here. A journey has been made through the many aspects of an urban *iwi* identity; however, it is just the beginning.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa is one of the key stakeholders and players in the future of the *iwi*. This responsibility is being taken seriously, with key initiatives being outlined on their website of future plans for development. The very recent development of a *marae* tool-kit aimed at improving and assisting with the operations of *hapū marae*, and the assistance given in the form of education grants and *wānanga* grants. The website of *Te Rūnanga* encourages *iwi* member's everywhere, to remember to return with their various skills to their *iwi*. And, that the *Rūnanga* is reliant on its members to obtain new skills, which in turn can be utilised for the well being of the *Rūnanga*. The *Rūnanga* website gives the following message to its member's: 'the *iwi* is always eager to hear from members

of the tribe who have particular skills they are willing to make available to the members of the tribe (www.ngatiawa.iwi.nz)'. Assisting the *Rūnanga* with future *iwi* projects not only supports the preservation of an *iwi* identity, it also creates new avenues for future generations of *iwi* members to follow and build on.

The last words of this thesis go to the research participant, who in one statement encapsulated theme of this thesis and study, when addressing the importance of being Ngāti Awa to them:

> '… you are born into a family and can't get rid of them, you can't say who your cousins are, who your family are, you are just born in to it. So it's important to me anyway, because its part of my identity and who I am. I like to be able to say, that I am actually part of Ngāti Awa and part of a particular history …' (NA009).

APPENDIX A – The Interview Sheet

INTERVIEW SHEET

CODE: NA000

1. What is your level of understanding *te reo* Maori? (basic/conversational/intermediate/fluent/native) How did you learn what you do know?

   Kai tewhea taumata tou mohiotanga ki Te Reo Maori? (Iti noa/ korerorero noaiho/ahua totika/taunga/tuturu) Pehea koe i akona ai ki nga mea e mohio nei koe?

2. How important is speaking and understanding *te reo* to you?

   Pehea te rangatira o te korero me te mohio ki te reo kia koe?

3. Are you involved in other Maori communities groups (i.e. *te reo* classes, kapa haka, kohanga reo committee)?

   Kai roto ano koe i etahi atu roopu hapori Maori (i.e. nga karaehe Maori, kapa haka, komiti Kohanga reo)?

4. You are registered member of Ngati Awa - Why do you idenitify as Ngati Awa?

   He mema rehita koe no Ngati Awa – Na te aha koe i huri ai kia Ngati Awa?

5. Are you actively involved in your urban Ngati Awa marae? (Why/Why not?)

   Kai roto ano koe i nga mahi o to marae o Ngati Awa ki te taone? (Na te aha ai? Na te aha i kore ai?)

6. How much do you know of your Ngati Awa *whakapapa*, traditions and history? And how did you learn what you do know?

   Pehea te rahi o tou mohiotanga ki to whakapapa, tikanga me to hitori mo Ngati Awa? Ina i pehea koe i akona ai ki nga mea e mohiotia ana e koe?

7. At present, do you wish to extend your knowledge of Ngati Awa *whakapapa*, traditions and history?

   I aianei, e hiahia ano koe ki te whakanui ake i tou mohiotanga ki nga whakapapa, tikanga me nga hitori o Ngati Awa?

8. How often do you return to your tribal home within the environs of Whakatane? And for what purpose?

   Ehia wa koe hokihoki ai ki te haukaainga ara ki te rohe o Whakatane? Otira mo te aha te take?

9. What is important about your Ngati Awa identity to you?

   He aha te mea nui o tou mana Ngati Awa ki a koe?

APPENDIX B – Glossary of Terms

Māori words and phrases

A
Awa   River

H
Hapū   Sub-tribe, section of large tribe, clan, secondary tribe.
Hui   Congregate, meet, assembly, group.

I
Io   God
Ira tāngata   Human life
Iwi   Tribe, nation, people
Iwitanga   Tribal culture, Tribal qualities, uniqueness, identity
Iwi rohe   Tribal area

K
Kaitiaki   Custodian, guardian, caretaker
Kanohi ki te kanohi   Face to face
Kapa Haka   Maori performance group
Karakia   Prayer
Kaumātua   Old man, elder
Kaupapa   Theme, strategy
Kaupapa Māori   Māori based research methodology
Kaupapa-a-Iwi   Iwi based research methodology
Kawa   Formal protocols, sanctioned by God
Koha   Donation, gift
Kōhanga Reo   Language nest, Māori pre-school
Kōrero   Speak, talk, news, narrative
Kuia   Woman elder
Kumara   Sweet potato
Kura Kaupapa   Māori immersion school

M
Mana   Integrity, charisma, prestige
Māoritanga   Māori culture
Marae   Local community and its meeting-places and buildings.
                         Enclosed space in front of a house, courtyard, village
                         common
Maunga   Mountain
Mauri   Life essence
Mokopuna   Grandchild
Muru   plunder, confiscate, cleanse, absolve from sin

N
Ngātiawatanga   Ngāti Awa culture, tribal qualities, uniqueness, identity
Ngeri   Rhythmic chant

P

Pākehā	Non-Māori, European, Caucasian
Pepeha	Motto, proverb

R

Rāpopototanga huanga rangahau	Research findings summary
Rangatira	Chief, noble
Rūnanga	Institute, council, assembly. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa (within the context of this thesis)

T

Taiao	Universe
Taonga	Gift, treasure
Tāngata whenua	People of the land
Tāngata hara	Rebel
Tangi/Tangihanga	Funeral, Mourning
Te ao Māori	The Māori world
Te ao Pākehā	The Pākehā world
Te hau kainga	Tribal territory
Te Puni Kokiri	Ministry of Māori Development
Te reo	Māori language
Tikanga	Protocols
Tohunga	Expert, specialist
Tuakana	Eldest child (member) of a family
Tūpuna/Tipuna	Ancestor, grandparent
Tūrangawaewae	Home, home ground
Tuturu	Traditional

W

Waka	Canoe, Boat
Waiata	Sing, chant, song
Wānanga	Learning seminar, series of discussions

Wh

Whakakoha	Reciprocity
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakatauki	Proverb, maxim
Whakatauki rongonui	Famous (well-known) proverb
Whakatikatika	Clarify
Whakawhānaungatanga	Process of finding inter-relationships (various meanings)
Whānau	Offspring, family group, extended family
Wharekai	Eating house
Wharenui	Meeting house
Whare wānanga	Formal learning institutions, University
Whenua	Ground, country, afterbirth, placenta

U

Utu	Return for anything, reward, price, reply.

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