

BUILDING BETTER
HOMES, TOWNS
AND CITIES

Ko ngā wā kāinga hei
whakamāhorahora



Te Wairoa, Te Kāinga Tahī:

Morehu Munro



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Every effort has been made to ensure the soundness and accuracy of the opinions and information expressed in this report. While we consider statements in the report are correct, no liability is accepted for any incorrect statement or information.

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Glossary

ahi kaa	keeping the home fires burning
ahi kaa e morehu ana	those who remain
ahi kaa haere atu hoki mai	those who return
ahi kaa moe mate	those who are here but chose not to participate
ahi tere	flickering fire
atua	ancestor with continuing influence, god
awa	river
hapū	subtribe
haukāinga	home, home people
iwi	tribe
kaimoana	seafood
kāinga rua	second home
kāinga tahi	first home
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kaumātua	elders
kaupapa	ground rules, agenda
Kaupapa Māori	a Māori agenda
kawa	etiquette, protocol
Kōhanga Reo	Māori immersion pre-school
kōrero	talk, conversation
koroua	elderly man, men
kuia	elderly woman, women
mahi	work
mamae	hurt
mana	status
manaakitanga	hospitality
marae	courtyard, forecourt of building. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge, wisdom
mātua	parents
maunga	mountain
moko, mokopuna	grandchild/ren
ngahere	bush, forest
ope	entourage

pākehā	NZ European, English language
papakāinga	original home, home base, village
pāwhara	dried fish
pūhaehae	jealous, envious
tangi	rites for the dead
taniwha	water spirit
Te Ātaarangi	Māori language learning community
Te Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori immersion school
te reo, te reo rangatira	Māori language
tikanga	custom
tīpuna	ancestors
urupā	burial ground
wānanga	deliberations, forum, educational seminar
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	extended family, family group
whanaunga	relation, kin
whanui	extensive
whanaungatanga	kinship, sense of family connection

Source. Te Aka Māori-English English-Māori Dictionary online (www.maoridictionary.co.nz)

Summary

In late 2019 I embarked on the collaborative development of a housing research project that would potentially, with funding, be carried out in Te Wairoa, a small town in the north of the Hawke's Bay region of New Zealand. Over a four week period I talked with people at marae, at meetings with local organisations, and during visits with whānau and kaumātua who had always lived in Te Wairoa and those who had returned. I also reflected on my own father's return journey to Te Wairoa. What emerged from these wide-ranging conversations was the importance of ahi kaa—keeping the home fires burning—and the need to revisit understandings of ahi kaa e morehu ana, ahi kaa haere atu hoki mai, and ahi kaa moe mate (those who remain, those who return, those who are here but chose not to participate). Each is described here, alongside narratives that illustrate the input I received. Also included is a summary of the kōrero from the kaumātua spoken with. Finally, conclusions are drawn and a research project for Te Wairoa is proposed.

1 Introduction

A four week journey of inquiry in Te Wairoa, inviting Māori into conversations about the potential they saw in housing research, led to the development of a community-up housing research proposal informed by the many insights gathered. The question raised in the conversations was,

What gaps will iwi and hapū want to be filled by research, focused on illuminating Mātauranga Māori, carried out in collaboration with them?

In responding to this question, many people touched upon the concept of ahi kaa—keeping the home fires burning—and what it was like to live in their kāinga tahi or ancestral homeland, particularly for those who had returned after time away. This report is based on these insights which, in turn, underpinned and provided a mandate for the next phase of research with the community. By way of introduction, the overarching kaupapa and funding source—Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua—for this first phase of inquiry is described within the context of the Building Homes, Towns and Cities National Science Challenge. Following this, the community of Te Wairoa is introduced before this inquiry is described. In this way, this introduction sets the scene for a discussion of the findings as well as drawing some conclusions from this first phase of collaborative inquiry.

Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua

In 2014 the government established National Science Challenges to “bring together the country’s top scientists to work collaboratively across disciplines, institutions and borders to achieve their objectives” (MBIE, 2021, p. 1). The eleven challenges ranged from ‘A Better Start’ to ‘Ageing Well’ to ‘Sustainable Seas’, and included ‘Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities | Ko ngā wā kāinga hei whakamāhorahora’ (BBHTC). In the first four years of funding (2014-18), BBHTC supported a number of researchers, including the largest

challenge cohort of Māori researchers, to undertake research about homes, neighbourhoods, towns, cities and regions and the importance of these built environments (BBHTC, 2018).

Guided by the principles of mātauranga, the Challenge seeks innovative, affordable, and flexible solutions for our homes, towns and cities. This will enable us to create residential environments that suit the needs of our multi-cultural society. Included among these are effects of accelerating climate change and dynamic population shifts (BBHTC, 2021, p. 1).

In mid-2018 BBHTC released its strategy for phase 2 of its research funding programme, from 2019-2024. At this time, BBHTC was nearing the end of its first four year funding programme and had been active in funding Māori researchers and Māori research. The emphasis for the second tranche was to further strengthen the reach and use of research findings “by focusing investment on research that is co-created and co-produced with groups that are dealing directly with problems of housing shortages, housing affordability, homelessness, urban and rural development” (BBHTC, 2018, p. 4). Funding was set aside within the Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua strategic research area of the second tranche of BBHTC to support the co-creation of Kaupapa Māori research.

When she applied to lead out on a Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua co-creation project in 2019, Fiona Cram described her vision as Mana Motuhake, or Māori self-determination about research priorities, methodologies, and utilisation. In this way, the science and mātauranga of Māori housing, homes, place and people could be built and strengthened ‘locally’ for Māori use in problem-solving, vitality and sustainability. Mana Motuhake about Māori telling our own research stories, our own way, for our own use and for our potential benefit. Community researchers were encouraged and funded to work within their communities to develop a research project that would be by Māori, with Māori and primarily for Māori.



This is how the research journey undertaken in Te Wairoa came into being.

Te Wairoa

Te Wairoa is a town in the north of the Hawke's Bay region, located at the mouth of the Wairoa River. The Wairoa District Council (2021) describes the town as originally a Māori settlement, with the Takitimu whareniui (meeting house) sited where the Takitimu waka (ancestral canoe) landed. As Mitchell (1944/1972, p. 43) writes, "Riding the waves over the bar of the Wairoa River the canoe entered the river and travelled about four miles before landing at the place called Makeakea, near where the hall of Takitimu now stands."

Te Wairoa is known for being New Zealand's most Māori town, with around two-thirds of the nearly 9000 people in the Wairoa District identifying as Māori (StatsNZ, 2021). Ngāti Kahungunu o Te Wairoa is the recognised iwi for most of the town's population, however, over the last ten years other Iwi have also been recognised, including Rongomaiwahine, Ngāti Rakai-Paaka, Ngāti Pāhauwera and Ruapani. Te Wairoa is also fiercely loyal to its many hapū and the 37 marae in the Wairoa District. The council, supported by local Māori entities including Te Ātaarangi, Reo Rua and surrounding marae have asked to be seriously considered as one of the first bi-

lingual towns in New Zealand (Kiwa Hammond, personal communication, December 2019).

An outflow of Māori, particularly young Māori men, from the region in the 1960s followed the launch of the Department of Māori Affairs Māori Trade Training Scheme. Those recruited into the scheme travelled to training centres in Auckland, Lower Hutt and Christchurch, where they were hostelled together and looked after. By 1970 some 1,100 young men from around the country had participated in the scheme (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009). Many, like Matua Norm Dewes (see below) remained in the cities they were sent to, having found work, formed friendships and/or fallen in love.

Others moved away from the Wairoa district for work or education, with the population declining from nearly 5200 people (over 10,000 in the district) in 1996 to just over 4200 people (over 8,000 in the district) in 2015 (StatsNZ, 2021). In the years since 2015 the population decline reversed, with a steady increase in people returning to or moving afresh to the district. While the cost of housing has also increased over the past three or so years, there has not been a corresponding increase in building consents.

The population decline in the township and the sale of several state houses resulted in a sharp decrease in property



Picture 1. Old Māori and His Whare, Wairoa. Photographer. Tuttle & Co. For Simpson & Co. Source. Hocken Library 2605_01_010A

In the beginning of 1961 a 15-year-old Norm Dewes (Ngāti Kahungunu) from Wairoa moved into the Rehua Hostel... Norm's trade saw him in the foundry melting heavy metal including iron and steel. "It was a fantastic opportunity and ... it also set me up for life. I didn't quite get the opportunity to melt gold but I did melt pennies," laughs Norm (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009, p. 11).

values in 2013 and 2014. In 2017 the median sale price was \$100,000, increasing to \$150,000 in 2019—although caution interpreting any increase is warranted because of the small number of sales the figures are based upon (AddedValuation, 2021). This caution should also be applied to the headlines that the median house price had increased to over \$250,000 in 2020 (Ellis, 2021). Even so, the pressures on the third of the population renting accommodation have been keenly felt, with a \$320 per week median rent for a house and \$270 a week for a unit. And those wanting to buy their own home are looking with house listings quoting prices upwards of \$350,000 (Investar, 2021).

While the full effect of these increases had not taken hold when this project began in late 2019, housing was still very

much on people's minds and filtering through to their day-to-day conversations. The opportunity to talk with people was therefore timely, as they were keen to air their concerns about what was happening in their town.

A Conversational Journey

When I started the project I decided to go to people I knew. In Te Whakaki, for example, most of the whānau there whakapapa to me and because I had been home since 2002 I had already built up a rapport with them, so conversation was easy. Also, by being involved with Te Ātaarangi, Kōhanga Reo and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori it was easy for me to move around our rohe; Rakai Paaka, Pahauwera, Rongomaiwahine and so forth. I have also spent many weekends in the different areas. When I did my degree at Te Wananga o Raukawa I researched one of my Marae, Hapū Ngati Rakai Paaka and the connections I made then, I used again.

Over four weeks I talked with whānau who had lived in Te Wairoa all their lives as well as whānau who had left and then returned to the township. I met with kaumātua and kuia, some still living on their papakāinga and others that live in rest homes and kaumātua flats. I talked with local government people and health providers, property managers, and local community leaders. I also took the opportunity at various hui I attended to talk with people, and a hui I called specifically for this kaupapa attracted over 80 people. While the people I talked with took the driving seat in these conversations, the kaupapa for them was set by the question I initially asked about "What gaps will iwi and hapū want to be filled by research, focused on illuminating Mātauranga Māori, carried out in collaboration with them"? I have used the information I gathered from these conversations to provide an overview here of the Ngāti Kahungunu o Te Wairoa response to this question, with a focus on the main theme of people's talk; namely, ahi kaa.

I choose the original groups of participants whose narratives are given below because I knew them and I was very familiar with their stories. And because I sit on many paepae in Te Wairoa I also involved some of our Kuia and Koroua I met as there's not much to do except gossip when you are waiting for Ope to come to tangi.

2 Wānanga Ahi Kaa

Those spoken to interpreted the 'kaupapa mātua' as it suited them; for example, words like mātauranga Māori, kawa, kaupapa, tikanga, whanaungatanga, papakāinga, kaitiakitanga, whakapapa and manaakitanga were frequently used in our conversations. However, the understanding and meaning of those words varied depending on the age of the speaker and /or their ahi kaa status (Tere Munro interview, 12/12/2005, see below). Overall, however, the conversations invariably turned to papakāinga, tangata whenua and ahi kaa. Because of this, I re-visit below the explanations of ahi kaa, with these separated into three components:

1. *Ahi kaa e morehu ana*: Remained on the papakāinga, actively supported the marae and hapū, and maintained the homestead for the whānau.
2. *Ahi kaa haere atu hoki mai*: do not live on the papakāinga but return regularly to support the marae and hapū.
3. *Ahi kaa moe mate*: live on the papakāinga but do not support marae and hapū.

Below, I include three narratives that best encompass the findings from my journey. I then complete this report with kōrero from our kaumātua group. This is followed by a conclusion, as well as a proposed pathway forward for the next stage of the research.

Koro Tere Munro

Koro Tere Munro, along with other kaumātua ran kawa, tikanga and kaupapa wānanga in the Ngāti Kahungunu o Te Wairoa Rohe during the late 1970s up until 2008. Below is an extract of a recorded kōrero he gave at a wānanga about ahi kaa in 2005. Koro Tere was a native speaker of te reo rangatira, reverting to pākehā only when he had too. I have transcribed it word-for-word from the recording and have translated it below, so that his words can once more expand our understanding of ahi kaa as a starting place for explored people's kōrero during my own journey.

“ I know there are other names for ahi kaa but I chose to talk about them under these headings because I think that these are better descriptions. First one ahi kaa e morehu ana: the ones left behind, the ones no one else would have, the survivors, the protectors. Their job is to protect what belongs to the hapū at all cost. You have all heard about the taniwha in our Te Wairoa River. He is not a taniwha to us he is a protector, a kaitiaki, too manuhiri ae he taniwha. Ahi kaa e morehu ana they protect, they may not have chosen to stay home, maybe they were chosen by their hapū to stay home. Whatever; their job is to protect the mana, the tikanga the knowledge of their marae their hapū, their iwi. To me, when I hear people talk about whānau I want them to sit down and keep quiet. Māori aren't just about whānau, we are about marae, hapū, iwi, and so to me it is an honour to be chosen by your marae your hapū, to stay home, to be the protector.

Now what about ahi kaa haere atu hoki mai?

Well you know we can't all stay home, not enough room, not enough jobs, but if we think of it this way.

I grew up with 11 brothers and sisters, we all wanted to stay in our home, but we got too big, so we were told by mum that most of us would have to leave; go and find jobs, employment, all those things. But we knew our home was our home, we could and should always come back, but we can't all leave, so we needed to pick the best person to stay behind. In my time my mum was alive and we had a big farm, I wanted to stay home being the baby of the family my mum spoil me. My big brother already ran the farm and I was just learning, so he was chosen to stay, because he was most suited to do the job. Our emotions were put aside, replaced instead with tikanga kawa, kaupapa, end of story. So now let's look at that on a bigger scale; our marae, our papakāinga, our hapū, and so on. The best suited were told to stay, the rest of us had to go, we sent money back, we fundraised, we returned whenever we could, we accepted that the ones chosen to stay home were the boss, they were chosen, tikanga, kawa, kaupapa.

I was the ahi kaa haere atu hoki mai but as soon as I returned home to live I became the ahi kaa e morehu ana.

Everywhere we go we have whānau that don't care what happens. Again one of my sisters did not care whether she stayed or went and that soon became her whole life, a life of not making decisions, of not committing to anything. Again we have those people in every village, they don't care about tikanga, kaupapa, kawa, and they don't involve themselves in their marae, hapū, iwi affairs. Those ones are the ahi kaa moe mate I call them wasters; enough said.

I say all these things for a reason, there's a reason our atua our tūpuna followed tikanga, kawa and kaupapa, we are Māori, first and foremost, our traditions have kept our world in order from the beginning of time. We all have a role to play, some of us are protectors, some of us are gatherers and the rest of us are reminders of what will happen when we do nothing.”

The influence that Mātauranga Māori wānanga had on the Wairoa people in the 1970s through to 2010 cannot be overstated. I know in the late 1970s, having grown up in this period of time, that there was a massive mind-shift towards the revitalization of Kahungunu reo, kawa, tikanga. Leaders like Canon Wi Huata, Gerry Hapuku, Huki Solomon Tere Munro and others were determined to reclaim and restore Kahungunutanga and Kahungunu Mātauranga Māori.

Wānanga helped marae, hapū, and iwi whānau better understand their world. Tere Munro's kōrero is just one example; his explanation of the relationships and the roles of the ahi kaa imprinted on his students for many years. However he still made it clear that we all play a part in our Māori world. He defined kaitiaki as protectors, and insisted that whānau are not as important as marae, hapū and iwi. The person chosen to remain behind was therefore decided by the whānau, marae, hapū and iwi.

Ahi kaa e morehu ana

I spoke to whānau who have lived near their marae and on their papakāinga for generations. Some were still living in the original homes their tīpuna built over 100 years ago. Others had renovated and/or upgraded them to suit their purposes, either by adding more rooms, adding more buildings, and/or attaching home units to the original homes. I spoke to a young couple who were born and raised on their papakāinga. They recently built a house on land gifted to them by their

marae and they are both active in the community and whānau. Māoritanga is very important to them. They talked about the hopes and dreams they have for the land, re-connecting with the awa and teaching te reo and tikanga to their whānau.

People also talked of the endless financial struggle; the high cost of living; the lack of a village grocery store; the lack of employment opportunities; the death of their marae language; the loss of their customs and practices; the closing down of rural schools; the closing down of communal milking sheds and so on, and so on. The impact of whānau having to move away because of work and educational opportunities from a predominantly rural environment to a town or city had a devastating effect on how rōpū think of each other.

The *ahi kaa e morehu ana* expressed anger and resentment toward the whānau returning to the papakāinga marae and hapū of their tīpuna. They believed that mātauranga Māori, kawa, kaupapa, tikanga, whanaungatanga, papakāinga, kaitiakitanga, whakapapa and manaakitanga were not important to the whānau that were returning to the papakāinga. They also believed that they were being judged by the whānau returning home. During our discussions rōpū expressed an almost overwhelming feeling of sadness. However that feeling was quickly replaced with anger, resentment, jealousy, and for some, even rage, that was predominantly directed toward the ahi kaa haere atu hoki mai.

Narrative 1: Rob nō Iwitea

Rob is a 55 year old male who has been married for over 30 years. He has four children and six mokopuna; all of them currently residing overseas. He has lived on his family's papakāinga all his life, following in the footsteps of his father and koroua. His whānau have farmed and cropped the whenua for generations. He was raised in an environment where commitment to the marae and working for the village were more important than the individual needs of the whānau.

Rob attended many kawa, tikanga, and kaupapa wānanga run by kaumātua, including Canon Wi Huata, Tere Munro, Huki Solomon and Te Ariki Mei. The concept of kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga were practiced daily; gathering kaimoana for the village, eels for the old people, planting gardens for the marae.

Rob and his family brought a removable home and placed it on their tīpuna property 10 years ago; he has been in conflict with his whānau whanui ever since. Below is an extract of my conversation with him.

“ Bro to me Mātauranga Māori is just the way I do things and those things were passed down to me by my tīpuna and by the atua. I go and catch eels, dive for kaimoana, kill animals, hunt and gather kai because that is what I was taught to do, for the whānau, marae, hapū and iwi. That is my job, which is what I'm here to do. I don't question it, my father never questioned why he was the one that had to stay home and look after the farm, find money to cover the cost of maintenance, rates etc, he just did it, to me that's tikanga, that's whanaungatanga, that's manaakitanga, bro that's me.

All our trouble between the families began when one of my whānau who has lived his whole life in the city did a google search, found out how much land the family had, went to the Māori land court, rounded up other whānau and then sent me an email saying I owe back rent on the farm and I need to move my home or buy the land it sits on.

I purposely extended the family home and put another home beside it so that my family would always know the home belongs to us all. Come home, stay, enjoy. My dad told me to look after our papakāinga for when our family returned and that's what I did; I kept the animals fat, kept the farm tidy, all these things and for what; to be confronted by a bunch of money grabbing strangers that think they're family because there whakapapa says so.

Not once did my whānau come and see me to talk about the marae, cleaning the urupā; re-planting our lake to protect the eels. Who do they think mows the lawns, maintains the marae, paint our father's house, fixes the fences? All they do is moan and criticise when they come. Better off they stay away and leave us alone. I told him and the rest of my townie whānau I'll see them in court.

Bro they think I had it easy living for free, no worries, doesn't matter about the endless marae Hui, the constant fixing up of the marae, tangi, none of that is important to them. They just see land and then money.”

(Interviewed 10/09/2019)

Rob's understanding and knowledge of Mātauranga Māori has been developed over years of observing his mātua, koroua and kuia and by going to tikanga, kaupapa and kawa wānanga. He believes that there are certain ways things should be done, a certain way people should be treated (tikanga). Relationships are important to Rob; relationships with marae, awa, papakāinga. Whanaungatanga is also important to him, however he believes his idea of whanaungatanga may not be the same as the whānau that do not live by their marae or on their papakāinga. Rob feels a huge sense of mistrust, anger and frustration toward the whānau that do not practice tikanga, kaupapa, and kawa. He understands what koroua of his time were saying in their ahi kaa wānanga and is sad because kōrero like that is not being promoted in the most recent wānanga. He believes that is the reason why so many whānau are fighting amongst themselves now. Some of his whānau live by their mātauranga Māori values while others only apply those values when attending tangi.

Ahi kaa haere atu hoki mai

Many of the whānau of Kahungunu o Te Wairoa were forced to leave their villages due to the lack of education and employment opportunities. History and kōrero from our old people tell us that the decision to move was not made lightly; the whānau forced to leave longed to be near their marae, their hapū and their whanau (Tere Munro, 12/12/2005). They tried to remain close to the village, returning often, however due to cost and employment issues, eventually whānau returned less and less as the years went on.

Those spoken with were in agreement about the difficulties they faced when returning home to build and live on the papakāinga. Although they began discussion around the financial impacts, the conversations quickly turned to the social impacts. *The ahi kaa haere atu hoki mai* expressed feelings of alienation, inadequacy, guilt, of not being worthy, of being judged. Even though whakapapa, papakāinga and whanaungatanga were the reasons they returned home, they felt that the welcome by their own whānau was for ceremonial purposes only.

I spoke with a family that had returned to their papakāinga after many years abroad. They are continually at loggerheads with the locals (specifically marae trustees) including Wairoa Council regarding the plans they have to revitalize the economy in the community and they struggle to get any movement. They believe that mātauranga Māori has had a negative impact on them being able to settle. They also believed that the locals of the community were being held back because of their whānau, hapū, iwi and marae beliefs.

Narrative 2: Kirituna

Kirituna was born 61 years ago, his father was a teacher and so at an early age, he thinks 6, the family moved from their village to Stratford, Taranaki. He went to school in Taranaki until he was old enough to go to high school. After high school he joined the New Zealand Police Force where he stayed mostly in Wellington, for 35 years. Along the way he felt the need to learn te reo rangatira. He is now very proficient, and other people have said he could be considered somewhat of an expert.

Kirituna quickly learnt that it was not enough to just learn te reo rangatira, he needed to understand kawa, tikanga and kaupapa, and so for many years he would return home to his papakāinga, to talk to and observe the *old people*. In 2005 he made their first attempt to buy land (their own family land) on the papakāinga of their father, close to the marae. Unfortunately because their father's land was part of a family trust block he was unable to secure a sale.

Three years later a whānau member, not one from the family plot, offered some land free of charge to him, thereby allowing them to build a home and settle down close to the marae. He became involved in the revitalization of te reo rangatira in the village. He is also sat as a trustee on the lake restoration project.

Kirituna is a wonderful speaker in both languages and it was an absolute pleasure to discuss the kaupapa mātua with him. These are excerpts from his recordings:

“ Whanaunga thank you for choosing me to have this kōrero with, I am humbled.

It was a huge shock to be turned down when I asked to buy a piece of land to build on. It took me and my family a while to recover emotionally from that, we even thought about simply buying some land in Wellington and staying there instead. But like all things once the dust settled we could see the issues, the real issues. It's funny now but all the times I travelled home to attend tangi, birthdays, marae hui, worked on the land, pāwhara eels with my cousins; all that amounted to nothing when I asked to buy my father's land. I was really hurt when we couldn't buy our father's land, very angry and aggrieved. When this happened I could feel my cousins that stayed at home were blaming me for not staying home; that was the choice of my parents not me. Pūhaehae in English means jealousy, that's the feeling I got from many of my whānau, so did my family.

Lucky enough one of our other whānau heard of my desires to return home and so offered some land to me, surveyed it off and gave me the title. Hard case, he wouldn't take my money, not even for cost of transfer. He told me, "Nephew this land is to be worked on, played on and lived on, that's what keeps it alive, that's what keeps our marae alive. This land is for you to build and settle on."

I remember all the great times we had on this whenua when my dad brought us home and I wanted my children and grandchildren to experience that same feeling. So here we are 2019 on land my children can now call their tūrangawaewae, their papakāinga and their home. We have built a home and re-located another because I have too many grandchildren and they all want to come home to Papa's place.

Cousin, I have been back here in our village since 2008 but there are times when I still feel like I'm being punished for not living here all my life. It still makes me angry but then sad.

One of the things I thought my family would need to commit to prior to us returning to our village was an understanding of te reo me ona tikanga Māori, and the kawa and kaupapa of our village. So I taught them what I knew and off they went, all of them, my English wife and our four children, off they went to learn te reo rangatira. Now we only speak Māori; in our homes, in our cars, and whenever we are together. The reasons why I wanted my family to understand te reo me ona tikanga Māori was because I did not want them to feel left out of the village conversations when we returned home.

There is a lot of work to be done here in our village because our te reo is almost non-existent, our kawa is not being adhered to, our kawa is not being practiced. If we don't breathe life into these things, anger, suspicion and jealousy will continue to dominate our village decisions. We need to wānanga tikanga, kawa, Mātauranga, kupu, karakia. We need to wānanga success and disappointment, education and so on and so on. But we need to do this in a proactive manner. Our people are mamae because they can't speak the language. They may not show it but I can feel they need to; patua te whakamā [lose the shyness] for all our sakes. So we need to be engaging in a positive non-threatening manner. You know cousin some of the programmes that are being promoted to learn te reo are scary. Some of our people have never stood in front of anyone and spoken. We need to remember that.

Our Te Aho Matua vision is "kia tū rangatira ai hei raukura mō āpōpō", if we don't welcome home our whānau that want to come home and bring their children home there will be no "mō āpōpō". ”

Kirituna grew up not living on his papakāinga, he returned home often to be with the old people to observe kawa, tikanga and kaupapa. Even though he was a second generational ahi kaa haere atu hoki mai he always knew he would return home. He prepared his family by learning te reo, kawa, tikanga, kaupapa, and by maintaining a physical connection to the village. Despite all his efforts nothing could have prepared him for the hurt he felt over attempting to purchase land.

He has lived in the village for 11 years and is involved in the revitalization of te reo rangatira, the lake restoration project,

and is the current historian, however he stills feels that he has not been fully accepted by his *ahi kaa e morehu ana* whānau.

Ahi kaa moe mate

There are whānau that choose not to participate in village, marae, hapū and iwi activities. Some believe that we need to leave the old ways behind and adapt to the world in front of us. Some find the pākehā world suits their needs more than the Māori world.

Narrative: Tom and his wife: Nō Te Waihirere

Tom and his wife returned to their papakāinga, after many years overseas, with plans to create a hydroponic business and build a home. Prior to returning they researched the business, sourced funding and secured the finance to build. Being trust members of their papakāinga land they thought the purchase would be just a formality. However they are now in a legal battle with the other land trust members and the marae trustees. The Marae Trustees believe Tom and his wife have given no consideration (kawa/tikanga) the impact their business will have on the awa and whenua.

They were both happy to let me record them; these are some of their thoughts regarding the kaupapa matua:

“ You know Morehu; I lived my whole life in the pākehā world, that’s why I have the wealth I have. Māori wasn’t going to make me wealthy so I didn’t bother with it. I told my wife and kids don’t waste your time with those Māori things.

I watched my parents argue, fight and drink because of the lack of money and I promised myself that I wouldn’t let that happen to me or my family. I had a plan, make lots of money, come home, kick my waster whānau off the land and build my home and my hydroponic business. I could do this because of my name; I am the grandson of the rangatira that owned the land. I thought I didn’t have to worry about tikanga or anything like that, my name was enough. I told my kids the same thing.

So I come home and took my whānau to the land court to get them off the land I wanted to turn into a business. My

whānau keep telling me wealth is not money, I just laugh because I know wealth is money. I was able to build a home, the best home on the road. I built a business, I employ people, I go fishing and play golf whenever I want, because I can afford too.

I know people don’t like me but I don’t care. If I had my way I would knock down the Kohanga by the marae and turn it into a grocery shop. My whānau are still living as if they’re still running around in grass skirts and lying on dirt floors. It doesn’t have to be that way. My grandfather didn’t want us to live like that, I don’t go to the marae, there’s nothing there for me. But they all know, because of my name if I want something I’ll get it.

I tell my marae that we should leave traditions in the past and use technology to benefit our people but they don’t listen. We are stuck in an old world ideology and that is hindering our economical success.

My father and mother were immersed in our hapū and marae and they died poor. We had to borrow money to bury them; they died young and they died poor, that’s what their world of Māori did for them.

I want my family never to struggle the way me and my brothers and sisters struggled, hungry, no clothes, no shoes, that’s not happening to my family. If other families don’t want to work hard and want to stay poor, that’s their choice. The Māori things that they talk about and believe in will keep them in rags.

I decided a long time ago that my family comes first they are the most important things to me. ”

Tom and his wife believe Mātauranga Māori has had a negative impact on them being able to settle. They believe other whānau too are being held back because of old and outdated values. Tom considers looking after his family more important than looking after the needs of whānau, marae, hapū and iwi.

Kaumātua

The kaumātua still living on their papakāinga spoke of their overwhelming feelings of sadness. They look out the window of their homes to paddocks filled with thistles and blackberry when not so long ago there were crops, gardens, kai in abundance, where once the whole village would come and mahia te mahi. Even though they heard the word *manaakitanga* and *whanaungatanga* all the time, they question whether the essence of those words is understood in these times. They also talked of the strain that gangs and drugs have placed on them; some having to bring up moko whose parents are in jail due to drugs. Others due to the resurgence of gang violence in the township are fearful of their own *whakapapa*. The old people now living in kaumātua flats admit that initially they were angry having to leave their tūrangawaewae, but now enjoy the camaraderie, safety and warmth the flats provide.

The kaumātua, whether living on their papakāinga or not, whether living in the whānau homes or in kaumātua flats were universal in agreement around:

- Manaakitanga: regarding the sharing of kai, growing crops, gathering food supporting the marae.
- Kaitiakitanga: the lack of protection, guardianship of their awa, maunga, ngahere, and more importantly each other.
- Whanaungatanga: We do not care enough about each other now, gangs and drugs are everywhere, mothers have to bring their tamariki up as single parents.
- The old people now living in kaumātua flats said they enjoy the camaraderie, safety and warmth the flats provide.

There are whānau that choose not to participate in village, marae, hapū and iwi activities. Some believe that we need to leave the old ways behind and adapt to the world in front of us. Some find the pākehā world suits their needs more than the Māori world.

Dr Tepora Emery (2008) also gathered stories related to ahi kaa from whānau, including those who were still living away from their kāinga tahi. Some of those living away from home intended to return, while others had no intention of moving back home. She also identified tension between those who had remained at home (haukāinga ahi kaa) and those who had moved away (ahi tere), saying that “this tension must be diminished in order to build the relationships to improve hapū allegiance (whanaungatanga) to build hapū strength and to maintain hapū culture and identity” (Emery, 2008, p. ii). The same can be said about Te Wairoa.

Dr Meihana Durie’s (2011) thesis investigated the relevance of kawa, tikanga and kaupapa to modern times. His thesis is essentially about Māori engagement with society in Te Ao Hurihuri. Although the focus is on kawa and tikanga in contemporary times, the origins are ancient and are embedded in Māori knowledge system, Mātauranga Māori. Maintaining the values in environments where Māori world views are not the prevailing norm is one of the dilemmas we as whānau, marae, hapū and iwi face. We owe it to the future generations of our whakapapa to do the right thing; finding Mātauranga Māori solutions through research will assist our community to continue to grow and flourish.

We owe it to the future generations of our whakapapa to do the right thing the word for that is tikanga, the word manaakitanga is the expression of mana enhancing behaviour toward each other. Whanaungatanga is about relationships, about being part of a larger whole, of the collective. Finding mātauranga Māori solutions through research will assist our community to continue to grow and flourish (Mead, 2003).

3 Conclusion

The survey group has identified the above as some of the issues/gaps they have had to navigate, whether they are the *ahi kaa e morehu ana*, *haere atu hoki mai* or *moe mate*. Marae, hapū and iwi might like to fill these gaps by research focussed on illuminating mātauranga Māori. It is proposed that the team, in collaboration with iwi and hapū, will gather information over the next two years that will be invaluable for informing community projects that are currently being initiated and already running. It would also be highly desirable that the team continues to work closely with members of the survey group, journeying with them and deepening the sharing about their experiences and mātauranga.

To conclude, I know the survey group I started with wanted to improve the way they lived so as to benefit their whānau, hapū, and marae. The question was, “what did this improvement look like?” Perhaps this is the time to amend our “tikanga”; certainly it’s time to re-connect with our marae and our traditional ways. My dad said tradition is “best work process” at that time, so don’t hang on to tradition, adapt and evolve; but make sure that “best work practice” is an improvement on your traditional ways and fits “tikanga”. With this as a guiding principle, we continue on our journey of inquiry.

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