## Te Wharenui o te Iwi



A Research Strategic Plan for the Retention and Advancement of Cultural Identity and Wellbeing

2007-2016

compiled by tūmana research for HARATAUNGA MARAE TRUST ngāti porou ki harataunga

#### Hei Mihi

Mai ngā tangata mai Harataunga Marae Trust, he mihi tuatahi ki a Parekura White i mate kore mõhio i tër ā tau. Ko Te Wharenui o te Iwi tõna whakaaro. He tangata whakaaro nui mahi kaha he rangatira hoki mõ t õ matou iwi. E Parekura, kua oti te mahi mo inaianei me tatari mo ngā mahi a ngā tau e heke mai. Moe mai r ā e te rangatira a Parekura, moe mai rā I roto I te aroha o Hine-nui-te-põ.

He mihi ki Te Kaunihera Rangahau Hau ora o Aotearoa me te Foundation for Research Science and Technology. Kia ora mēnā, kā ore koutou i āwhina mai i a mātou, kā ore tēnei mahi e taea te whakaoti, no reira, tēnā koutou katoa i āwhina mai.

Kei te mihi hoki, ki ngā tangata mō o koutou pukapuka kōrero i āwhina mai ia a matau, ko Māori Marsden, ko Hirini Moko Mead, ko Rangimarie Rose Tere, ko Seamus Fitzgerald me ngā tangata katoa. Kei te mihi, kei te mihi, kei te mihi ki a koutou katoa.

He mihi mahana ki ngā iwi, hapū mai Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga na te mea kua mahi he nui ngā mahi kua whakaauru ki te marae a Rakairoa ara mō ngā whakairo me te hanga i te marae ake.

Têne î pêpă ka pûpuri ngă take mô tetahî timatanga hou mô ngã hapû e toru, ngã urī a Te Whānau o Rakairoa, Te Āitanga-a-Mate, Te Aowera hoki, ki te pûpuri i te mana te mauri, te ihi, te wehî. Kia û ki tou kāwai tûpuna, kia mātauria ai, i ahu mai kọe i hea, e anga ana kọe kọ hea. Ngã mihi nui ki a koutou katoa.

Winiata Harrison

Chair Harataunga Marae Trust

W.R. Harrison

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## Tirohanga Whānui

Background

Use of the wharenui as an image and template for the conceptualisation of cultural vitality is not new for te iwi Māori<sup>1</sup>. In this case, the wharenui is located at Harataunga Marae in the Hauraki rohe.

To Wharenui o to Iwi is a strategic plan that sets out to identify research themes and priorities that will assist the assessment, retention and advancement of cultural identity and wellbeing among Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga.

Collectively, this iwi is made up of three Ngāti Porou hapū: Te Āitanga-ā-Mate, Te Aowera and Te Whānau-a-Rakairoa. Commonly called ngā hapū e toru, the descendants of these three hapū have been ahi kā in Harataunga ki Hauraki since the tuku whenua of Pāora te Putu on behalf of Tamaterā, Te Patukirikiri, Ngāti Whanaunga, Ngāti Huarere and Marutūāhu ... "He whenua tuturu tēnei mō o ur i ake tonu atu!" (pg 89, White, 2001).

#### Te Marae

Archaeological surveys have identified at least fifteen pā sites in Harataunga but none of these belonged to Ngāti Porou. We know of two wharenui that Ngāti Porou built, a wooden one by the Om oho Stream and another, made of nikau, on the Wairakau block. Both were uncarved and mostly used for whānau, rather than hapū, occasions. Another whare called Te Pai o Hauraki, had a tekoteko or carved figure head and is believed to have been built by Tamaterā in 1902 to honour Pāora te Putu and the tuku whenua to Te Rakahurum ai.

According to Parekura White (2001), who has thus far provided the most comprehensive whak apapa of ngā hapū e toru settlement in Harataunga, Te Rakahurum ai was the last arataki for Te Āitanga-a-Mate, Te Aowera and Te Whānau a Rakairoa. When Te Rakahurum ai passed away in 1852, the aratakitanga passed briefly to his brothers Makoare and Henare Nihoniho.

It wasn't until 1954, however, roughly a hundred years after the untimely death of Te Rakahurumai, that the collective identity of ngā hapū e toru was publicly upheld in a sweeping gesture of generosity. On the 4th of March 1954, Heni Ngaropi White gifted two acres of land, called Harataunga 2C1, to build a marae for the descendants of Te Āitanga-ā-Mate, Te Aowera

and Te Whānau a Rakairoa. In the words of Ngaropi herself, the purpose this marae is "manaaki te tangata, manaaki te manuhiri" (White 1954).

#### Te Whare

Building of the whare manaaki, often called the wharekai, did not commence until the late '70's but many recall the epic commitment of whānau and friends. Fundraising stretched across both islands from Harataunga to Thames, Auckland, Rotorua, Murupara, Tokoroa, Whakatane and as far south as Milton in the depths of Te Waipounamu. There are fond memories of money raised through social events and raffles, often crayfish, smoked moki and other local produce but also at one point, a very flash car. By all accounts, this was a jubilant time of team work and co-operation, which provides a powerful example of Nati leadership, determination and success. Although a plaque has never been raised, the marae and whare manaaki will always be a tribute to Ngaropi's vision of kōtahitanga for ngā hapū e toru.

Work on the wharenui, or meeting house, began in the mid-80s and was initially financed by the gruelling fundraising efforts of Ngāti Porou whānau, in-laws, allies and friends. George McL eod and Mac Te Moananui were among many who generously gave their time and skills although neither belonged to ngā hapū e toru, both say they were "lured here by their wives" (Carroll, 1990). The project itself had a lot of support from the wider community with a peninsula-wide door-to-door appeal bringing in the final \$15,000 needed to complete the building. Under the tutelage of master carver Pākāriki Harrison, his esteemed wife Hinem oa, reknown artist John Hovell and a team of tōhunga from around the motu, work on the carving, kōwhaiwhai and tukutuku began in the early '90s.

By all accounts, the building of this wharenui presented enorm ous challenges and required exceptional logistic and management skills. Huge totara trees, felled by Cyclone Bola, were hauled hundreds of miles from Te Tairāwhiti to Harataunga for carving. Thousands of hours went into the collection, cleaning, dyeing and preparation of kiekie for weaving (Harrison 1991). Trailor-loads of kakahoe rods for the tukutuku panels were traded with Otorohanga for kaim oana and produce of equal value to the inland iwi. Much of the weaving and carving was completed by our own rangatahi under Access, Restart and/or PEP training schemes. The vision, at the time, was rangatiratanga and self-sufficiency - the development of local skills,

expertise and capability. Through such schemes, many of the hau kāinga whānau were able to make a tangible contribution to the creation of this magnificent building.

The wharenui opened in 1996 with the following patere written by Pita Awatere and Koro Dewes:

> Tū ana koutou, te ao hou nei no koutou rā Ngā taonga a ngā tipuna hei hari mō tō ngākau: Ko te marae turangawaewae te mea tuatahi Te whakairo, te tukūtukū, te kowhaiwhai Te taniko, te rāranga whāriki, rāranga kete Ngā pueru, ngā korowai, ngā whakapapa Ngā whanaunga, powhir i tangata, ngā manuhir i Te tangi mate, tumau marae, tū i te marae Kõrero waka, kõrero tipuna, ngā whakatauki Ngā waiata, ngā patere, ngā apalara Te moteatea, te haka, te ngeri, te peruperu Te oha, te mihi, te ringaringa, te hongi a ihu Te mahi whanui, te tautoko, ngā mahi a iwi Kia rangatira te hinengaro, ngā whakaaro Ko ēnei rā ngā taonga a ngā tipuna Hei hari mā te ngākau hei tikitiki e!

Within this patere, the marae is upheld as a symbol and repository of knowledge and wisdom. This patere is telling the descendants of ngā hapū e toru to understand the meaning and intention of each carving, symbol, pattern and shape; to learn the songs, language, history; to uphold and honour the cultural pursuits and philosophies that have importance for our people. The wharenui, in particular, is a source of information about whakapapa, culture and identity. For ngā hapū e toru and te iwi Māori kātoa, the marae is the platform which shapes thinking, attitudes and behaviours. It is the foundation, fram ework, reference-fram e that feeds and informs worldviews and perceptions about responsibilities, roles and obligations in the modern world. Through understanding the wharenui and marae, te iwi Māori are able to carry ngā taonga tuku iho, the things that were valued by our ancestors, in our hearts and minds, as we move together towards the future .... i te kore, ki te pō, ki te ao mārama.

For ngā hapū e toru, the symbolism and intention behind Ngaropi's gift, the building of a wharenui and recital of this patere serves to highlight and remind us that

- the marae is the focal point of ngā hapū e toru mana and identity;
- the marae is a repository of knowledge about Māori values, attitudes and worldviews;

 the marae is our standing place, the platform for collective discussion, debate and decision-making about survival, wellbeing and vitality.

## Te Tangata

Historically, the identity of Ngāti Porou ki Haratuanga has been shaped by a wide range of political, socio-economic, cultural and environmental influences, many of which have impacted on Māori throughout Aotearoa. Since the tuku whenua in 1852, for example, there has been a gradual, sporadic, two-way migration of ngā hapū e toru members both to and from Hikurangi. In and around this, there have been varying degrees of involvement in inter-tribal warfare, christianity, conflicting Kingite and Pai Marire Hauhau loyalties, gold and kauri exploitation, world wars, depression and anomie<sup>2</sup>. Alongwith Māori everywhere, generations of ngā hapū e toru descendants have unwittingly succumbed to the colonising crusade that dismantled established support systems and introduced new ways of profiteering, including opportunistic land court proceedings amidst mounting demand for the alienation of Māori land through sale, partition, re-designation and sub-division. Across all whānau, the common experience of a not-so-distant past has been a struggle for survival, hunter-gatherer lifestyles, coastal-rural subsistence, geographic isolation and urban drift in pursuit of opportunity.

In recent years, the defining characteristic of ngā hapū e toru identity has been diversity. That is, the identity of ngā hapū e toru mem bers, alongwith contemporary Māori elsewhere, comprises wide-ranging views, attitudes and experiences that have been shaped by the diverse realities of struggles for survival in a predominantly english-speaking world of globalised western ideals. As aptly described in the literature, the impact of diversity for Māori, and ngā hapū e toru alike, is largely reflected in our attitudes towards te ao Māori (Durie 1998; Erueti 2000; Durie, Fitgerald et al. 2002; Durie 2003). On one hand, for example, ngā hapū e toru has whānau who are actively developing their Māori identity with the skills, ability and desire to engage in forums which involve te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori discussion and debate. On the other hand, there are whānau who predominantly engage in mainstream society, have little involvement with te ao Māori and do not wish to understand mātauranga Māori. A problem arises when these two factions meet to make decisions about intrinsically Māori kaupapa.

In recent years, the impact of diversity has been sorely felt by ngā hapū e toru members who are struggling to find their way through a complex maze of issues that will undoubtedly have a powerful influence on the culture and identity of future generations. At the moment, for example, there is controversy, division and dispute about a number of mātauranga Māori issues including:

- † whether whakapapa to Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga, specifically the forty-five tūpuna who were originally gifted this land, should be a pre-requisite or criteria for appointment of Harataunga marae trustees?;
- † whether marae trustees, as kaitiaki or caretakers of the marae asset-base, have a responsibility to care for things like te reo Māori, tikanga Māori, mana whenua, mana moana and mana tangata is Māoritanga an asset that marae trustees should value? does Māoritanga need active protection?;
- † if Harataunga was gifted to the descendants of ngā hapū e toru equally ... "He whenua tuturu tēnei mō o uri ake tonu atu" ... then what does this mean in terms of personal and collective land rights? do individuals have the right to sell the tuku for personal profit or gain? what would or could a collective land right look like? should decision-making and thinking about this issue be driven by law or lore?
- † do hau kainga ahi kā members, being those who physically live on the land, have different roles and responsibilities from those who are taura here and what might these roles be?
- † how is the education system preparing our tamariki-mokopuna to be kaitiaki? is this an important goal? how does the iwi demonstrate their support for the Kura Kaupapa?
- † should Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga as the recipients of a substantial tuku whenua in Hauraki co-operate, support and collaborate with Hauraki iwi to resolve important collective issues like the Hauraki treaty claim and Hauraki custom ary rights?
- † should Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga support the building of a Tamaterā marae in Harataunga given that Pāora-te-Putu, who gifted the land to Ngāti Porou in the first place, was a paramount chief of Tamaterā is this one way in which Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga can whakam ana and uphold the tuku whenua?
- † what are the values that underpin the marae charter and governance structure for Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga and how are these values reflected in ngā hapū e toru decisionmaking, representation and behaviour?

From basic psychology we realise the diversity which currently exists within ngā hapū e toru members may well be transmitted to future generations through parental childrearing, socialisation and acculturation behaviours that are essential in the formation of worldviews, values and identity. There is an urgent need, therefore, for ngā hapū e toru to develop strategies and mechanisms that have the capacity to foster, promote and encourage mutual understanding.

consensus and compromise about matauranga Māori issues that will inevitably determine the culture, identity and collective wellbeing of our tamariki, mokopuna and future generations.

## Ngā Whainga o Te Wharenui o te lwi

To Wharenut o to Iwi is a strategy for the advancement of cultural identity and wellbeing among Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga. This strategy is built upon the belief that an understanding of the wharenui will help the descendants of ngā hapū e toru to overcome diversity and resolve internal conflicts about worldviews, leadership and identity. To Wharenui o to Iwi has a number of inter-related aims:

- to raise the profile of cultural wellbeing as an achievable strategic goal for Ngāti
  Porou ki Harataunga;
- to explore the concepts, values and symbolism of wharemui for te iwi Māori;
- to identify resources, pathways and toolkits that may help ngā hapū e toru members to learn about their own whatenui, Rakairoa, at Harataunga Marae;
- to develop a model which uses the wharenui as a template for measuring and monitoring the cultural identity and wellbeing of Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga;
- to identify research objectives and priorities that will assist the retention and advancement of Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga cultural identity and wellbeing over the next five to ten years, 2007-2016;

Over time, it is envisaged To Wharenui o to Iwi will foster positive cultural, social and health outcomes for ngā hapū e toru descendants including the capacity for expression of kaitiakitanga, mana atua, mana tangata and mana whenua. Such advances will also strengthen the platform for ngā hapū e toru contributions to mātauranga Māori debate and relationships with other whānau, hapū, iwi particularly those in Te Tairāwhiti and Hauraki rohe. Is Wharenui o to Iwi aims to be a dynamic, continually evolving strategy which produces meaningful and useful information that informs the growth, development and vitality of Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga cultural identity and wellbeing.

## Te Whakapapa

Cosmology, Pantheon & Essential Energies

Three major symbols generally form the basis for discussions about Māori tribal status. The first is the waka taua, or war canoe, which was firmly associated with tribal strength and success in the eighteenth century. The second is the pātaka, or food storehouse, which indicated an abundance of provisions and capacity to not only feed the tribe itself but also feed others, during difficult or exceptional times. The third, more contemporary, symbol of tribal status, is the meeting house, especially a carved meeting house.

Māori use a number of names when talking about their meeting house including to wharenut to whare whakairo, to whare tupuna, to whare rūnanga, to whare wānanga depending on the situation and context of discussions. By all accounts, however, the origin of to wharenui was celestial, that is - its structure, shape and architecture was given to humanity by to atua for a specific purpose and reason. Various scholars have explored this topic in depth<sup>4</sup>, and each iwi has their own version and sequence of events, but anyone seeking to understand the significance and meaning of their own wharenui must have some insight, at least, of key concepts:

- i te Kore, ki te Pō, ki te Ao Mārama
- Te Ira Ātua
- Te Wehenga
- Ngā Rangi-tūhāhā
- Waiora

## I te Kore, ki te Pō, ki te Ao Mārama ...

Within Māori cosmology, Io Matua is the almighty creator, the source of existence and being, the grand weaver who sews the universe together in a magnificant fabric of connectedness.

Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck, Māori Marsden and other esteemed scholars, have shown that Io beliefs were evident, in at least seven tribal regions, long before the arrival of Pākehā and their Christian religions.

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Io is known by at least twenty-seven different names, each of which denotes a particular attribute, power or state of being ... Io-the-parentless, Io-the-self-born, Io-the-origin-of-all-things ... from Io came the first conception, the first thought, the first flicker of consciousness, the first spiritual entity ... Io is the source of mana, tapu, mauri, mind ...

Each tribe has their own purakau, but the unfolding of our universe and creation of the world is generally described in three main phases, each phase comprising a series of stages, each stage representing an eternity, an endless era or epoch of time:

- Te Korekore begins with aeons of nothingness, a boundless void of emptiness, before consciousness, before recognition, before creation and being, a stage of intangible, unrecognisable, unseen shape or form. Ngā Kore tau is the womb from which all things proceed, a pre-conceptual phase of potential being, the period before fertilisation or conception occurs;
- main aeons, significantly denoting the long and lengthy nights of labour during which a mother's body prepares to give birth ... within the void of nothingness there was incremental progression towards consciousness, awakening and arousal ... within Te Pō there is a vast ocean of unthinkable, limitless depth, an abyss of water creating the fertile conditions for conception, gestation, gradual differentiation and establishment of shape and form ... Te Pō contains the painstakingly slow struggle for recognition ... the period of transition from potential to being .. Te Pō is the birth canal and passageway that every child must travel in their journey towards enlightenment, revelation and being:
- Te Ao Mārama marks the end of night, it is
  the world of light, an era of tangible shape and form, a
  sym bol of emergence, existence, achievement and success...
  Te Ao Mārama contains the conditions for fertility, growth
  and survival, it offers the opportunities for human advancement, fulfilment and
  wellbeing.

#### Te Ira Atua

Masculine and female elements were established within Te Pō. Te Ira Tane, called Rangi, recognised Te Ira Wahine, called Papa, and together they traversed a fertile eternity. Within the dark embrace of Rangi and Papa, 70 sons were born. Each atua-offspring had special qualities and attributes that would eventually influence existence in Te Ao Mārama. The most wellknown sons are Tane, Tangaroa, Rongo-mā-tane, Tū-matauenga, Haumia-tike-tike, Tāwhiri-mātea, Aitua, Whiro and the pōtiki, Ruaumoko. Form any, these divine beings have dominion over the natural world and human behaviour. Tane, for example, is known as the god of forests, knowledge and creation; Tangaroa Whaka-mauitai is lord of the ocean and everything in it; T āwhiri-mā-tea is god of the weather and winds; Haumia-tiketike governs staple food, subsistence and sustainability; Rongo-mā-tane is custodian of kumara, cultivated foods and the art of peace; Tū-matauenga is held in the utmost awe with dominion over war and strife; Aitua depicts the destructive nature of humanity and is the god of misfortune and calamity. Whire is the fear some lizard-god of evil, death and darkness and Ruaum oko is inimical to hum anity. sending earthquakes and volcanic disturbances. Most iwi have their own purākau which show that atua have a variety of roles and responsibilities. Tāne, for example, has at least 41 names, qualities and attributes.

Te Wehenga

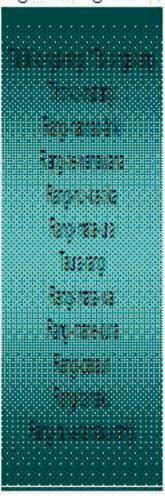


Te Wehenga by Cliff Whiting of Te Whānau-a-Apanui

They remained unmoving and pressed for space within the dark embrace of their parents for longer than eternity but the sons of Rangi and Papa began to yearn liberty and light. Many attempted to end the darkness by separating their parents but to no avail. There was fighting, there were explosions of energy and there was rage as each attempt failed. For some iwi it is Tawhaki, for others it is Urutengangana but for Ngāti Porou, the peaceful son Tāne took up a sacred axe, felled the mighty totara called Pou-tū-te-rangi then readied himself with prayer.

Rangi released a scream of anguish as he was wrenched away from Papa and Pou-tū-te-rangi lifted him upwards. Despite fervent protests, Rangi-nui was torn away from Papa-tū-ā-nuku and her naked body, the mother earth, lay bare and exposed, for the atua to build a kingdom upon.

## Ngā Rangi-tuhāhā



Each iwi describes the formation of ngā rangi-tuhāhā in their own way, but, in general, this is a hierarchy of deeply sacred realms, overworlds or spiritual planes that some say were created from the very breath of Io. Ngā rangi-tuhāhā have a multitude of kaupapa, it is, for example:

- the spiritual chasm that serves to maintain the hard-won separation of Rangi and Papa;
- the dwelling place of te wairua and te ira atua;
- a hierarchical structure of twelve increasingly complex wănanga;
- an archetype for overcoming adversity, perseverance and the pursuit of wisdom among humanity.

Once te ira tangata had been established in te ao Mārama, the spiritual deities set about ensuring the conditions for survival. Tāne-tokorangi was selected, under the direction of Io-uru-tapu, to obtain the knowledge that hum anity required. Such knowledge was located in the highest realm, the pinnacle of the heavens, the dwelling place of Io-matua himself.

Against enormous adversity, including the intense wrath of his brother Whiro, Tāne ascended the realms, by way of the whirlwind path, and obtained three baskets of knowledge alongwith two sacred mauri called Huka-tai and Rehu-tai. Tai-haere and Hirini Maika made sure the tāmariki of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori in Harataunga could recite the chant which describes this epic journey. Within this journey, there are important lessons for humanity.

For example, this chant identifies three types of knowledge. Te Kete

Tēnel au tēnel au
Ko te nokal o taku tapuwae
Ko te hokal nuku ko te hokal rangl
Ko te hokal a to tipuna a Tane-nul-a-rangl
i pikitla al ki te Rangi-tuhāhā
ki te Tino-o-manono
e rokohina atu rā
Ko lo Matua-Kore anake
i riro ino al

Ko te kete tuauri! Ko te kete tuatea! Ko te kete aronu!!

Ka tirbira ka poupoua ka Papatilanuku Kia puta te ira tangata Ki te whalao ki te ao marama Tinei Mauri Ora! Aromai is said to contain knowledge about the natural, material world. Such knowledge is generally available for everyone to see and can be perceived by normal human senses. However, the other kete contain knowledge about whakapapa, psychic and spiritual energy, creation of the world and the dwelling place of Io-matua. Māori Marsden says "Nā, koia tēnā te mate o te whāngai i ngā mātauranga tapu ki ngā tūtūā, ka tūkinotia i a rātou" ... such knowledge is sacred and must be protected, it has the power to wrest the universe apart. In Māori terminology, this body of esoteric knowledge is called kauwae runga, it is a higher level of knowledge that is very distinct from the vernacular, ordinary, common knowledge of Te Aromai. Kauwae runga is the sacred lore of Māori, it should only be accessed by those with the right training, skills and ability.

In Tikitiki-o-ngā-rangi, Tāne also found the abode of Io-matua, a whare called Matangi-reia and another whare, called Rangi-ātea, which contained the three baskets of knowledge. During his descent, he noticed each spiritual plane had its own whare wānanga, patterned after Matangi-reia, and its own repository of knowledge. In Rangi-tamuku, the second realm, Tāne stopped to study the design of a whare called Whare-kura. Upon his return to Te Ao Mārama, Tāne built a second Whare-kura and thus provided a template for the building of wharenui in the physical realm. Within this whare, he placed the three baskets of knowledge and two sacred mauri. These mauri serve to protect, monitor and safe-guard the integrity of events within the whare. Other purākau describe how Rua-te-pupuke, returned from the depths of Tangaroa, with the rem nants of a carved meeting house that taught Māori the art of woodcarving or whakairo<sup>5</sup>.

For Māori, however, the pattern, structural design and architecture of whare wānanga, whare r ūnanga, wharenui is forever based upon Whare-kura. Every whare has its own mauri, each part of the whare has particular significance, every piece of information that unfolds within the whare is already contained within ngā kete e toru. The purpose of human communication, interaction and dialogue within the whare is to find the wisdom that is contained within each body of knowledge.

> Ka mārama te whakaaro ... ka mārama te kōrero ... ka mārama te wānanga ... ka puta he māramatanga

#### Wajora

The concept of wellbeing, for Māori, is clearly tied to principles that were established during

the construction of our universe. Such principles form the foundation for building whare war ananga, where runanga, where tupuna and where nui.

A wide range of authors have contributed to the debate on Maori wellbeing. In general, the concept has been linked to personal and collective capacity for matauranga Maori worldviews. rangatiratanga, balance between physical and spiritual realm's and protection of cultural identity. Ngā Pou Mana, for example, showed that Māori wellbeing is associated with experience of whanaungatanga, ngā taonga tuku iho, te ao tūroa and tūrangawaewae or ancestral land<sup>5</sup>. In a similar manner, Te Whare Tapa Whā has said that Māori wellbeing is like a house which needs four walls to stand, namely: taha wairua, taha hinengaro, taha tinana and taha whānau. Bob Elliot and Te Roopū Āwhina o Tokānui have shown that Māori wellbeing is also influenced by experiences of te ao Mãori, te ao Pākehā, taha tangata, taha whenua and taha tikanga10. Rose Pere has likened the concept of Māori wellbeing to a river of essential, lifegiving forces which ebb and flow and transform and intermingle with each new day11. The term waiora is used to describe the dynamic, fluid, inter-relatedness of components that make up the experience of Māori wellbeing, this is symbolised by Te Wheke, the octopus. Te Wheke confirms the importance of Whare Tapa Whā experiences but also highlights the need for mana, mauri, ngā taonga tuku iho and whatumanawa. Waiora, or complete wellbeing, is said to be found when each tentacle, or dimension of wellbeing, receives adequate and appropriate sustenance.

Hōmai te Waiora ki Ahau aims to consolidate, or draw together, and expand the information that is contained within the models provided by Ngā Pou Mana, Te Whare Tapa Whā, Te Wheke and Te Rōpū Āwhina o Tokānui. It is a twelve-item tool and framework for the conceptualisation and measurement of Māori wellbeing 12. A range of techniques have been used to generate debate and consensus about the meaning, symbolism and behavioural implications of waiora for te iwi Māori. Roughly two thousand Māori, across Aotearoa, have taken part in the validation of concepts described within this tool including ngā hapū e toru members and whānau, at Harataunga Marae and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Harataunga 13. Hōmai te Waiora ki Ahau, therefore, is particularly relevant as a starting point for thinking about the meaning of waiora within ngā hapū e toru.

Whare Tapa Whā	Te Wheke	Te Röpü Äwhina o Tokanui	Ngā Pou Mana	Hōmai te Waiora k Ahau
taha whānau taha wairua taha ninengaro taha tinana	whana ungatanga wairu ata nga hin engaro tinana mana ake/mana mau ri hā / taonga tuku iho wha tu ma nawa	taha whāna u taha wairua taha hinengaro taha thana taha whenua taha tikanga taha Māoritanga taha Pākehā tanga taha tangata	whanaungatanga talonga tuku lho te ao tūroa turangawalewale	te ao tawhito te ao hou te aronul te walrua te mauri te hinengaro te tinana te whanau te whenua te mana te whatumanawa te tikanga

Key components in Māori wellbeing

Within each of the twelve components, there is information that has relevance for discussions about the meaning, purpose and intention of te wharenui.

#### Te Ao Tawhito

Te Ao Tawhito provides the foundation for understanding mātauranga Māori. It contains the cosmology, pantheon and philosophical framework that explains our purpose and reason for being. Within Te Ao Tawhito we discover that whakapapa is an analytical tool for gathering knowledge about our origins, connections and relationships. We discover the universe is pure energy and ongoing process comprising layer-upon-layer of complex phenomena at varying stages of growth and establishment. Te Ao Tawhito contains conceptual paradigms, symbolic reminders and cultural imperatives for separating domains and distinguishing levels of knowledge, vitality, consciousness and truth. Te Ao Tawhito contains the information that is needed to understand human potential and capacity.

#### TE AD HOW

The boundaries of Te Ao Hou can be contrasted against those of Te Ao Tawhito. One realm is built upon ancestral wisdom and lessons learnt from the past whereas the other encaptulates the future, it contains our hopes and dreams and aspirations, our vision of the world we are striving towards. Te Ao Hou is implicitly radiant and underpinned by opportunities for advancement, transformation and the realisation of potential. Te Ao Hou is firmly grounded upon continuity, that there is integration between time past, time present and time to come. Within Te Ao Hou high importance is placed on Māori capacity to participate in society as Māori, not only within Aotearoa but also internationally. Māori must have the skills to manage

adversity and advance confidently as citizens of the world. Māori do not want to assimilate or become indistinguishable from non-Māori. Protection of the Māori asset base is an important feature of Te Ao Hou including cultural and intellectual capital, collective energies and the Māori estate. Manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, tohungatanga, ukaipō and kotahitanga are also key them es for Māori in Te Ao Hou.

#### TE Aronui

Te Aronui is the world around us, it is neither the past nor the future but the present world in which hum an beings reside. Within Te Aronui there are multiple layers of phenomena at varying stages of establishment. There is interaction between physical, psychic and spiritual realms, interwoven within individual and collective experience. A primary objective for Māori within Te Aronui is the identification of our goals and aspirations that will lead towards the realisation of potential in Te Ao Hou. Within Te Aronui, Māori are striving to create pathways towards advancement and prosperity, Māori wish to bequeath a world in which our mokopuna can stand tall as Māori. Resilience, determination, ingenuity and ability to overcome obstacles or challenges are key themes for Māori in Te Aronui.

#### Te Wairua

There is a spiritual realm, a spiritual process which underlies the physical, material world. There is a higher realm that is beyond the grasp of normal human experience. There are spiritual boundaries, imperceptible passages and spiritual spheres of existence. Te ira atua created human beings, each body part has its own whakapapa, each individual their own spiritual journey. Each spiritual entity is endowed with additional qualities, such as temauri, tapu, wehi, mana and ihi. Wairuatanga is purpose driven, it aims to optimise opportunities, it involves balance and equity. Relationships have to be proper and correct. Te Aronui is a place of temporary dwelling, humanity cannot avoid death. Those who carry the mana of atua are our guardians, kaitiaki, amorangi.

#### Te Mauri

Te mauri is the very breath of life, a unique life-force, a primal animating energy, it aligns with essential energies, thrives on collective emotion and has cumulative capacities. Mauri is shaped by mātauranga Māori, it requires participation over time and is transferred into relationships

and activities. Mauri is a benchmark and yardstick for monitoring the quality of interactions and relationships, it builds on strengths and synergies, fosters unity and inter-connectedness. Mauritanga is a discipline, skill and knowledge-base that requires the conscious application of lore. Mauri is powerful and potentially harmful if not handled with due care.

## Te Hinengaro

Te hinengaro refers to the human mind and its capacity for communication, understanding, foresight, wisdom and intelligence. Te hinengaro is part of the inner being, the central processing unit that drives survival and existence in Te Aronui. It involves the simultaneous integration of information from a range of senses and sources. The implantation of te hinengaro precedes consciousness but is an active state that is characterised by progressive movement and desire for understanding. Within korero purakau, we learn that knowledge, wisdom and intelligence cannot be obtained by simple or straightforward means - effort and ingenuity is required - the pursuit of wisdom is a life-long, collective and inter-generational challenge. Te hinengaro is sustained by Māori-specific bodies of knowledge and active participation in dialogue and debate about Māori cultural positions. Mātauranga Māori is the key objective of te hinengaro, this is a unique and independent worldview, the by-product of Māori explanations about their own aspirations and experience. There are protocols for the development, use and interpretation of knowledge.

#### Te Tinana

Te tinana is the tangible realm of physical existence and being. It includes the hum an body, other living beings and various spiritually imbued structures like te whenua, waka or wharenui. Papatūānuku is the source of te tinana, the foundation for physical existence and being, the allencompassing body which shelters and sustains. The health of te tinana is inextricably tied to the health of te whenua. Te tinana is tapu, it has spiritual origins and houses the inner being, te tinana must be mutured and protected against harm. Te tinana is a vehicle for the expression of mana and the integration of other essential energies — m ana wāhine, m ana tāne, mana tangata. Mana is expressed in the way te tinana copes with life's stages and challenges — we are wahine hapū, we are whaea and matua, we are unified within the whare tupuna. Te tinana is a vehicle for the transmission of whakapapa and ngā taonga tuku iho from one generation to another. Kaitiakitanga is a collective responsibility.

#### Te Whaanau

Māori can and do belong to multiple whānau which can be whakapapa or kaupapa based. A wh ānau that is connected through whakapapa will share physical traits and have a shared history of eponymous ancestors, strategic alliances and the occupation of lands. This whānau is the basic building block of hapū and iwi. The concept of whānau is intrinsically linked to the process of birth, creation and renewal. The functional whānau is fertile, dynamic and proactive, it is constantly engaged in regeneration, continually creating benevolent conditions for growth and development. Te whānau is the driver for advancement and development, each member has particular roles and responsibilities. Each whānau has inherent obligations to ensure survival, develop capacity, restore or uphold collective mana and mauri. The concept of whānau is underpinned by mātauranga Māori values and worldviews which serve to shape identity and ensure the ability to participate in te ao Māori. Whanaungatanga, tatau tatau, rangatiratanga and manaakitanga are key themes for Māori in Te Aronui.

#### TE Whenua

Papatūānuku is the all encompassing womb of creation, she is the mother of humanity, te whenua is our tipuna, we share a whakapapa of physical and spiritual origins. Māori are tangata whenua, people of the land, we love the land as a mother is loved. Te whenua provides nourishment, shelter and protection, she nutures the conditions for growth and survival, she is the placenta that feeds an unborn child and the womb that sustains humanity. There is an inherent connection between te whenua and women. Te whenua is the basis for Māori identity as whānau, hapū, iwi. Each whānau has its own history of occupation, experience and alliance. The status and mana of whānau, hapū, iwi is defined by the way in which they experience and honour their relationships with te whenua. Within te whenua, there are underlying principles of co-operation, unity, guardianship and global responsibility.

#### TE Mana

Io-Matua-Kore is the source of mana, it is a spiritual power. Tapu and mana are closely linked, some say tapu is protection of the potential for power whereas mana is the power itself. Mana is what you are, who you are and what other people think you are but it must be activitated, authorised, legitimised. Te ira tangata is an agent or channel for the legitimate expression of

mana. There are rituals and cerem onies for the delegation, transmission and protection of mana. Mana can be acquired in life through personal endeavour and outstanding achievement. Those with mana have particular obligations and responsibilities. Their main function is manaakitanga, to uphold the mana of their people, to ensure survival in te ao mārama, to guard and ensure the transmission of cultural capital. Mana is derived from the way in which we promote and uphold the mana of others, manaakitanga is about protecting the quality and integrity of relationships. Mana is a collective attribute, it is carried collectively by whānau, hapū and iwi, individual actions have an impact and influence on the collective experience. Mana has many different forms — mana tangata, mana whenua, mana atua, mana wāhine. E ach form comes with its own system of signs and symbols for transmitting information about mana.

#### Te Whatumanawa

Whatumanawa is often described as the source of emotions, it is a part of the irmer being and interacts with other essential energies particularly mana, mauri, ihi, wehi and tapu. For some, the term whatum anawa is more aptly described as ancestral memory, it is the place where ancestral stories are stored, it is a mechanism for the transmission of experiences from one generation to another. The way we experience and express our emotions are symbols of knowledge and mana. When interpreted literally, the term whatum anawa suggests the heart is the seat of emotions and our expression of emotions is a window through which mana can be seen. Whatumanawa has a variety of states and can be expressed in individual or collective ways using formal or informal conventions that have been designed for this purpose, eg haka, mōteatea, pātere, pitch, tone and rhythm. However, our emotional life needs sustenance, it must be nutured, coached and analysed within the right context and conditions. Each emotion has an energy that has an impact on other energies. The experience and expression of emotion has collective effects and implications. Te whatumanawa is carried collectively, by whānau, hapū, iwi.

## Te Tikanga

Each tribal area has their protocols and their own reasons for doing it that way. There words tikanga and kawa are generally used to describe tribal customs, protocols, traditions and rules of conduct. There is a belief that kawa is derived from Io-matua directly and cannot ever

change but tikanga is the process of applying what is right, proper and justified within a given context. Tikanga is the outcome of decision-making about what is tika, or right, for the occasion. Such decisions are made by whānau, hapū, iwi themselves. In this way, a whānau-specific blueprint for personal and collective behaviour is created. Tikanga contains mechanisms for organisation, social control, maintaining and restoring balance, it aims to safeguard and protect, to foster identity and wellbeing.

Tikanga is the manifestation of collective wisdom, attitudes, values and worldviews about m ātauranga Māori issues and positions. Tikanga, kawa and the ceremonies of marae are derived from Māori-specific repositories of knowledge, such as the messages contained within Te Ao Tawhito, Te Ao Hou and Te Aronui and the conceptual paradigms within te mauri, te wairua, te hinengaro, te tinana, te whānau, te whenua, te mana and te whatumanawa. The mana of customs and traditions is empowered when whānau have ownership and understanding of the rationale for tikanga from a mātauranga Māori perspective. The "why" to each protocol and practice must make sense and be understood alongwith the "how". Fitzgerald (2002) explains, for example, that an understanding of Io and the atua ancestors might help Māori to understand the divine within themselves.

The symbolism, structure and architecture of a wharenui provides a manuscript and template for exploring the meaning of tikanga for tangata whenua. Māori-specific bodies of knowledge within the context of tribal history, whakapapa and experience helps to explain the deeper meaning, intention and origins of symbols within wharenui and its manifestation within tikanga. The wharenui, therefore, is a vital starting point and foundation for understanding the history and experiences. Every carving, tukutuku, kowhaiwhai, haka, moteatea, karakia, pepeh ā, whakatauaki, waiata, whaikōrero provides information that has relevance for tangata whenua.

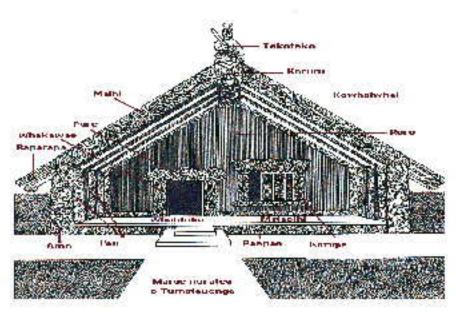
## Türanga, Tohu me te Ahuatanga

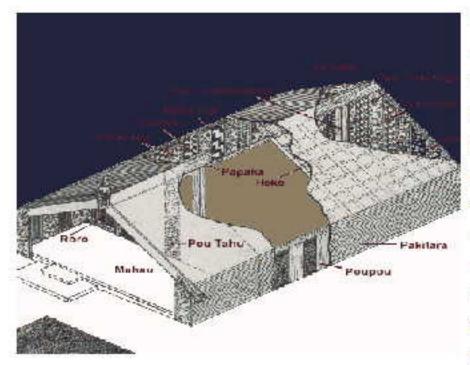
Structure & Symbolism

For most iwi, the wharenui or whare tupuna, represents the body of an eponymous ancestor.

The whare itself personifies the tinana, or body, the tekoteko and koruru represent the head, the

maihi or front bargeboards
symbolise the outstretched arms
of hospitality, as a gesture to
welcome guests<sup>13</sup>. The carved
raparapa, at the end of each
maihi, are stylised hands and the
amo are the symbolic legs. The
roro, or porch area, symbolises
the brain while the kuwaha, or
door, is the mouth. The matapihi,
or window, is the eye of this
eponymous ancestor.





The tahuhu, or backbone, extends the length of the whare. Toto, or the blood of this ancestor, symbolically runs down the tahuhu and out through the heke, rafters or ribs, to nourish, sustain and connect the carved poupou which line the walls of the whare. Each pou depicts an important descendant or bloodline for tangata whenua.

The poutokomanawa, or central pillars, represent the heart or mana of the tribe but the inside of a whare is generally concerned with birth, creation and the welfare of humanity. Hence

when people enter the whare, it is said they are protected within the kopū (womb), ahuru m owai (safe haven) or poho (bosom) of their ancestor, symbolically this suggests a return to roots and the source of being.

In some areas the whatenui is symbolised by an upturned waka taua <sup>17</sup>. Traditionally, the waka taua was a vehicle for death and revenge but nowadays it is more likely to portray the journey of life, from birth to death. The waka taua represents the collective histories, stories, whakapapa and mythology of the people. The taumanu, or crossbeams where paddlers sit, link the keel to the paddler in the same way that the tahuhu within a whatenui links ancestral pou to the heke or rafters<sup>18</sup>. In some areas, the whatenui may also be named after a significant event or incident rather than a specific ancestor.

The conceptualisation of wharenui as the body of an important ancestor or waka taua is designed to bring the descendants together, as a single, united organism sharing a common life and heritage<sup>19</sup>. Irrespective of which symbol is used, there is another, more complex layer of meaning associated with the structure of wharenui, whare tupuna, whare wānanga, whare whakairo or whare rūnanga.

The wharenui itself is a metaphor for the re-telling of te wehenga. The floor of the whare, which was once bare earth, represents Papa-tūā-nuku, and the covering roof is Rang-e-tū-nei. The surrounding poupou are ātua in the act of separating their parents to bring light into the world.

#### Tahuhu

In general, the tahuhu symbolises our journey through life, from birth to death .... through the various states of existence symbolised by the many stages of Te Kore, te Pō, Te Ao Māram a. The particular expedition usually depicted on the tahuhu is called the ara whaiti a Tāne-nui-arangi thus likening the meaning of life to the epic journey of Tāne to obtain the knowledge that humanity needed for survival. The tahuhu is associated with learning and the pursuit of knowledge but it also sits at the highest point in the whare and is, therefore, above all other k orero. The tahuhu symbolises the origin, summit and very commencement of knowledge, it is the sacred symbol of Io-te-wānanga.

#### Heke



The heke extend from the tahuhu down to the poupou which line the walls and personify important anscestors for tangata whenua. Within the esoteric view, each heke is an ihomatua, or umbilical cord that leads from Io-matua down through the poupou and out to the descendants, bones or iwi of tangata whenua. When tangata whenua sleep in the wharenui the whakapapa is complete, the ihomatua runs in one continuous line from Io straight down to the living descendant laying at his feet. For this reason, the heke are usually covered with kowhaiwhai patterns that symbolise whakapapa such as the manawa design from Te Tairāwhiti.

## Poupou

Poupou are usually painted or carved with images of prominent ancestors but they do not merely represent these tūpuna. Each pou carries the mauri or life-force of the tupuna they represent and, in this way, they serve as vehicles for the ancestral spirits to play an active role in tribal affairs. They confer a positive influence and are concerned with the protection of tribal welfare, identity and relationships.

## Papaka

As prominent ancestors, the poupou are all connected by the papaka, or crab, a carving which runs around the base of the whare. This inconspicuous carving is at ground level in between every one of the poupou and in most instances goes up over the door completely encircling the inner walls<sup>21</sup>. The joining of poupou, or ancestral lines, in this way is designed to highlight the importance of whanaungatanga, kotahitanga and unity among the descendants represented in the whare.

## Pou-toko-manawa

Also known as pou-matua or pou-tāne, the pou-tokomanawa is the centre pole in the wharenui. In some regions, pou-tokomanawa is a carved figure of the eponymous ancestor after whom the house is named. In most regions, however, the pou-tokomanawa are main descendants or close relatives of this ancestor. Porou-rangi in Tai Rāwhiti has two pou-tokomanawa.

Pou-tokomanawa carry a number of important messages for tangata whenua. In general, it

symbolises the heart or manawa of the ancestor and tribe. When the lower end is a carved human figure, this ancestor is symbolically supporting, or carrying, the tribe on his head. The pou-tokom anawa, therefore, is the post that holds up the heart

From an esoteric point-of-view, the pou-tokomanawa is a direct connection between Rangi, represented by the tahuhu, and Papatūānuku, represented by te whenua and the floor of the whare. Although the two are physically separated, their hearts are forever entwined. As one of the main foundations of the whare, the pou-tokomanawa represents the ure, or male element Rangi, which penetrates the floor of the whare in a symbolic union with Papatūānuku, te whenua, the female element and mother earth. In this way, the floor of the whare is associated with the whenua, or placenta, which nourishes an unborn child, in this case the tangata whenua, within the womb. The pou-tokomanawa serves to remind Māori of their origin and source of being, it is a symbol of procreative power, fertility and birth.

## Pou-tahuhu/Pou-mārama

The pou-tahuhu, also called the pou-tahu or pou-mārama, is positioned on the front wall of the whare, to the right of the kuwaha, or door, as you enter. It symbolises life and is sometimes named after Tāne-te-Waiora, Tāne-the-giver-of-life often representing his initial thrust upwards thrust, as he forced his parents apart. In some instances, the pou-tahuhu is explained within the context of knowledge brought to earth by Tāne. Either way, the pou-tahuhu represents a pathway to the gods. Sometimes there are three or four ātua carved on the pou with the oldest at the top and youngest at the bottom. The pou-tahuhu is a reminder that knowledge is passed down and the journey of life, for humanity, therefore, is an upward climb towards enlightenment.

## Pou-tuarongo

When thinking about the building of a whare, it is obvious the pou-tahuhu and pou-tuarongo are first set in place, then the tahuhu is laboriously placed on top of both. For all intents and purposes, the pou-tuarongo is the exact opposite, the anti-thesis of the pou-tahuhu. One sits on the front wall of the whare, the other sits on the back wall. One is located at the beginning of the tahuhu, the other is located at the end. One is a symbol of life and personifies Tāne-te-Waiora, the giver of life. The other is a symbol of death and personifies Hine-nui-te-pō, the

guardian of Rarohenga.



The pou-tuarongo represents the end of life's journey, the threshold between life and death. The back wall itself is the whar angi rau angiangi, the thin, fragile barrier that exists between life and death, the ārai, or veil, that ultimately, we will all pass through. For this reason, poutama and kakao tukutuku patterns are often placed around the pou-tuarongo, to symbolise the final stairway our loved ones climb before departing for the spirit world.

In times gone by, before electricity arrived, the symbolism of the pou-tuaronga was endorsed by a subtle changes in light as a metaphor of the transition through Te Kore, Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama. Wharenui had only one matapihi, located next to the kuwaha at the front of the house, and this was the only source of light. As people moved through the whare it would become progressively darker, aptly symbolising the passage of life, from one stage to another, from birth (and light) to death (and darkness) and the awesome power of night.

Buried beneath the pou-tuarongo there may be a mauri, or whatu, of immeasurable value, which serves to protect the mana and mauri of not only tangata whenua themselves but also rukatai and rehutai, the two sacred seeing stones and emblems of the knowledge that Tāne retrieved from Rangi-ātea.

## Epa

The pou-tahuhu and pou-tuarongo often have epa, also called apa, around them, usually there are three on either side. These angled carvings depict kaitiaki and represent the guardians of a tribe. Epa may personify particular atua or wairua but they are known to have a special, subservient relationship with Io.

## Maihi

Maihi are one of the indicators of a chiefly house. Although usually depicted as the outstretched arms of hospitality, the maihi also symbolise the link between Io and humanity. The two maihi join together above the paepae, at the apex of the building, and are connected to the tahuhu. In this way, they are directly associated with the spiritual realm and the symbolic transmission of knowledge from Io-matua,

through ngā kete e toru to hum anity. E veryone who walks beneath their embrace is symbolically linked with the quest for knowledge from Io-matua. Maihi are often carved with double takarangi spirals to illustrate not only the turbulence of Te Wehenga but also the distinction between different levels of knowledge.

#### Amo

Amo, or ama, are usually depicted as the legs of the ancestor after whom the whare is named but they can also represent main descendant lines. From their position, at the front sides of the whare, they have a guardianship role, monitoring who crosses the paepae. The functional purpose of the amo is to support the maihi and thus, the transmission of knowledge to humanity.

## Matapihi

Mataphi is the eye, or window, of the house but it is also called mataaho, puta-auahi or pihanga. Within the context of te wehenga, the matapihi symbolises the first glimmer of light that motivated the children of Rangi and Papa to rebel against their parents. Traditionally, the wharenui faces north-east, towards the rising sun, thus symbolising the transition from Te Kore to Te Ao Mārama. While the kuwaha is a symbol of life and entrance-way for the living, the matapihi, on the opposite side of the central kauwhanga, is associated with death and, for some iwi, it is still an entrance-way for the dead.

## Kauwhanga

Within and around the wharenui, there are a number of kauwhanga or spatial divisions that serve to separate or distinguish different states of existences and spheres of knowledge, such as:

- Te Kore / Te Pō / Te Ao Mārama
- kauwae runga / kauwae raro
- taha tapu / taha noa
- taha wairua / taha tinana
- taha ora / taha m ate
- taha wahine / taha tane
- kopaiti / ihonui

## • Tū-matau-enga / Rongo-mā-tane

Symbolically, for example, the wharenui is divided into twelve sections which represent twelve spiritual plains or the increasingly complex levels of knowledge found within ngā rangi-tuhāhā. The boundaries, dividers or thresholds between these spiritual plains and states of existence are called kauwhanga.

Across the heke or rafters of the whare there are horizontal battens called kaho. Traditionally, there were four kaho in a whare, which on a functional level, served to strengthen the roof.

Kaho hold special significance as a kauwhanga or spiritual divider of the knowledge within a house. The lowest kaho is called kaho-paetara, it connects with the head of each poupou and completely encircles the interior of whare. The kaho-paetara is first, in a series of kaho, that separates kauwae raro from kauwae runga, the latter of which requires active protection and should not be accessed without the necessary expertise.

Down the middle of the whare there is another kauwhanga, an imperceptible passage that divides the whare in half and mainly separates physical states of existence, tapu from noa, life from death, male from female, tangata whenua from manuhiri. This central kauwhanga extends out of the whare across the paepae and marae-ātea, physically dividing these spaces in half. The kuwaha, or door of the whare, is another kauwhanga.

#### QUALITES & ATTREUTES OF TO

Tü-mata-uenga (u.gly falced war god). Tu-matau-enigs (the knowledgeable one of war) Tu-me ta-ka kā (of the flashing eyes) Tu-mata-hux (of the twiching face) Til-meta-tilwere (of the burning face) Tu-g-nguha (of the fared nostris) Tu-ka-rir (the funous one) Til-Ka-konkon (the energetic one) To-ke-mahu a (the actie one) Tu-la-mananga (the naing one) Tu-mano (of the war auron) Tu-mata-raiu-wiri (of the quive ring blada) Tu-hapa inga (the upitang one) Turnisha (the inspringione) Tu-te-in the impassioned one Tü-te-weh wehili (the felarsome one). Tú-te-van avan a (the a wesome one) Tu-whakamana-ariki (make rof hero es) Tuka kotaota (eater of unique fulis) Tu-ka-daula (devoule no Fwamiors) Tü-meta-whalit (the constricted face) Tu-whatere te-angra-a-c-a-go (sends men to the uncerworld)

The marae-ātea lies in front of wharenui, it is a tapu place of great mana, the domain of Tū-mata-uenga, the ugly faced war god. This contrasts with the inside of the whare, which is governed by Tane-whakapiripin and Rongo-ma-tane, the art of peace. The marae-atea and wharenui are enclosed within three spheres that symbolise the states of existence associated with Te Wehenga. Progressing in spheres of development and knowledge, the marae-ātea is symbolised by Te Kore, this moves over the paepae and into the realm of Te Po. Upon entry, through the kuwaha, there is a transition to the realm of Te Ao Mārama. In between each of these states there is a wheiao or kauwhanga, a spiritual boundary or threshold between two realms of existence. The paepae is the wheiao between Te Kore and Te Po, it protects the entrance-way to a sacred kopu. For those who wish to enter the whare, the paepae is a portal to the

acquisition of knowledge. The marae-ātea is the place where discussions take place, bad feelings and grievances can be aired, heated debate may occur. Through the paepae, therefore, the profane is kept away from the sacred and Tū is cut off from Rongo. The only way Tū can enter the whare is in the minds of people themselves, who enter with hidden agendas.

The kuwaha is the entrance-way to the body, poho and sacred kopu of an eponymous ancestor. It is nich with symbolism and represents an important kauwhanga. Traditionally recognised as a tapu, dangerous threshold between opposing energies, states of existence and cosmological orders. The kuwaha signifies the boundary between tapu and noa, the spiritual and physical, darkness and light, Te Po and te Ao Mārama, it is the threshold between life and death.

The whakawae, or side jambs on either side of the door, often symbolise the legs of a wahine who is depicted in the lintel, or pare, above the door. In this way, the kuwaha is associated with a woman's birth canal which is, as Maui discovered, is a symbol of both life and death. Carved figures on the whakawae usually depict ancestral guardians who have a protection role. Upon

entry to the wharenui, everyone must pass under the pare or korupe. Through rich Māori symbolism, the pare depicts female symbols associated with the removal of tapu, especially for strangers, as they cross the threshold and enter the body of a tribal ancestor and the source or tribal knowledge. Inside the whare, we are re-vitalized and return through the birth canal with a new zest for life. As people exit from the wharenui, they are symbolically reborn, the kuwaha is the passageway between a world of confinement and the world of light, it is the threshold between an active quest for knowledge and the outside world of ordinary living.

Within the whare, there are also spatial divisions that help to define, describe and identify the roles of manuhiri, tangata whemua and rangatira. In general, for example, kopaiti or tara iti refers to the left side of the whare, which is occupied by the tangata whenua, whereas the right side is called ihonui or tara nui and reserved for visitors. Rangatira, within each group, have particular places or sites, typically under the matapihi, next to the kuwaha or in a corner of the whare. The four corners of the whare have special pou, traditionally called pouriko or poukopu, which are places of honour for the main speakers of both sides.

## Te Marae

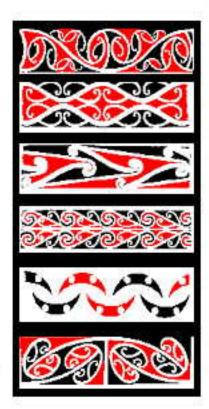
Personification of the wharenui as a living and breathing ancestor is clearly designed to bond the descendants of this tupuna together within the context of a shared culture, value system and heritage, to build a strong, collective future. The whare represents a return to roots, to the source of being, to the whakapapa of historic experiences and events that have shaped the particular identity of tangata whemas.



In addition to the structure itself, every surface of a fully carved whare is lined with im ages and symbols that carry messages of relevance. Every whakairo, kōwhaiwhai, tukutuku adds whakapapa, history and detail that helps to weave the story of tangata whenua origins, purpose and aspirations. The tahuhu and foundational pou provide a constant reminder of origins as Māori, the struggle for survival, the interaction of essential energies, the stages of existence, the journey of life with its quest for knowledge within inevitable cycles of birth and death. In this

way the wharenui assures the mana and mauri of tangata whenua, it is the key to a Māori universe.

Each marae has its own protocols tikanga is a reflection of tribal kawa of each marae is closely aori interpretations about the concept of kauwhanga, or spatial the whare, underpins many aspects whenua. In traditional times, for ran from north to south so te cross it on their way to Te side of wharenui often faces east rising sun and Te Ao Mārama, a knowledge and life. The left side, associated with the moon, and Te P unrealised potential and death.



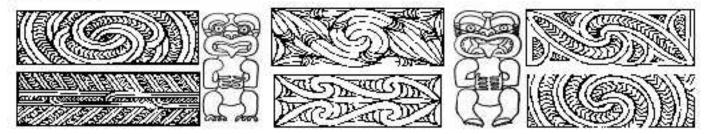
and ways of doing things but history and identity. The aligned with m ātauranga M symbolism of wharenui. The divisions, within and around of tikanga for tangata ex ample, the tahuhu always wairua would not have to Reinga<sup>22</sup>. Similarly, the right and is associated with the realm of opportunity, in turn, faces west is ō, a realm of darkness,

In a contemporary context, mātauranga Māori concepts like kauwhanga, tapu, mana, mauri and te wairua are still evident in many tikanga, for example:

- mana wahine includes the ability to neutralise tapu, particularly puhi and ruahine;
- karanga, the pattern of manuhiri movement and the powhiri itself are all techniques for the removal or protection of tapu;
- during whaikorero, the speakers are careful not to cross over the kauwhanga that separates tangata whenua from manuhiri until signalled to do so;
- during tangihanga, the casket may enter the wharenui through the matapihi or be placed at the base of the pou-tuarongo, to free the spirit of physical encumbrances and empower their transition to the spiritual realm;
- the siting of other buildings on the marae, such as the abolution blocks, where kai and tomokanga can also have tikanga implications.

This brief look at the symbolism associated with wharenui has provided a wealth of information that has relevance for the advancement of cultural identity among ngā hapū e toru, the tangata whenua of Harataunga Marae. Without doubt, the wharenui is a repository of

knowledge that helps to define the meaning and purpose of life from a mātauranga Māori perspective.



#### Ko Rakairoa te w harenui o te iwi

Rakairoa as a template for the advancement of cultural identity and wellbeing

A number of scholars have identified why the wharenui is a place of learning23;

- it provides an education about Māori values and worldviews;
- it contains the history or whak apapa of a tribe and the land they occupy, their ancestors
  are immortalised on the walls, it is the foundation of tribal culture and identity;
- relationships to the land are expressed through a cosmological sequence which unites
  ancestors with deities in a genealogical continuum, each component has its own school
  of learning;
- connections between the buildings, protocols and cosmological beliefs demonstrate the wholistic inter-relatedness of Māori culture;
- ... you feel the warmth of it because you know the whare is named after your own
  ancestor ... you are in the midst of ancestors who have passed on ... all the things they
  have said are echoing through the whare ...

To Wharenui o to Iwi aims to build on the potential of Rakairoa not only as a place of learning but also as a template for the advancement of cultural identity within ngā hapū e toru.

item/component	symbol	function
tekoteko/koruru	head	kotahitanga, unity
roro	brain	actively processing, proactive
maihi	arms	manaakitanga, assist tahuhu
amo	legs	kaitiaki, structural support
raparapa	hands	workers and support systems
раерае	barrier	separation, distinction
kuwaha	mouth	transition
matapihi	eye	te ao Mārama, motivation
tahuhu	back-bone	growth, development, quest for knowledge
heke	ribs	whakapapa, tribal history
poupou	descendants	important alliances
pou-tokomanawa	heart	values, identity, vitality
pou-tahuhu	beginning of life	opportunities, growth
pou-tuarongo	end of life's journey	reflection, transition
ера	guardians	kaitiaki
kaho	rafters	distinction between levels
papaka	crab	whanaungatanga
wharenui	body	protection, safety, birth
marae-ātea	debate, challenges	unrealised potential

Table 1: Te Wharenui o te Iwi - components, symbols and functions

From the material presented in previous chapters, it is clear the wharenui provides a framework of items that could be conceptualised as the indicators of cultural identity for a particular tangata whema group. The broader, esoteric content helps to identify the particular symbols, functions and domains associated with each item. The first column in Table 1, for example, lists the various items, parts or components of the wharenui such as the tekoteko koruru, maihi, amo, matapihi, tahuhu. The second column displays the symbols usually associated with these components, eg the tekoteko represents the head, the amo are the legs, the matapihi is the eye of our eponymous ancestor etc. In the third column, however, the particular function of each component and symbol is explored in terms of its potential implications for the behaviour and activities of the tangata whema.

Item/component	symbol	function	domain
tek oteko/k orufu	head	kotahtanga, unity	leadership, ability to stand together, resolve conflict
foro	brain	actively processing, proactive	ability to identify goals, develop plans and strategies
main!	a/ms	manaakitanga assisttahuhu	capacity to manaski, implement plans, progress
emo	legs	katleki, strudural support	smorangi, kalkaranga, kiak oʻero, kalpūpuri i te mauri.
гарагара	hends	workers and support systems	capacity/quality of support systems
рверве	berrier.	separation, distinction	decision- making, delegation, representation
Covistis	mouth	transition	roles andresponsibilities
matapini	eye	te ao Ni Brama, motivation	vision, aspirations, goals
เราบาน	back-bone	growth, development, quest for knowledge	ransmission of values, knowledge
reke:	ribs	whak apapa, tripathistory	development of knowledge-base
polipou	descendents.	important allances	identification, status, active involvement
pour tokomenava	heart	values, identity, vitality	participation in te actili Sori
pour tehunu	pegrining of life	opportunities, growth	innovation growth and development
pour tuer ongo	end of the's journey	refection, transition	evaluation, acknowledgement, recognition of achievements
ece	guardans	katieki	resources and support systems
cano	ratters	distinction between levels	implementation of development paths, action plans
papaka	crab	whensungstangs	wheneungeterge
wherenul	bod/	protection, safety, or th	tikanga
trainae Stee	debate, challenges	unrealised potential	engagement in mataurangs Misori discussion/debate.

Table 2: Te Wharenui o te Iwi - items, symbols, functions and domains

Table 2 takes this framework one step further and identifies possible domains, or spheres of influence, for each function. The domains explore how each function would actually be achieved in terms of tangata whenua behaviour, processes or activities. For example, Table 2 suggests the tekoteko function of kotahitanga and unity would be achieved through leadership style and processes for decision-making by consensus as well as the resolution of internal conflict. Similarly, it is suggested the tahuhu function of growth, development and an active quest for knowledge would be achieved through the development of systems and processes for transmission of knowledge about values and issues of relevance for tangata whemua, eg K öhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori or wānanga. The heke and poupou functions as repositories of knowledge about whakapapa and tribal history would, in the first instance, be achieved by

the implementation of methodologies to gather and consolidate this knowledge for Rakairoa.

Appendix 1 further extends the above framework with specific indicators and themes for the development of resources and collection of data about each domain. With regard to the tek oteko, for example, it is suggested the collection of data about the number, quality and outcomes of leadership and conflict resolution processes would provide a measure of cultural identity. For the tahuhu, it is suggested data about the systems, processes and opportunities for transmission of information about values and mātauranga Māori positions would also be a useful measure. Appendix One also highlights the need for ngā hapū e toru to engage in resource development. In particular, consolidation of the information about whakapapa, kaupapa and rationale that informed carvings, tukutuku, kõwhaiwhai and the general design of Rakairoa. This information would clearly facilitate understanding about the intentions of this whare, the particular messages contained within each pou, panel or symbol and the tikanga implications for tangata whenua. In terms of cultural identity, Appendix 2 presents some of the information that Rakairoa has to offer about tribal whakapapa, history and strategic alliances. It is important that tangata whenua have the opportunity to advance this knowledge-base and develop the system's that are needed for protection, transmission and utilisation of this knowledge.

Implementation of Te Wharenui o te Iwi, as a data collection fram ework, will help to capture information about the cultural identity of tribal members across a number of domains. This will provide baseline data that could be used to measure and monitor changes in the cultural identity of tribal members over time. The collection of baseline data would also provide benchmarks for identifying desired long-term goals around each indicator along with strategies for achieving such goals.

In terms of resource development and data-collection techniques, a number of toolkits and research methods will help to gather information about the indicators identified within Te Wharenui o to Iwi. Firstly, the use of standard methodologies like key informant interviews, focus groups and literature review would be appropriate and suitable for consolidating knowledge about whakapapa, tribal history and alliances which informed the carving and design of Rakairoa.

Secondly, Hōmai to Waiora ki Ahau, as discussed in the second chapter, is designed to raise awareness about the meaning and relevance of mātauranga Māori values and concepts. It aims to provide a starting point for thinking about the meaning of waiora for Māori. It provides a technique for overcoming the diversity within groups when discussing the mātauranga Māori concepts. This twelve-item tool is able to collect data that identifies points of difference and or sources of variability within groups. In this way, it is possible to continue working with items until consensus about the meaning of concepts as well as the behavioural or tikanga implications for the group is reached. This information could then be used in discussions about collective aspirations, leadership-style and the development of charter documents or strategic plans.

Thirdly, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou have developed a cultural audit tool called Mā Wai Rā e Taurima. This toolkit is designed to help Ngāti Porou marae not only assess their cultural capital but also evaluate their sustainability. In general, Mā Wai Rā e Taurima provides the opportunity for marae to think about:

- key people and resources the marae has or will need in the future;
- what cultural capital the marae needs to maintain, grow and develop;
- sustainability of the marae including tikanga and kawa.

The implementation of this toolkit, in its current form, would have a number of advantages for ngā hapū e toru. In particular, it would assist the collection of information about:

- ngā kaitakatu o te marae ngā kaipūpuri i te mauri, ngā kaiarahi, ngā kaikaranga, ngā kaikōrero, te puna waiata haka, ngā tum au, ngā ringawera including the food gatherers, cooks, dining room organisers, dishwashers, kaitiaki whenua;
- marae governance and administration systems, people, processes;
- ngā whānau demographic profiles, skill sets, levels of participation in marae activities, accessibility;
- roles and responsibilities of those involved with the marae, eg pae tapu, pae awhi, puna roimata, pae mate, marae trustees, committees;
- cultural, resource and asset inventories, eg repositories of knowledge, skillsets, composers;
- sustainability of the cultural asset base.

Most of this information would be have direct relevance within the context of Te Wharenui o te Iwi objectives. In some instances, however, different data collection techniques and/or types of information may be more appropriate for ngā hapū e toru purposes, eg the addition of rating scales to measure differences between quality, capacity or satisfaction perceptions. Other indicators within the Wharenui o te Iwi framework will need their own data collection techniques but rating scales, surveys or questionnaires could be easily developed around particular them es.

The development and implementation of To Wharenui o to Iwi will have numerous benefits for the descendants of ngā hapū e toru, the tangata whenua of Harataunga Marae. It will:

- provide a template and fram ework for conceptualising cultural identity and wellbeing;
- raise awareness about our own wharenui, Rakairoa, as a repository of knowledge about tribal history, whakapapa and identity;
- foster the development of cultural resources, initiatives and support systems;
- increase opportunities for tangata whenua participation in te ao Māori;
- enable the benchmarking of cultural identity, the development of auditing techniques and the monitoring of change over time;
- enable the identification of cultural targets, goals and objectives;
- enable the development and implementation of strategies to achieving cultural targets;
- assist discussion, debate and consensus about tikanga, values and identity including kaupapa, aspirations, leadership-style, decision-making processes and governance structures.

Te Wharenui o te Iwi will help ngā hapū e toru to realise the vision of Rakairoa as a living, breathing ancestor who bonds her descendants together within the sanctity of a shared past, a shared present and a shared future.

Ko te amorangi ki mua, ko te hapai o ki muri.

## Action Plan for implementing research objectives

The following action plan outlines the key objectives for development and implementation of Te Wharenui o te Iwi over the next 5 to 10 years.

Objective	Action content/detail
Stage 1: Funding	Obtain funding for:
	<ul> <li>development of Te Wharenui o te Iwi data collection framework around key indicators and data points</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>implementation of research methodologies to gather information about the carving, tukutuku, kōwhaiwhai and design of Rakairoa</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>collection of baseline Te Wharenui o te Iwi data</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>analysis/reporting/dissemination of Te Wharenui o te Iwidata</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>development of programme, strategies for raising awareness about mātauranga Māori values, positions and the repository of knowledge contained within Rakairoa, eg wānanga, dissemination, promotion of cultural initiatives, kaupapa</li> </ul>
Stage 1: Development	Develop Te Wharenui o te Iwi data collection tool incorporating relevant Mā Wai Rā e Taurima and Hōmai te Waiora ki Ahau components
Stage 1: Implementation	Implement methodologies for:
	<ul> <li>gathering information about the design of Rakairoa</li> </ul>
	• collection of baseline Te Wharenui o te Iwi data
Stage 1: Analysis,	Implement techniques for:
Reporting, Dissemination & Programme Delivery	analysis of data
& Frogramme Derivery	reporting
	dissemination
	<ul> <li>development of Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga cultural identity profile</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>delivery of Stage 1 programm e objectives, strategies</li> </ul>

# Stage 2: Funding Obtain funding for: amendment of Te Wharenui o te Iwi data collection tool as indicated by data outcomes Stage 2 data collection using updated Te Wharenui o te Iwi tool analysis, reporting, dissemination of outcomes development and implementation of Stage 2 programme/strategies for enhancing cultural identity

Stage 2: Implementation,	Repeat:
analysis, dissemination	<ul> <li>collection of Stage 2 Te Wharenui o te Iwi data</li> </ul>
	data analysis
	<ul> <li>develop Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga cultural identity profil</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>reporting/dissemination of outcomes including comparisor of cultural profile and identification of recommendations</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>development/update of programme/strategies/objectives</li> </ul>
	Implement:
	Stage 2 recomm endations
	Stage 2 programm e/strategies
Stage 3: Funding	Obtain funding for:
	<ul> <li>update of Te Wharenui o te Iwi data collection tool as indicated by Stage 2 outcomes</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>collection of Stage 3 data</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>analysis, reporting, dissemination of outcomes and development of Stage 3 cultural identity profile and recommendations</li> </ul>
	development of Stage 4 programme
Stage 3: Implementation,	Implement:
analysis, reporting, dissemination	<ul> <li>Stage 3 data collection, analysis, reporting, dissemination, comparisons, recommendations</li> </ul>
Stage 3: Development	Develop:
	<ul> <li>Stage 4 programm e/vision for building, advancing Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga cultural identity</li> </ul>

# Timeline for implementation of research objectives

Research objectives	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Stage 1 funding				0.	i			
Stage 1 development/implementation								
Stage 1 analysis, reporting, dissemination, grogramme delivery								
Stage 2 funding								
Stage 2 implementation, analysis, reporting, programme delivery								
Stage 3 funding							=	
Stage 3 implementation, analysis, reporting								
Stage 3 programme development								

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# Appendix 1: Te Wharenui o te lwi - domains, indicators, data points

Domain	Indicators	Data points
leadership, ability to stand together, resolve conflict	☐ leadership style ☐ processes for decision-making by consensus, resolution of internal conflict ☐ ability to identify/articulate collective aspirations	☐ mumber ☐ quality ☐ satisfaction/confidence ☐ outcomes
ability to identify goals, develop plans, strategies	□ administration, governance, planning processes	☐ how/what/when ☐ quality ☐ satisfaction/confidence ☐ outcomes
capacity to manaaki, implement strategies, monitor progress	☐ resources and support systems ☐ systems for implementation ☐ systems for monitoring progress	☐ mumber/type ☐ quality ☐ accessibility/status ☐ outcomes
amorangi, kaikaranga, kaikorero, kaipūpuri I te mauri	🛘 skills, expertise, knowledge	☐ number/type/range ☐ competency/quality ☐ accessibility
capacity of support systems	☐ skills ☐ workers ☐ support systems	☐ type/number☐ capacity☐ quality
decision-making, delegation, representation	systems and processes for decision-making, delegation, representation	☐ types ☐ quality ☐ capacity
roles and responsibilities	☐ definition☐ training☐ monitoring	☐ system s/processes ☐ quality ☐ capacity ☐ accessibility
vision, aspirations and goals	systems and processes for discussion/debate/agreement on collective vision, goals	☐ mumber ☐ type ☐ quality ☐ accessibility ☐ outcomes

transmission of values, and information about m ātauranga Māori positions	☐ systems, processes, opportunities ☐ techniques for dissemination/transmission	☐ how/when/where ☐ content/quality ☐ accessibility ☐ outcomes
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Domain	Indicators	Data points
development of knowledge- base	☐ systems, methodologies, techniques for gathering, storing knowledge ☐ implementation	☐ types of knowledge ☐ techniques ☐ outcomes & achievements
identification, status, active involvement in alliances	☐ generating knowledge ☐ systems, processes ☐ implementation	□ who/why □ how/when □ status □ accessibility □ outcomes
participation in te ao Māori	□ participants □ processes systems/kaupapa □ sustainability	□ who/when/how □ content/purpose □ status/capacity □ outcomes □ quality/satisfaction
innovation, growth, developm ent	☐ opportunities for learning, training, education ☐ initiatives, projects, schemes ☐ system s processes	☐ range ☐ quality ☐ participation/accessibilit y ☐ opportunities ☐ outcomes/achievements
evaluation, acknowledgement, recognition of achievement	<ul> <li>systems, processes, methods for evaluation, reflection, acknowledgement and recognition</li> </ul>	☐ how/when/where ☐ quality ☐ participation ☐ outcomes/achievements
resources and support systems	☐ content ☐ systems and processes ☐ access and dissemination	☐ mumber/type ☐ quality ☐ use/accessibility ☐ capacity/opportunities
im plem entation of developm ent paths, action plans	☐ systems and processes ☐ techniques ☐ effectiveness	☐ how/when/where ☐ quality ☐ use/accessibility ☐ opportunities

whanaungatanga	<ul><li>system s, processes</li></ul>	☐ how/when/where
	□ opportunities	☐ quality/satisfaction☐ participation☐ accessibility

Domain	Indicators	Data points
tikanga	☐ understanding/awareness ☐ process for decision-making ☐ implementation ☐ monitoring	□ who/how □ quality/appropriateness □ accessibility
engagement in mätauranga Mäori issues, disussion, debate	☐ system s/processes ☐ opportunities ☐ representation	□ who/how/when □ content/kaupapa □ quality/effectiveness □ outcomes

# Appendix 2: Te Poho o Rakairoa

Te tomokanga	Te Riu o Porourangi
Te marae	Ko Harataunga
Te whare manaaki	Ko Ngaropi
Te manau	Te Koha o Te Putu (te pou mua)
Taha Maui	
Pou amo	Ko Mahanga
Pou tuatahi	Ko Tamatera
Pou waenganui	Ko Marutūāhu
Pou roto	Ko Tamatepõ
Taha Katau	
Pou amo	Ko Huarere
Pou tuatahi	Ko Whanaunga
Pou waenganui	Ko Riria te Au
Pouroto	Ko Mohi Mangakahia
Te Tuanui	Kei runga i te tuamui ngā taonga tuku iho a Tangaroa, a Tane, a Rongo me Haumie- tiketike i waihotia e Io Matua hei oranga mo te tangata. Koinei ngā taonga kei te ora tonu i tēnei whaitua. Mā te wā e kitea mehemea i manaakitia e te tangata, kāhore rānei.
Te Tuarongo	Kua tukua tēnei wahi ki ētahi o ngā herenga whakapapa i putā mai i a Maui, i a Porourangi me Toi te Huatahi. Tērā ano ētahi herenga ki ngā waka. Waiho mā rātou e hi ahi a ana te whakawhānui atu. Te nuinga o ngā tipuna o te tuarongo nei, ko ngā wahine kaihautu o Ngāti Porou.
Ngā Pakitara – taha katau/tara iti	Ko ētahi o ngā tipuna rongonui o Ngāti Porou Kei runga i ngā poupou ngā ingoa. Ko tēnei te taha ma te iwi kāinga.
Ngā Pakitara – taha maui/tara nui	Ko ngā whakapapa ēnei o ngā herenga o ngā urī kua moe ki roto o ngā whānau o Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga. Ko tēnei te taha mā te manuhiri.
Te Roro	Ko te tahuhu i timata mai i a Manutangirua, heke iho ki a Taua, Mahaki me Hauiki. Kei runga i te tatau a Ngatihau raua ko tana teina Iwi Rākau, te whakairo o runga i te matapihi he Manaia. Kei konei ano te Aningaiao.
Pou tokomanawa	Ko te Hukui o te Rangi
Pou Wharaua	Ko Te Hikatoa

Ngā tohunga whakairo	Mike Matchett, Boydie Biddle, Winiata Harrison, John Harrison, Paki Harrison, Chris
	Maxwell, Eddie Te Manu, Danny Mareroa,
	Duaine Thwaites me ētahi atu
Ngā kai-tuitui tukutuku	Hinemoa Harrison, Caroline Harrison, Carol
Sate	Potae, Sandy Pickering, Isobelle Rakena me
	ētahi atu.
Ngā kow haiw hai	John Hovell, Peter Boyd, Nigel Borrel.

### Endnotes

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 Fitzgerald (2002)

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