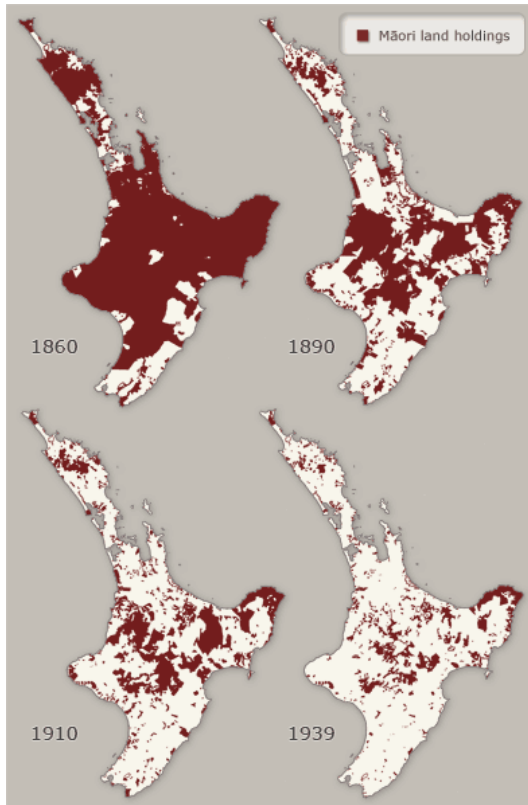




KAITIEKITANGA

ABSTRACT

What does kaitiakitanga look like in Tairāwhiti? What does it mean for uri of Ngāti Porou? What does it mean for uri of Te Whānau ā Apanui? How do whānau connect to their whenua? How might we improve whānau connectivity to each other and our whenua so our whenua and our whānau are ora?!

Kaituhi

Ngarangi Walker - Kellogg Rural Leader 2015 A



Nga maunga o te Raukumara: (Background L-R) Hikurangi, Aorangi, Whanokao, Wharekia, Taitai.

NGA MIHI

Tuatahi ki taku Nanny Tilly, nana i tukuna te putea tuatahi hei uru au ki runga i te Kellogg; my late Uncle Amster, Aunty Shirley me a korua tamariki, me nga mokopuna; Pakihiroa Farms Limited, The Proprietors of Rotokautuku X1C, Agfirst Gisborne.

Kia taku whanau whanui me aku hoa pumau na to koutou tautoko me to awhi ki ahau: a-korero, a-wairua, a-putea hoki. I hope that what I have written reflects something of the korero, whakaaro, me nga korero tuku-iho that you have passed on to me or shared with me. Sometimes, when the road gets rough, I have looked to our maunga, kei a ratau nga kohimuhimu o a tatau nei whenua; ka nui te mihi!

Mum & Pere; Dad & Deb; Aunty Ag & Koro; Wananga & Candice; kaore he kupu tu atu i enei: ka nui taku aroha ki a koutou i nga wa katoa!!!

Karauria-Kahawai Nga Tungane ko koe taku timatanga taku otinga, taku marama me nga whetu!

Uncle Bob, this one's for you!!!

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TAKU KAWAI HEKE

Ko Hikurangi te maunga

Ko Waiapu te awa

Ko Ngati Porou te iwi

Ko Porourangi te tipuna

Ko Riripeti Reedy taku Mama, te tamahine a Tilly Te Koingo Moeke raua ko Tamati Reedy. Ko Tilly te tamahine a Mei Pohatu (taku Nanny Kuia) raua ko Watene Moeke. Ko Mei te tamahine a Riripeti Turetahi raua ko Tuhanarete Pohatu. Ko Watene te tama o Raiha Leef me te mokopuna whangai o Wiremu Moeke.

Ko taku papa Tamati, te potiki a Te Kotuku Rerengatahi Reedy raua ko Iritana Hakuwai Te Arohanui Haig. Ko Te Kotuku, te tama a Materoa Ngarimu raua ko John Marshall Reedy. Ko (Nanny) Hakuwai te tamahine a Hirini Haig raua ko Heneriata Peeti.

Ko Claude Reuben Walker taku taati, te tama a George Kiwa Walker raua ko Keita Whakato Ngarimu. Ko taku Paps te tama a Raana Walker raua ko Mary Roa Milner. Ko Keita te tamahine o Maraea Akuhata Reweti (no Te Whanau a Apanui) raua ko Hamuera Ngarimu. Ko te nuinga o enei tipuna, he whakapapa, hononga hoki ki Te Aitanga a Mate, o Ngati Porou.

I whanau mai au ki Te Whanganui a Tara i te ra tuaono o Maehe i te tau 1978. I tipu ake au ki raro nga waewae o aku tipuna no Ngati Porou me te Tairawhiti hoki kei Te Whanganui a Tara. I whakatipungia e au i aku matua tipuna, nga maatua o taku Mama. Ahakoa i nohoia e matau ki Te Whanganui a Tara, mai ra ano ko Hiruharama me Pohatukura nga “kaenga” o taku whanau.

I nohoia taku Nanny Kuia me taku “Uncle Bob” ki Hiruharama; ki Pohatukura taku Paps. Na te tokotoru nei i whakatoongia ki roto i au taku arohanui mo aku kaenga o Whareponga me Hiruharama; te whenua o Te Aitanga a Materoa.

I grew up in white, middle class, suburbia with Maori parents who were home owners. My parents are both Ngati Porou; also born to parents, my grandparents, who were and still are Ngati Porou. Wellington was full of ‘whanau’ who were heavily involved in the raising of my brother, our cousins

and myself, “te ataahua o te nohotahitanga a nga taina me nga tuakana” (Moehau Reedy, personal communication).

I was lucky because my mother’s parents also lived in Wellington. They were part of the urban drift, a generation of Maori who left our rural hearths and homes to go the bright lights and big cities, to be educated, to get good jobs and raise families. Countless nights and weekends of my childhood were spent with my maternal grandparents. In those many weekends, I was also (I realise now) privileged, to attend wananga with my other Ngati Porou nannies and papa.

I was taught the korero and purakau of my tipuna; the waiata and moteatea of my whanau, hapu, iwi. Na ratau o tena reanga i poipoi, i akiaki i au. Na ratau i whakato i roto i aau tooku rangatiratanga, tooku nei mana motuhake, tooku nei mana Maori, tooku Ngati Poroutanga! Ano hoki, na ratau i whangahia e au i taaku nei reo o Ngati Porou, te reo o te kaenga o te Tairawhiti. These people all gave to me my “Ngati Porou”-ness and even though we lived 800kms away, “home” was Ngati Porou.

My father’s parents lived “at home”. My Paps, worked my Nanny’s whanau farm, managed it actually while my Nanny worked as one of the Maori Affairs Officers; out and about in our community doing anything and everything. During my young life, I was blessed to be loved and adored by my Paps and all our days together were spent on the land. It was he who instilled in me, my love for Whareponga, our farm Koura Station.

The days and nights “at home” were never enough and sooner or later, returning back to Wellington was always a reality. Lucky again, as I returned to my Nanny and Papa, both of whom who had moved through their teaching years into the Education Department. My Papa filled me, my brother and our cousins with stories of Maui; he drew cartoons and pictures for us and made books for us. Filled with korero Maori and stories about us and our world; I thought everyone came from homes like mine! I had no idea that this was not the case!

My Nanny has always instilled in me an absolute strength of identity, built upon my identity *as her* mokopuna *as an uri* of Hiruharama and Ngati Porou.

KO WAI AU – IDENTIFYING SELF

I am me, Ngarangi Kanewa Walker, positioned (Hall, 1990) firmly through my whakapapa as Ngati Porou. Through both my parents and all four of my grandparents, I come from land that is still in whanau possession and which is still possessed and occupied by whanau.

I trace my whakapapa from when Maui fished up the Te Ika a Maui. I can trace my whakapapa through my tipuna who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi. I can trace my whakapapa through the oral traditions of karakia and moteatea and the korero they pass down. Taku whakapapa Maori.

Of course my blood is through the mixing of settlers with my grand nannies who were tangata whenua and kaitieki of the land, in a Western or European sense, the land owners. I could claim some kind of blood identification with a number of European strains. I do not. I am Ngati Porou.

As part of my emerging self, according to Hall, Hubert, and Thompson (n.d.) I am Te Whanau a Apanui through new social movements; during my time at Waikato University I became more aware of my “Apanui side” because of the political events happening, especially around the Foreshore Seabed debate. Also, with Te Matatini, more as more uri live away from their whanau, hapu, iwi homelands, kapa haka and the Maori art of taa moko have become important social movements for individuals to express and practise their sense of identity.

However, my emerging self has not been because of an erosion of “master identity”, or “dislocating identifications” (Hall et al, n.d.).

I believe whakapapa is my “guarantee of authenticity” (Hall, 1997. p.43). My ‘I’, my Ngati Porou’ness’ gives me purchase in the collective and my sense of self away from the ‘wi’ is still steadfast because my whakapapa cannot be taken away from me; it cannot be taken away from anyone once it is known.

TE PATAI O TE RANGAHAU – RESEARCH QUESTION

What does kaitiakitanga look like in Tairawhiti? What does it mean for uri of Ngati Porou? What does it mean for uri of Te Whanau a Apanui? How do whanau connect to their whenua? How might we improve whanau connectivity to each other and our whenua so our whenua and our whanau are ora?!

TE MAHARATANGA O TE RANGAHAU – RATIONALE

Maori are at an important cross roads, culturally, socially, and economically. Given that right now, 2015, Maori will experience another shift in the space of power and resource allocation as we commence on the “consultation” experience as delivered through Crown hands, the opportunity to deliberate on a new Te Ture Whenua Maori Bill. This new suggested piece of law will have the single biggest impact on Maori land.

As Ngahuia Te Awekotuku says (1991) “[e]very day, every year, some aspect of the Maori world is being researched – from the innocently obvious high school student history project, to the more questionable market surveys on alcohol or nicotine consumption” (p.13). What policy is informed by these market surveys and the more in depth research that happens in our Maori communities? Obviously nothing of consequence as Maori still have the highest rates of smoking and alcohol related illnesses (personal communication as a contractor to Tairawhiti District Health Board, 2015). This is particularly so in Tairawhiti where Maori outcomes continue to sit at the disadvantaged scale, despite being 49% of the population, and Maori in the Tairawhiti district in possession of 90% of their land.

Te Awekotuku (1991) goes on to say “[r]esearch is... about control, resource allocation, information and equity. It is about *power*. Thus, for the instance of this particular kaupapa, the researched are the owners of their own matauranga Maori; of their own Maori world view.

TIKANGA O TE RANGAHAU / METHODOLOGY

I have used the everyday tool of discussion “whakawhitiwhiti korero me te whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro” (the discussing of ideas); interviewed whanaunga; and email conversations with whanaunga as well. A mixture of these methods has allowed me access to people’s thoughts at times that were suitable for them. All of these methods allowed whanaunga to tell their stories, offer their perspectives and most of all talk freely about their experiences and personal insights. For ease of access, all interviewees were selected because of their whakapapa connections not only to myself and the land as well.

Graham Smith (1997) talks about Kaupapa Maori and says “[it] is not new. What is ‘new’ is the academic terminology of Kaupapa Maori research and theory... [it] is itself extremely old, ancient in fact. It predates any and all of us in living years and is embedded in our cultural being” (p.77). This statement, along with the next one is definitely how I have been raised, a cultural being, tikanga and

kaupapa Maori are not new to me, however, what they do is validate, in a Western and academic sense all the I am and all that I know “to be”.

Mereana Taki in Smith (1997) says, “kaupapa Maori theorising is not a new phenomenon. Configured within the living ancestry of Iwi, hapu and whanaungatanga, the dynamic foundation concepts of Kaupapa and Tikanga continue to inform the reproduction and transformations of nga Tikanga me nga Ritenga...”. A way of doing things that shapes and informs my practise; my world.

Along with Kaupapa Maori, my life and the lens on which I view the world has very much been instilled in me by my Nanny Tilly Te Koingo Reedy, co-writer and creator of the Te Whariki: Early Childhood Education bicultural curriculum. The tenants that have underpinned my upbringing are reflected in Te Whariki (Ministry of Education, 2015) as well:

Mana Atua – Well-being: secure about my sense of self and where my soul self is fed;

Mana Whenua – Belonging: where is my place in the world, no matter where I go;

Mana Tangata – Contribution: affirmation of self and encouraged to learn about the world;

Mana Aoturoa – Exploration: able to make sense of the world around me and my place in it.

As an academic I write “against [this] background of a lifetime’s [experience in my own] cultural studies”. This is where I am positioned and again according to Hall (1990) this is where my discourse is ‘placed’. These methods and these principles are where, and how, I place myself as a researcher and story teller...

NGA WHAATITANGA O TE RANGAHAU/ LIMITATIONS

“Maori society was an oral society...

Oral forms do not immediately die with the introduction of literacy”

(p.34. Binney & Chaplin, 1986).

In terms of limitations, they are ‘centric’ as in concentrated in particular on Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui and as such, I do not agree with the idea they are limiting. Given that there is not a lot of published material about Maori land in whanau hands, nor is there much published material about Maori agribusiness, nor is there a wealth of published material on Whanau Ora. According to Matauranga Maori, my oral sources are of huge importance; and only by Western standards, or academic, perhaps limiting.

I have used a mix of published material on a variety of subjects that include culture and identity, Maori engagement, Kaupapa Maori Research, cultural theory and a variety of perspectives on reserource management, relations between iwi, central and local government etc. mainly from a Resource Management or Conservation perspectives and how these practices, or relationships are impacted by the Treaty of Waitangi.

I have managed to interview kanohi ki te kanohi six whanaunga and a-tuhi three more whanaunga. I have spoken extensively on this kaupapa with at least half a dozen other whanaunga. The youngest participant is late 30s while the oldest is early 70s. Most of the interviewees live within their tribal rohe. Of the total number of whanau I spoke with overall, there was roughly a 50/50 split of women and men.

WHENUA MAORI

“Words about the land required the presence of the land.

That knowledge was inseparable from its content;
part of a living matrix of encounters and relationships,
past and present, natural and spiritual”

- From a presentation by Robert “Pa” McGowan

In order to understand the complexities that go with multiply owned Maori land, and the fragmentation issues that go with it, the question on how colonisation has impacted Maori and our whenua is an important one to consider here:

A constant reworking of our understandings of the impact of imperialism and colonialism is an important aspect of indigenous cultural politics and forms the basis of and indigenous language of critique. Within this critique there have been two major strands. One draws upon the notion of authenticity, of a time before colonization in which we were intact as indigenous peoples. We had absolute authority over our lives; we were born into and lived in a universe which was entirely of our making... The second stand of language of critique demands that we have an analysis of how we were colonized, of what that has meant in terms of our immediate past and what it means for present and future. (Smith, L. 1990. p.25)

I consider this statement in terms of my own upbringing and consider here *how* colonisation has impacted whanau Maori hononga ki te whenua? Both Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui are fortunate to still have large tracts of their whenua in whanau ownership; other iwi have not been so lucky; and yet we have still experienced the detriment of colonisation. We are not self-determining; we are not the captains of our ships, we are a minority in our land. Maori have suffered at the hand of the Crown. An ability to understand “how we were colonized” (Smith, 1990) is needed to see what needs to change in moving forward; especially in light of the proposed new Te Ture Whenua Maori Bill. The language of engagement with this particular Bill reminds me of how colonisation of the mind occurs when the Crown engage with Maori.

In addressing the position of Maori within New Zealand governments since 1975 have increasingly been conscious of obligations arising from the 1846 Treaty of Waitangi. Under the Treaty, the Crown acquired sovereignty or at least (according to the Maori text) the right to govern, in exchange for guarantees that existing property rights would be actively protected and Maori individuals would not be unfairly disadvantaged compared to other New Zealand citizens. While the English version of the Treaty tends to equate property with physical properties such as land, the Maori version also recognises cultural properties such as language. The Crown’s response to the Treaty has not always been consistent, and had fluctuated, sometimes focusing on equality as between individuals, and sometimes on the recognition of Maori property rights (p.146. Durie, 2005).”

The Crown’s impact on our Maori thinking has been far greater and its impact on our whenua, particularly in regard to ownership between individuals and the whanau or hapu has been detrimental. This is also evidenced in both Ngati Porou and Te Whanau-a-Apanui “Indigenous peoples do not always see their destinies locked into the wisdom of the state, especially if their sovereignty has been appropriated by colonising powers and their experiences of state control have been marred by dispossession and deculturation.” (p.163. Durie, 2005).

NGA PATAI O NGA UIUI – INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

With all of these things in mind, I set out to explore and understand, from people who are important to me, their thinking on kaitiakitanga. I gave the questions a test drive and based on feedback from the first participant, re-worked them as follows:

1. Kei whea nga whenua e kaingakau ana ki a koe? (Where is the land that you love?)

2. He aha to hononga ki tena whenua? (What is your connection to that land?)
3. Whakamarama mai ki au o whakaaro mo te “kaitiekitanga”? (What is kaitiekitanga to you?)
4. Ko wai nga kaitieki o to whenua? (Who is/are the kaitieki of your whenua?)
5. Me pehea te huarahi tika mo nga kaitieki o to whenua? (What does kaitiekitanga look like on your whenua?)
6. Me pehea to hono o to whanau ki to whenua ka hono tonu ki te whenua? (How does your whanau connect to the whenua and stay connected)
7. Ka rereke to hononga ki te whenua, te mahi kaitieki mena ka noho tata, ka noho atu i to whenua? (Is there a difference in your connection, or kaitiekitanga, if you live close to your whenua or far away from it?)

For ease of reading and writing, all of the korero from interview participants is personal communication and was conducted in June 2015 but not referenced each and everytime, though acknowledged in this statement here.

NGA KITENGA – FINDINGS

The reform of Te Ture Whenua Maori... is the most significant reform of Maori land law and administration since Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 was passed: and it is the culmination of 40 years of advocacy by Maori for greater tino rangatiratanga over their whenua. That advocacy reminded us [the Crown] that Maori land is a taonga tuku iho... Maori owned land should be free from obstacles or constraint's created by legislation.

Minister for Maori Development, Te Ururoa Flavell (2015)

Without delving into the details of the proposed new Bill, land is still viewed as a taonga tuku iho and the spiritual repository of identity, korero, purakau, wairua, the physical, spiritual, and metaphysical elements of my Maori world and the people in it.

I have chosen to use Te Whariki principles (mentioned earlier on page 6) and grouped the findings of all my korero under the four Mana headings: Mana Whenua, Mana Atua, Mana Tangata and Mana Aoturoa and married these up with Mason Durie's (2006) “outcome classes” (p.7).

MANA WHENUA – BELONGING

All of those interviewed have what Mason Durie (2006) describes as a “secure cultural identity; access to te ao Maori and to participate in those institutions, activities and systems that form the foundations of Maori society.” (p.7). A secure sense of cultural identity gives an individual purchase in the world and no matter where they go, they know where their place is in the world.

Julian Apatu says his “belonging is in his birth and upbringing at the whanau station, Tutumatai, [on the] whenua of Rotokautuku X1C.” He named his son for his whenua, his imprint (Pohatu, T. 1996) forever indelibly marked in his name, Te Manaia o Rotokautuku X1C. According to Apatu “kaitiakitanga is custodianship alongside the whenua to ensure it is there for future generations”, his Auntie Henri maintains ownership of their ahi kaa.

Riripeti Reedy identifies Hiruharama as her place of belonging, “and now that I travel to other places of belonging of other people, I realise I am more Ngati Porou than I think I am – our maunga is significant to me, so is our mighty Waiapu – Waiapu Koka Huahua”.

Agnes Walker says the land that she loves is “home: Whareponga Ngati Porou” she has whakapapa there, was raised there, lived there and returned home” after she had lived away.

E ai ki nga korero a Matetu Herewini, ahakoa no nga hapu katoa o Te Whanau a Apanui, ko Maungaroa te maunga, te papakainga, tona wahi noho.

Ki taa a Tamati Waaka, “Kei te Awanui Haparapara, koirā te ingoa o ngā poraka whenua. Kei roto hoki au i ēnā whenua. Ko te pāmu o ōku tīpuna ko Waitangi te ingoa kei te taha rawhiti o te awa o Hāparapara. Ko te awa hoki te wāhi i haere ai taku koroua me aku pāpā. I te moana, ko Motunui te wāhi, ko Waho te ingoa o te ākau e whakaruruhautia ana e te Motunui. Koirā ngā karoretanga.”

Waaka describes the whenua his koroua belonged to and how they whakapapa to the whenua, moana and other significant landmarks of the area. Whakapapa providing a sense of belonging and contributing to the secure sense of identity.

Natasha Koia says “Kei Makarika (Totaranui, Ahiateatua) Kei Tikitiki (Pohoterangi). We have other shares in Omaio, Te Kaha and Tokomaru Bay – but because we as whānau are not ahi kaa there – and never have contributed to our whenua there – kare ano kia kaingakau ki wera panga o matau”,

saying that she while she has whakapapa to other parts of the rohe, she is not keeping the home fires burning, ahikaa, nor has she contributed there so she doesn't feel as strong in her sense of being from there. However, to me, knowing how you whakapapa still contributes to your sense of knowing how you tie to a place too.

MANA ATUA – WELL-BEING

Mana Whenua is my sense of belonging, Mana Atua is about *how* my soul is fed from my secure sense of identity; *where* I find this sustenance. Durie (2006) talks of "collective Maori synergies" in regard to a sense of community. Some of the interviewees talked of hapu, which to me is as Durie suggests, Maori synergies.

"Growing up on it, having been fed from it, it is full of the relationships to people and times and places that are significant in my life. It is more so, increasingly for me, to develop that same sense of identity in my mokopuna – to the extent that they will be able to find their way to Hiruharama marae and know they have and it is their turangawaewae." (Reedy, R.)

Pia Pohatu, no Te Whanau a Rakairoa, Te Aitanga a Mate nga hapu i whakatipungia e ia. Ko Mangaoraka te whenua tuatahi. Pia describes her upbringing with her grandmother in an intergenerational home and those first connections with hapu as "knowing that's your whenua, knowing you've got a responsibility to it, knowing it's not just yours but heaps of other people's as well".

"Ko wau te mokopuna o Te Rina Puhata-Makarini (nee Koia) rāua ko Matini Koia. No Te Aitanga a Mate, Te Aowera, Te Whānau a Rakairoa taku kuia. No Te Whānau a Tāpuhi (Tikitiki, Rangitukia) taku koroua," te kii a Natasha Koia.

Waaka says, "Ko te Whānau a Rongomai te hapū nōna aua whenua. Koirā te ingoa o te whāea o Apanui-Ringamutu. Ka mēhia e ia tana tāina a Takapūkapakapa kia nōhia taua wāhi, Ko te urupā o Te Muka, koirā tōna pā. Ka moe hoki i roto o Te Whānau a Ruahei. Ka taka ēnā whenua ki raro i a Matekītātahi, ko tōna pā i runga o Maungapūpū, te maunga kei muri o te kāinga o Rikirangi. Ka heke tonu ki ngā tīpuna e rua nei ki a Tūrei Rū rāua ko Tamati Rū. I heke mai ngā Pita i a Tūrei, ko ngā Wharepapa i heke mai i a Tamati. He tata ēnei whānau, ā, kei runga tonu ēnei whānau e rua i ngā whenua katoa o tērā wāhi, mai i te awa o Hāparapara ki Te Motunui. He Pita taku koroua a Rongo."

MANA TANGATA – CONTRIBUTION

In seeking to explore and understand what kaitiekitanga is I have placed the whakautu and korero of my whanaunga, my interviewees under this heading. This reaffirms that regardless of how or what people see kaitiekitanga as, there has been an affirmation of the self, and whanau have been encouraged to learn about the world. It also reinforces the notion that whether or not you like the kupu 'kaitieki', caring for the land is a valued contribution and what this is and how it happens also.

"It is the responsibility we exercise over the land in a manner that ensures it is loved and lived on by people who will love and live on it. No, not 24/7 but who call it home and make it their home – it is not the house that they can buy and sell at their time of need. So, people who have kainga there. Yes a huge challenge, but possible and in fact needed, here and now in this 21st Century of jet travel and digital connections. She names her uncle, Bob, as the kaitieki/custodian of her kainga she goes on to talk to say, "So, my uncle lives on that land that has fed, clothed and worked him and he it! There is a reciprocity between him and that land – that is a day to day kaitiaki practice. And now when he can do least for it (that land) [he has retired and no longer works as a shepherd], the people who should have greatest 'care over him and that land' to exercise care for him, they don't. So somehow, our notions of responsibility, entitlement and care have become misaligned and askew. A key part of this relates to what I have seen in many places: those who have least or little connection to the land, will have greatest decision making power over how people will live and take responsibility for that land. (Reedy, R).

This is similar also to what Shaun Pohatu shares, "I never went to meetings I just went to work, never went for a meeting till just the last decade; maybe the last 5years, [the meetings] had nothing to do with us, other people made the decisions... The ones that live away, they have ore say that the ones that live here", Shaun also uses the same Uncle Bob as a case in point, "[he is one of the] ones who is on the land [his] whole life. Our nannies and papa's they were on the land their whole life; you have to be on your land".

Walker says "trying to ensure the land is still there when I'm gone is the responsibility of each successive generation to nurture the land and the whanau to ensure connectivity to the whanau and the land remains. Without whenua we lose the traditional aspect of whanau and without whanau we lose the traditional aspect of whenua [whakapapa]." All of those who whakapapa to the land [she considers] kaitiaki.

“Me tu matau o te kainga i runga i to matau mana motuhake. Ki ahau nei, koiane te huarahi pai mo matau kaua e waiho tenei huarahi ma nga Pakeha hei arahi ma matau. Kei te mohio matau nga whenua, kei te mohio matau ki nga whakapapa ki te whenua, nga whanau e whakapapa ki te whenua.” (Herewini, M.)

MANA AOTUROA – EXPLORATION

I want to place Waaka's korero of kaitiaki here in a place where he makes sense of a concept that he [and many other Maori] feel is an invention bought about by the necessity of Pakeha systems to dictate our Maori practices which is what Mana Aoturoa considers, how I am able to make sense of the world around me and my place in it:

Kaore ōku whakaaro mō tēnei kaupapa, nā te mea he kupu hou tērā, te kaitiakitanga. He whakamāoritanga noa iho tērā o te 'guardianship'. He matakū tonu nōku ki ngā kupu katoa kua tāpiritia te kūmuri nei a 'tanga', Ehara tērā i te whakaaro Māori.

Kei te mārama au he aha te kaitiaki. I te rohe o Apanui, ko te kaitiaki he tipua, he taniwha rānei. Arā anei te tauira; i ngā takutai, i ngā toka mahinga kai, ko te Whaitere te kaitiaki. I te whenua, ko te Ruru te kaitiaki. Māna e tiaki te iwi e tika ana ki reira, hei whakamataku rānei i te iwi kāore e tika ana. Tētahi atu kupu hoki ko te tautiaki.

Ko te 'tiaki' hoki, he maha ōna whakamārama. I raro i tēnei kaupapa, e rua pea ngā whakamārama e whāia ana. Ko tētahi, ka tiakina e tētahi tangata/tāonga/mōkai he rohe whenua/moana rānei. Kia rokohina te hoariri - ā, kua rere ia ki te whakatika i te iwi.

Tētahi atu whakamārama, ko te tiaki, he tahitahi, he whakapaipai, he takitaki rānei. Anei te tauira; ka noho tētahi ki te tiaki i tō whare - arā tāna mahi he tahitahi papa, he whakakā i te ahi.

Similar to Waaka, my own upbringing has consisted of korero of what kaitiaki are; beings that nurture and protect, living talisman's for whanau and hapu and the korero of whanau who nurture and keep the home fires burning.

Willy Ngamoki talks of kaitiaki in another sense of our wildlife, “what’s the impact of introducing the bee? What’s the impact on our natural pollinators like birds. According to Pa [McGowan], a lot of our pollination was done at night time by bats and then day pollinators like the bee. What effect is introducing thousands of bees going to have on our ecology? Could be detrimental. If the bee’s are sucking up all the pollen where do the tui, korimako, bats go???”. Our sense of the land is entwined in our natural systems of the land, the sea, the rivers, the weather and all that is elemental.

Herewini during our korero makes mention on the practise of kohinga kai and you went every day to the sea, every day to the forest; whanau practised sustainability – there weren’t any words for it or kaitiakitanga; this was ‘tika’.

Ngamoki shares “if people come home to research, I interrogate them, and what do you want out of our land? Reminding them that if they do [research] it belongs to us; we have all these exploitations going on and we’ve been [getting it done to us] and generations before us since Pakeha turned up. Kaitiakitanga is a land system that has been imposed over the top of us, is foreign to us; our people love it! Staunchly defended... that’s what’s bugged up our kaitiakitanga, those old views , we’ve lost all the tikanga...one of the biggest problems is we don’t know what anything looked like for the hapu, before colonisation”.

Hera Ngata-Gibson’s korero is in a vein that I think, is similar, to the previous viewpoints, “we’ve got the cheek to call ourselves kaitiaki...like shareholder and beneficiary, the terms born out of Pakeha necessity, not Maori. Too many of our people have lost those intrinsic and real whakapapa relationships to whenua... we’ve become poor ‘kaitiaki’ and are now obviously trying to redefine what that means to and for us...the lens of colonisation runs rife across the whenua; the whenua is unwell and so are we”.

Walker also considers the impacts of colonisation on the land, “fighting colonised whanau beliefs that the land is a commodity and not a taonga is a challenge and I challenge whanau to be engaged as decision makers at all levels from hapu to iwi, community and central governments. People have to participate and influence decision makes at all levels as everything impacts on our ability to retain our land as taonga tuku iho”.

Similarly, P. Pohatu agree’s with Walkers sentiments that Kaitiekitanga is needed across all levels:

When I was doing my studies and when I finished we had to talk about kaitiekitanga as an iwi resource management system because when really it's kaitiakitanga when you said 'kaitiakitanga' in a council setting they said "oh that's just a Section 7 matter" when really it's our whole world view. That was a huge, it actually became nearly more of a barrier.

You know our people, they just say it how it is but when you're in those forums you actually have to use that terminology; you're saying kaitiakitanga but you can't actually say it because it'll get relegated. You actually had to use all these other ways of saying kaitiakitanga just so that the lawyers and the hearings committee couldn't revert kaitiakitanga to [that of] the pecking order in the Act. So it's just stuff like that.

With kaitiakitanga it's at every level, there's a need for [it] to be expressed, if you're a landowner, if you're the decision maker in the whanau and the hapu that's allowed to bring some things together...or a trustee on the board, at every level there's a role for kaitiakitanga and when one doesn't fulfill their role it can really affect everything else. In that sense it's quite vulnerable, quite fragile.

This is making sense of things in our world, from world views that are often questioned in an English/Pakeha/colonised context.

Katahi ano matau ka hunuku ki te kaenga (6 months) personally I think there's a huge difference! Living back home and now building on our whenua katahi ano wau ka tino mārama ki te tikanga o tenei na kupu 'Turangawaewae' it's only since shifting back home do I really know, experience and understand the true meaning of 'Turangawaewae' all because we have shifted home to live on our whenua – to matau ake whenua – kare i ko atu, i ko mai – I have a place to stand that I can call mōku ake – because of all my tupuna that have gone before me – ka heke, ke heke, ā, ka tukua ihotia ki a wau –pretty amazing really. No where else in this world can I stand and confidently say no konei wau – I belong here! No wau te whenua, no te whenua awau!

When you live at home – you are ahi kaa – and it is our job to actively care and protect the whenua on a day to day basis – because of this you invariably have a close connection.

When I lived in Gisborne although I did heaps already for our Pa and some stuff for our hapu – being back home is heaps different! When I wake up in the morning I am on my whenua,

when I go to sleep here I lie i raro iho i te wahi okioki o woku tupuna – tē taea te karo te hohonutanga o taku honotanga ki te whenua nei – na ratau wau i karanga kia hoki mai ki te kaenga kia tieki i te whenua nei. Just put it this way – I feel heaps different being home from when we lived in Gizzy – tē taea te whakamarama – he hononga ā wairua ki a ratau ma ano hoki ki to matau nei whenua.

“Me tu matau o te kainga i runga i to matau mana motuhake. Ki ahau nei, koiane te huarahi pai mo matau kaua e waiho tenei huarahi ma nga Pakeha hei arahi ma matau. Kei te mohio matau nga whenua, kei te mohio matau ki nga whakapapa ki te whenua, nga whanau e whakapapa ki te whenua.” (Herewini, M.). In a conversation with Herewine we talked about the significance of Te Kapa Haka o te Whanau a Apanui which led me to ask Waaka what kind of impact the kapa has had on identity and connection to the iwi. His response, follows, and to me is also a strong indication of his own personal contribution to a sense of cultural guardianship.

Mōku ake, ki te kore te haka, tērā pea kua momotu haere te here ki tēnei taha ōku. Ko te haka te mea e tō ana i a au ki tēnei o ōku kāinga i waho atu o ngā tangihanga me ngā huritau nui o te whānau. Kei roto i ngā kupu o ngā waiata ngā kōrero o te iwi, koirā te identity. Etahi o ngā kaihaka i haka mo te haka te take. Etahi i haka mo te honore nui, mo te whakahīhi kia kitea rātau e haka ana mo te kapa toa.

Inaiane kua pakeke haere kua mōhio rā au ki te tino hua o te haka, ko ngā kōrero katoa i roto i tō pātai. Nā te haka i mōhio ai au ki taku taha Apanui. Nā te haka i whakakaha i te here ki te iwi.

Ki te taha o tōku hapū, ko Te Whānau a Rūtaia tonu te hapū e mōhio ana au i roto i te iwi. Koirā te wāhi e whai wāhi i ahau ki ngā mahi katoa. tīmata mai i te kītini, ka neke haere ki te wharekai ki te karanga manuhiri, ka neke ki te pae ki te hiki i ngā waiata, ā, inaiane kua tū ki te whakatau manuhiri. Ehara nā te haka tēnā mahi, engari he āwhina nui tōna, ki te taha o ngā waiata me ngā kōrero o te iwi, hei whakahiku ake i aku kōrero.

I roto i ngā tau, kua tōia haeretia e au ētahi tāngata e mōhio ana au nō te whānau a apanui rātau, engari kaore i tino hokihoki ki reira. Nā te kapa haka rātau i mōhio ai rātau ki ngā kōrero o te iwi, ā, ko te mea nui hoki, i whai wāhi rātau ki te tūtakitaki i ngā tāngata o te iwi.

Ko te mahi uaua , ko te tūhono i a rātau ki ō rātau ake hapū, kia `mohio ki aua kōrero, me aua tāngata. koirā te wāhanga kaore pea e taea e te kapa. Etahi nō Pararaki, engari tē kitea rātau i reira. Etahi nō Hīkarukutai, ā nō tenei tau noa iho i hoki pērā ai rātau ki tērā o ngā hapū. Etahi nō te Whanau a Nuku, engari kāore tonu i tino mārama ki ngā tikanga korero o taua marae. koirā hei mahi māku.

TE WHARIKI – THE WEAVING OF ALL THE MANA PRINCIPLES TOGETHER

Kaitiekitanga is different for uri in Ngati Porou; kaitiakitanga is different for uri in Te Whanau-a-Apanui.; kaitiaki guard over you, whatever you perceive them to be; they are people who keep the homefire's burning, alights for those who live away. There is a definite sense that regardless of what you think kaitiaki is, or are, they live on, or close to the land that uri identify to. Connection to the whenua is definitely based on whakapapa and mohiotanga that you belong, you connect because of your kinship ties and your practise of those ties.

The current round of consultation on the Ture Whenua Maori Bill is evidence to many that I spoke with that it is another attempt by the Crown to remove, or take away, Maori and their right of access to their whenua; their taonga tuku iho; land that can ever be sold. There is a worry that the Bill undermines ahikaa and mana whenua status of whanau. There is a worry that the share percentages needed to maintain a perception of "participation" will also alienate the very people who have received little from the land that they have maintained for generations.

"Maori advancement is the product of many forces. Important, if not crucial, to successful outcomes, are the political paradigms within which policies, programmes, and initiatives unfold. Though not the sole driver, Government has the potential to enable, energise, and expand or alternatively to obstruct, constrain, and derail Maori aspirations." (p.166. Durie, 2005)

For those that live away from their whenua and yet maintain a strong sense of whanau and hapu identity, *you* and *your skills* are needed by your whanau and hapu to support not only the whenua, the whanau at home too.

Ko te koopu o Papatuanuku, kua tomokia e te tini e te mano!
Ko te whare o Tangaroa kua kapea e te matau a Maui!
Engari ko te whakaaro anake e tinana ai!
The Supreme Universe, Tane conquered.
Mother Earth ever welcomes to her bosom her myriads.
The House of Tangaroa, Maui hauled from the ocean floor.
But the power of thought is realised only by thought.”
- *Na taku Papa (TMR) i titongia tenei whakatauaki moku*

TE WHAKATUTUKITANGA - CONCLUSION

What is extremely evident from all the korero I have gathered and continue to collect and is evidenced by what I see around me and the whenua I travel; whanau will continue to do what they need to do to survive. We have the thinking and the power of our own minds to navigate our own pathways forward; we certainly don't need the Crown or the law to tell us how to do what has largely been detrimental to our health and wellbeing.

Ahikaa want whanau and uri who live away to come home; to be known to not only the people, to the land as well. Our land is a powerful force, the ihi and mauri that is contained in our environments is an breakable link that as long as you know you whakapapa there; you belong. What is needed is often, for those who have not been bought up at the marae, or in whanau homes on the land, is someone that can assist them to access this cultural capital and these cultural sites.

If we can improve access for whanau to improve and strengthen their identity, outcomes in all sectors for Maori will improve. How this is done is another facet of enquiry that is, at this time, beyond the scope of this paper. More must be done to look at how we all, can help to do this.

In ending, I want to say, there is still magic in the land; the mountains, the hills, our waterways, the trees, the birds, insects; our sea's – the disconnect is in how we as the people of these places have forgotten the ways of listening, like our old people knew how to... only when we can get back to *hearing* the land *and* the people will we be on the right track.

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