Rū Te Whakaturu Whenua

Understanding Hapū Relationships Through Cultural Mapping

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Abstract:

The paramount objective of this research is to critically analyse a model of knowledge revitalization, reproduction, re-dissemination and re-storage that underpins the traditional Māori essence of building hapū capacity and the relationship hapū descendants have with their ancestral lands. The contemporary application of traditional essence for the research objective above will investigate the use of GIS (Geographic Information System), UAV (Unmanned Aerial Vehicle) and various visual technologies to enhance the traditional knowledge aspirations of hapū via the form of indigenous cultural mapping. This form of cultural mapping will be analysed through three main realms: first, in terms of traditional aspects of mapping and the use of knowledge within; second, analysing mapping and the use of knowledge throughout the colonial process; and finally, piecing together the aspired future of cultural mapping and how this may provide insight into how the future of hapū development may be structured. Aligned with a Kaupapa Māori approach, the present research utilised a mixed methods approach utilising semi-structured interviews, site visits and participatory mapping techniques to gather information and ancestral knowledge aligned to the research objectives.
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1 The Tree of Historical Context

I recognise that the reciprocal relationship between the natural physical spiritual world and indigenous communities from all four winds of the globe has always held centrality within such societies for many generations. The experience and observation of this world has been at the core from which cultural values, beliefs and practices have stemmed through the generations of the past, generations of the present and those generations yet to come. It is from this realisation we as indigenous peoples generate a body of knowledge that roots itself deep within the whenua (land/placenta) of Papatūānuku (Ancestral Earth Mother) and branches itself high to the realms of Ranginui (Ancestral Sky Father). It is this crucial aspect of connectivity that has allowed our knowledge bases to hold a structure of "holisticity" a term which I conceive to mean the notion of a holistic perspective. Therefore, our tree of knowledge provides the ecosystem from which our indigenous society lives, thrives and breathes. Sadly, indigenous peoples from the four winds have become subject to a process of multifaceted deforestation. A process of deforestation that has led to not only the destruction of the physical and spiritual mauri (life principle) of their natural world but also deforestation of their forests of knowledge that upheld an understanding of this world. Though this process of deforestation has left a barren plain from which our people if lucky still have their ancestral land to stand on; there are old seeds-hidden, sprouts of tradition and trees of knowledge scattered throughout our landscape awaiting to be nurtured, replanted and to be taken care of. It is from this awareness that we as indigenous peoples go in search of these hidden knowledges and seek to revitalise the mauri of our natural world and in turn our minds. Gaining insights into ancestral tradition and resurfacing these indigenous knowledges have allowed indigenous communities from all winds to embrace a critical tool in how to revitalise, reproduce, re-disseminate and re-store the essence of traditional knowledge in a contemporary context, including Māori here in Aotearoa New Zealand.

I came to the realisation that as a consequence of the colonial injustices imposed upon Māori over the last 200 years a large amount of whānau (extended family), hapū (traditional autonomous unit) and iwi (loose confederation of hapū) energy has gone into the struggle of maintaining their rangatiratanga (sovereignty) as tangata whenua (people from the land) here in Aotearoa New Zealand. A collation of various traditional perspectives, insights and knowledge has been put at the front line of indigenous engagement with a wide range of colonial processes such as the Native Land Court; a process that has led to the individualisation of indigenous land titles; and The Treaty Settlement Process; a process that has led to the corporatisation and centralisation of Māori self-determination. These are two of many processes the energy of whānau, hapū and iwi have generationally been
subject to in terms of producing, disseminating and storing knowledge to provide evidence and validity for their rights and to form into self-determined indigenous peoples. However, the form in which this knowledge is presented, articulated and perceived is very much confined within the structures of western colonial discourse where if not the “appropriate” language and knowledge were provided, your rights as a shareholder, spokesperson but more importantly a self-determined self-determinant would not have been recognised or legitimised. The organisation of traditional knowledge has been consumed, restructured and reorganised to fit into these colonial processes and has caused an exhausting consumption of energy to the detriment of our indigenous communities. In turn the focus on the production, transmission and maintenance of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledges and way of knowing) has to an extent become restricted to colonial prescriptions. Therefore, one of the reasons for giving light to this research, is to address ways in which the production, transmission and maintenance of knowledge can be revitalised, built by a traditional essence and structure - that is outside of imposed colonial processes; and returned to our own self-determined structures and practices.

“Self-determined” indigenous self-determination is a notion that reflects the actualisation of indigenous aspirations by having the right to choose the form of self-determination. This concept was reinforced in my previous research (Mokaraka-Harris, 2015) explaining that the indigenous identity of Hokianga whānui is currently fragmented and submerged beneath the imposition of the Treaty settlement process, where as a result of a prescribed form of indigenous identity imposed by the Crown, Hokianga whānui as a pre-existing indigenous political identity failed to be recognised. Given this notion and focusing in the production, transmission and maintenance of knowledge the present research seeks to extend endeavour on this issue in a new direction. Progressing forward on from the case study analysis of Hokianga whānui I found that this identity provided a compelling aspiration for the revitalisation of the hapū capacity; the traditional autonomous kinship structure within Māori society. Alongside bringing back to life the political power of hapū Hokianga whānui also inspired the value in focusing on development at this local scale. In order to embrace this aspiration of hapū based development is my priority to make the focus of the present research the hapū scale.

The empowerment of self-determined indigenous self-determinants, such as Hokianga whānui, is in itself a process of decolonisation. By allowing legitimate indigenous voices that have been silenced by the constraints of colonial structures to build their indigenous capacity, we as indigenous groups, are in turn determining, reconstructing what our forest of knowledge used to look like thus returning to an ecosystem of balance and holistic wellbeing.
1.1 Research Context

Having the self-determined ability to produce, disseminate and maintain knowledge is a crucial aspect of indigenous identity in order to revitalise the mauri of our holistic ecosystem. This is the way in which Hokianga whānui for example sought to uphold such an ecosystem by embedding acknowledgement of first the physical significance of their identity: the land, water and catchment of Hokianga; second the spiritual significance of their identity: a spiritual place of many names; and finally, the social significance of their identity: a korowai of the same feather (Mokaraka-Harris et al. 2017). By understanding these three significances of their identity the hapū of Hokianga whānui are able to connect back to foundations that weave together relationships held by all those who whakapapa back to Hokianga whānui. If we look deeper into what exactly is happening when these significances are being referred to it is a process of whakapapa; a way in which we map our existence. Moreover, the use of pepeha (ancestral saying) for Māori society is a means of explaining your place in the world. When I recite my pepeha:

*From the many maunga of Hokianga, flows the many awa of Hokianga,
From the many awa of Hokianga, lives the many people of Hokianga,
From the many people of Hokianga, speaks the many stories of Hokianga,
From the many stories of Hokianga, bestows the whakapapa of Hokianga.*

*From Rakautapu, Maungataniwha, Whakatere, Tarakeha. Flows Tapuwae, Tapapa, Waima, Moetangi,
From these many awa, lives the many people of Ngai Tupoto, Te Mahurehure, Te Tao Maui
From the many people of these hapū, speaks the many stories of my ancestors
From the many stories of my ancestors, bestow the whakapapa of my existence.*

I have mapped out my whakapapa, my existence and a brief map of where my ancestors once stood. By orally reciting this pepeha I have kept alive a form of cultural mapping my ancestors had once breathed life into as well. In my understanding the traditional Māori society was an ecosystem that was upheld with the practice of reciprocal conversation via the speaking mouth and the listening ear; the only form of written language was embedded in whakairo (carving), tā moko (tattoo) and symbolism. However, with the imposition of colonial processes and its impacts on mātauranga Māori the concept and form of mapping was submerged beneath murky waters, where a lot of the knowledge pertaining to how Māori society mapped the whenua also had become deforested. Alongside the land fragmentation caused by the colonial legislation, the relationship and knowledge pertaining to ancestral land began to change slowly pulling away from the traditional perspectives of whenua. As a result, the policies surrounding the colonial legislation began to impose a
new concept of mapping, a concept of mapping disassociated with the natural rhythms of the natural world. In relation to the empowerment of a hapū capacity and the enhancement of knowledge revitalization, reproduction, re-dissemination and restoration it is essential that for this research we look into the forms and ways in which hapū assert their right to map their ancestral lands as self-determinants. Over the period of colonisation, the use of maps has been constructed to impose certain ideologies, claims and understanding of particular places; used to further alienate indigenous peoples. Therefore, it is vital that hapū take control and resurface their knowledge bases to remap their ancestral landscape the way they see fit.

1.2 Research Objectives and Questions

The primary aim of this research is to critically analyse a model of knowledge revitalization, reproduction, re-dissemination and re-storage that underpins the traditional Māori essence of building hapū capacity and the relationships hapū descendants have with their ancestral lands. The contemporary application of traditional essence for the research objective above will involve the investigation of the use of GIS (Geographic Information System), UAV (Unmanned Aerial Vehicle) and various visual technologies to enhance the traditional knowledge aspirations of hapū via indigenous cultural mapping. This form of cultural mapping will be analysed through three main realms: firstly, in terms of traditional aspects of mapping and the use of knowledge within; secondly analysing mapping and the use of knowledge throughout the colonial process; and finally piecing together the aspired future of cultural mapping and how this may provide insight into how the future of hapū development may be structured. In particular, the study will address the following questions:

1) What have been the significant aspects of traditional forms of mapping and relationships with the natural world in terms of:

   a) Physical/Ecological dimensions

   b) Spiritual dimensions

   c) Social dimensions
2) What might three dimensions mean in terms of envisioning ways of moving forward with mapping for the future development of hapū? How can we merge the most desirable aspects of both past and present mapping forms for the future development of hapū?

1.3 Thesis Structure

Through-out this thesis the term “we” and “our” has been used in most parts to replace conventional use of “I”. The fruits found within this research study were not gathered by a mere individual rather there was a collective gathering of knowledge and thoughts by our manukura (highly esteemed participants) and guidance offered from an exceptional supervisory panel. In terms of the findings and results within this thesis all concepts, interpretations and discussions were validated by our manukura to ensure that their insights were understood in the manner in which they saw fit. Therefore, the use of the terms “we” and “our” acknowledges that knowledge produced within this project are the intellectual rights of the individuals involved in the process.

Chapter 2 – As the seed of research drops from the tree of historical context it is cast into the four winds of theory. In its descent it grows into its own tree of knowledge. This chapter will provide an insight into the theories and ideas used to construct the framework for this research and outlines the foundational roots of this research.

Chapter 3 – The soils of methodology detail the methods encompassed within this approach and explain the reasons for adopting these methods. The chapter will begin with a discussion on indigenous methodology, upon which this research is founded, followed by an appraisal of qualitative research and its appropriateness here. The way in which the collection and analysis of data has been taken will then be presented.

Chapter 4 – Upon being informed by the four winds of theory and planted into the appropriate soils of methodology this seed of research will be able to grow and expand into its own tree of knowledge. The first expansions of this seed and its roots will explore and draw sustenance from traditional knowledges related to the conceptualisation of perspective, space, place and time. Drawn from the insights of our manu it was appropriate that a section of this thesis be dedicated to this conceptualisation and the broader indigenous philosophy of spatial and temporal mapping.

Chapter 5 – This chapter will provide the first of the three findings chapters highlighting the significant role the eco-physical realm plays in indigenous relationship hapū have with their ancestral landscape. The interconnected relationship hapū have with their pae maunga (mountain ridges), awa (rivers), puna (springs); and watershed catchments (hōpua) will be explored within this chapter, highlighting links between the conceptualisation of physical space and how this informs traditional spatial planning and decision-making processes.

Chapter 6 – Findings pertaining to how hapū traditionally formed a spiritual relationship with their ancestral landscape will be described and explained within this chapter. An exploration of places names and their significance in mapping the landscape will be a focus.
Key findings investigated in this chapter draws attention to the role ancestral knowledge of place holds in relation hapū behavioural practices.

**Chapter 7** – In this chapter the final findings of the thesis will be portrayed unearthing the complexities of knowledge dissemination, social rights and how hapū temporally map and relate to their ancestral landscape. Findings within this chapter will also reflect on how individual and collective experience establish a diverse and robust social relationship hapū have with their whenua.

**Chapter 8** – This is the final chapter that will conclude this thesis by synthesising all discussions embedded within the chapters that addressed each of the research questions. We will provide concluding comments that address the aims of this research.
2 The Winds of Theory

The concept of “deep mapping” pertains to a form of mapping that seeks to delve deeply into a multifaceted understanding of the different layers of a given place. Deep mapping alludes to the notion that there are numerous dimensions woven within a given landscape thus a deeper understanding of these facets is required. Springett (2015) - in a physical/ecological sense - refers to this as an “intensive exploration” (p.2) of the shape and features of a particular surface, space or environment to develop a richer understanding of place. From a spiritual point of view, Thurgill (2015) touches on the concept of deep mapping as a means of connecting and interacting with landscapes of the past that have become hidden within landscapes of the present. Socially, Lewis (2015) explains the pragmatic practice of deep mapping as a project of inclusion that builds localised knowledge by communities for communities. Woven within these perspectives as to what deep mapping is, there is a common thread of relatability and that is the aspiration: to strengthen marginalised voices whose ways of mapping have become silted beneath the layers of the dominant expressions of knowledge. Moreover, Smith (2015) explains that deep mapping “is at heart a form of place-making, or place-transformation” (p.66). Deep mapping in all its facets provides a foundation for the theoretical framework that will structure this research.

These perceptions of deep mapping articulate a strong connection to place identity inherent within the hapū on which the research focuses. My previous research (Mokaraka-Harris et al. 2016) demonstrates the lack of recognition of notions of place identity and sense of place. Within Hokianga this was found to be one of the major factors that impinged on the development of Hokianga whānui as a self-determined indigenous identity that holds its existence to three core facets. Given that the focus of the research will be within the Māori community of Hokianga whānui, it would be ethically appropriate to construct a theoretical framework for deep mapping that acknowledges this indigenous identity. Furthermore, as this identity perceives the shared physical/ecological, spiritual and social realms as a major construct of the environment, the application of deep mapping to these realms would provide a more in-depth understanding of mapping for the present research.

The foundational layer of this identity first acknowledges the physical significance otherwise known as “The Land, the Water, the Catchment of Hokianga”. This facet of identity highlights the spatial awareness of Hokianga. A place all communities within Hokianga are physically connected by the maunga (mountains) that nest the multiple communities that live scattered throughout the catchment. “Hokianga, a spiritual place of many names” rests upon the physical layer and pays homage to the ancestors and significant events of the past. These shared histories, stories
and whakapapa (genealogy) are the second layer from which Hokianga whānui as an identity was built. Finally, “Hokianga, a korowai of the same feather” is the social layer which expresses the growth of hapū and iwi and the awareness of being a part of a large kinship network, a connection that ties together all living communities within Hokianga (Mokaraka-Harris et al. 2017).

So, the first section of this chapter will discuss the relationship Indigenous mapping has with the physical/ecological realms of ancestral land; analysing the influence the natural layout of the land, the water and catchment of Hokianga has in conceptualising how we “map” spatially. The second part of this chapter will provide insights into understanding the relationship traditional mapping has with the spiritual realm attached to ancestral lands; analysing the theory of naming places and the various temporal aspects interwoven with such action. The third section of this chapter will provide a basis from which a deeper understanding of the social realm can be interpreted; the dissemination of knowledge through shared experiences, social relationship and the branching of knowledge through-out.

2.1 Eco-Physical Realm

In order to understand the concept of the physical/ecological realm of mapping in this project, we must first picture a landscape untouched by human contact; possibly an ancient fragment of Gondwanaland covered by a long white cloud. In scientific geographical terms a physical landscape that has held its own natural processes of land formation, climate, hydrologic cycles and ecologies since the dawn of time. In te ao Māori (the Māori world) there are creation narratives that run parallel in explaining this physical landscape. Upon the separation of Papatūānuku and Ranginui the physical realm came into light. To breathe life into the natural processes of this world each child of Papa and Ranginui began to foster the mauri of such space. Tānemahuta (Ancestor of the Forest) clothed his mother with forests, vegetation and fauna to protect her. Tangaroa (Ancestor of the Sea) upheld life within the ocean. Tawhirimatea (Ancestor of the Winds) took to the skies of his father. Rūaumoko (Unborn ancestor of Earthquakes) kept his mother warm and many more children took their place within the physical realm. It was from the actions of all these Primal ancestors that te ao Māori explains the natural processes of land formation, climate, hydrologic cycles and ecologies. In appreciation of this we can start to view what the concept of the physical/ecological realm represents; those features - product of the land, sky and water - as a result of natural processes.

A relationship established by generational observation of the physical realm has given many indigenous peoples an ecological foundation from which their societies have woven together a
multitude of baskets of knowledge. Williams (2004) provides insights into how ecological knowledge and observation has set a precedence in the mapping of land in ancient Polynesian societies; based around the division of natural resources by natural features in the physical landscape. Through his proposition, Williams (2004) argues that ancient Polynesian society would traditionally define land rights and boundaries based on the natural contours of ridgelines, having equitable access to the open sea and avoiding the demarcation of boundaries along riverbanks. Williams (2004) contends that land rights conceptualised in this manner sought to reduce conflict amongst neighbouring kin. However, he adds that such a strategy can be difficult when applied in context to Aotearoa New Zealand, given the more complex and diverse landscapes embedded within a much larger landmass. Kelly (1999) also highlights the use of rocks, trees and hilltops to map territories or to define place. As these delineations were focused on the reduction of internal conflict, Milligan (1964) also provides an analysis of the way in which natural features also reduced external conflicts. Upon the investigation of Tuki’s map, the first recorded map drawn by Māori in 1793, Milligan highlighted an interesting point in relation to Hokianga. The point Milligan (1964) noted was how Tuki depicted Cho-kahang-a (Hokianga) on the west coast as having approximately 100,000 inhabitants, whereas on the east coast there were only 3000 people in one place. Milligan thus produced a theory in relations to the physical differences between the more rugged terrain of Hokianga and the contrasting more rolling contour of the Bay of Islands; where the Hokianga was more naturally defendable. This relationship physical/ecological knowledge and the conceptualisation of land rights could provide a key contribution towards a deeper understanding of how indigenous mapping can be applied. Moreover, it raises the question of what insights/influence does this have in relation to the laying of hapū borders and the ecological environmental management within.

In addition to the potential key contribution above to understanding the physical relationship Māori have with traditional forms of mapping, a case study “The Creation of the Inuit siku (Sea Ice) Atlas” provides a similar study of the physical environment the Inuit have with Sea Ice. Ljubicic et al. (2014) constructed a cultural mapping project that sought to portray the indigenous knowledge of the sea ice landscape using modern technologies. The purpose of this project was to address three main objectives; to learn about the value of understanding Inuktitut sea ice terminology that is commonly shared across Inuit communities, to gain more context around the unique perspectives Inuit have of the sea ice, and to gain more insights on the challenges and opportunities of bringing Inuit and scientists together to learn about sea ice. The indigenous perspective consisted of mapping space that is in constant motion. From this understanding, Inuit communities created a knowledge base of temporal terminologies to map and
conceptualise their natural surroundings and place (Ljubicic et al., 2014). These terms revolved with seasons, locations and other environmental elements. In relation to the research a parallel study could be applied to the physical catchment landscape of Hokianga hapū for example, what are the various terminologies used to conceptualise various parts of eco-physical realm and the inherent values within? In gaining such insights to the Hokianga context we need to consider three unique perspectives hapū have with their environment and what knowledge bases we can bring together to learn more about the physical/ecological realm of the catchment.

Though the concept of ley lines has become a notion “dowsed” in scepticism and spirituality, Thurgill (2015) contends there is an unrecognised significance in the study of ley lines. Ley lines provide a way of traversing an environment in near unobstructed straight lines placed throughout the natural landscape that connect significant ancient sites to each other. One account was documented here in Aotearoa New Zealand when the early British surveyors began to survey land in the Taranaki region:

“Early surveyors used local Māori as they would a compass. A story is told of the chief and tohunga Te Peneha Maunga in 1874 who was asked to locate a line from the Waipuku River to a deep pool in the Patea River, hidden beyond the horizon and through a heavy forest…. The surveyor had set up his theodolite, and now Maunga, “after careful consideration had a stake placed ahead of the instrument on a true line to Kopuatama.” Eight and a half miles the line was cut, straight as an arrow, to come out exactly on the rim of the pool” –Easdale 1988 p.16.

Watkins (1925) describes such methods of navigation as forgotten knowledge hidden within the landscape left for us to uncover. The knowledge surrounding such methods of navigation and mapping would provide a crucial insight into the present research in terms of the identification and the uncovering of sites based on the straight ley line theory. Thurgill (2015) applies a hand on feet to ground methodology in order to resurface these navigational pathways where the researcher must immerse oneself physically into the environment of study and experience such sites first hand. This is a crucial aspect of the research where the concept of deep mapping does not involve just the application of lines over a topographic map but rather an involvement of experiencing the reality which the topographic map has sought to imitate. As noted previously however, the physical realm and understanding drawn from this realm are but only a partial fibre to the web of theory involved with this study. The following section will tie in yet another fibre to the web to weave a spiritual realm in and achieve a deeper understanding of indigenous mapping.
2.2 Spiritual Realm

Inherent within the worldview of Te Ao Māori is the belief that all things that exist within the physical realm hold a co-existing presence within the spiritual realm. It is a relationship that interweaves the physical realm and the spiritual realm as one (Ka‘ai & Higgins, 2004). Therefore, as we have discussed a physical realm of theory that contributes to understanding a perspective of traditional mapping it would be appropriate to now construct the co-existing counterpart of the spiritual realm. It is a realm for this research that will focus on the indigenous naming of place and its continuous connection with the ancestral past. In order to gain an understanding of the spiritual realm of cultural mapping we must first gain an insight in to the study of place names, otherwise known as toponyms. Savage (2009) highlights three core constructs involved in the study of place names; the date from which a place is first named; meanings behind place names; and how place names were derived and who bestowed such names. In Aotearoa New Zealand the bestowing of Māori place names gains its spiritual element via two main fibres that underpin the nature of place names. The first fibre relates to the naming of places in reference to the physical landscapes which can resemble literal features of the natural environment; the second fibre is the naming of place based on past events enacted by ancestors enshrined in traditional narratives (Savage, 2009; Davis et al., 1990). This section on understanding the spiritual realm of traditional mapping will closely examine these two strands. First by investigating the concept of mauri as a basis of naming place; and what its metaphysical value in portraying the physical realm of the past may hold. Second by providing insight into the naming of places over a temporal scale more specifically theory of re-naming or places with overlapping names. By investigating and analysing these two aspects of places names, we can begin to outline and understand the spiritual relationship aspect of this research.

Building upon these knowledges surrounding the spiritual realm of mapping, Māori began to construct what Tipene O’Regan (Davis, 1990) refers to as oral maps. One example of such oral maps that encapsulate the physical/ecological knowledge comes from Ngāpuhi iwi who whakapapa to Hokianga:

He mea hanga
Ko PAPATŪĀNUKU TE PAPARAHI
KO NGĀ MAUNGĀ NGĀ POUPOU
KO TE RANGI e titiro nei TE TUANUI
Pāhanga Tohorā titiro ki Te Ramaroa
Te Ramaroa titiro ki Whiri
Ko te paiaka o te riri, ko te kawa o Rabiri
Whiria titiro ki Panguru, ki Papata Kti
te rākau tī papata ki te wān.
Panguru Papata titiro ki Maungataniwha,
Maungataniwha titiro ki Tokerau
Tokerau titiro ki Rākaumangamanga
Rākaumangamanga titiro ki Manaia
Manaia titiro ki Tūtāmoe
Tūtāmoe titiro ki Maunganui
Maunganui titiro ki Pūhanga Tohorā Ko
tē whare ia tēnei o Ngā Puhi.

A house is constructed.
PAPATŪĀNUKU IS THE FLOOR
The MOUNTAINS ARE THE POSTS and RANGINUI
IS THE ROOF.
Pūhanga Tohorā looks to Te Ramaroa
Te Ramaroa looks to Whiria
The root of anger, the proceedings of Rahiri.
Whiria looks to Panguru, to Papata To the
numerous trees that stand in the west.
Panguru Papata looks to Maungataniwha
Maungataniwha looks to Tokerau
Tokerau looks to Rākaumangamanga
Rākaumangamanga looks to Manaia
Manaia looks to Tūtāmoe
Tūtāmoe looks to Maunganui
Maunganui looks to Pūhanga Tohorā
This is the house of Ngā Puhi
(Royal, 1998 p.70)

This is a whakatauki (proverbial saying) of Ngāpuhi. When recited this whakatauki first acknowledges Papatūānuku and Ranginui being the foundational floor and roof of Ngāpuhi, where significant maunga or mountains provide structural integrity spatially marking the originating boundaries Te Whare Tapu o Ngāpuhi, otherwise known as The Sacred House of Ngāpuhi. Woven throughout this whakatauki are two main insights into the traditional application of what O’Regan (Davis, 1990) refers to as oral maps.

This whakatauki is first constructed from the foundational knowledge of the physical realm and signifies the concept of traditional spatial awareness. If we refer to Figure 1 as a spatial topographic of where the significant maunga of Ngāpuhi stand in respect to the procedural recitation of names within the whakatauki, we start to see a logical layering of boundaries where the line sight that connect each maunga provide a demarcation of the tribal rohe. Hakopa (2011) indicates that Māori traditionally had an array of oral maps that exemplified this method of spatial
awareness through recitation of karakia (ancestral incantations), pūrākau (myths and legends), moteatea (ancestral chants), ori ori (lullabies), pēpeha, whakatauki, waiata (songs) and whakapapa recitations. For the present research since these catalysts of information hold ancestral names it would be of relative importance that we search for oral maps specific to the hapū involved in this research to not only attain traditional names of places but also spatial information pertaining to their specific landscapes.

Figure 1: Ngāpuhi Lands by Rāwiri Taonui

The bestowing of names as briefly mentioned above often resembles the physical realm, imbued within features of the landscape. For example, the name “Maunganui” mentioned in the whakatauki can be literally translated or interpreted as “big/large/great mountain” portraying the physical description of the mountain. Metaphoric description can also be attached to physical features adding another dimension to place names. For example, in Figure 1, “Pūhanga Tohorā” can be interpreted as “Blowing Whale” which resembles the particular shape of this maunga. Oliveira (2009) alongside Davis et al. (1990) note most names in this figurative respect have accounts that harmonise how such features are formed offering a deeper understanding of the landscape. Furthermore, the importance places names can have in reflecting a state of mauri or life principle. For example, Davis et al (1990) provide cases where particular environments or ecologies
support the mauri of different flora or fauna species; such as “Papa Kauri (Place of Kauri)”, “Maunga Huia (Mountain of the huia) or “Manga Rākau (Stream through a tree grove)”. As exemplified within these names particular physical features not only provide a clue into what type of resources are available in a particular site, but more specifically an insight into the ecological environment at a particular place in time. As these particular names are a reflection of the mauri of certain places of the past it is essential that in order to gain a deeper understanding of the spiritual realm we must investigate the way in which mauri is manifested within ancestral place names we have today.

2.3 Social Realm

As we shift from the first realm of the physical through to its coexisting relationship with the spiritual realm we now turn our attention towards the third layer of this framework, that of the social realm of traditional mapping theory. In contrast with the first two realms that are positioned within the lens of the past, the social realm now looks to the present at people’s connection to ancestral places, how they navigate through these landscapes and how receiving reflective experiences of relationship with place can enhance one’s understanding of cultural mapping. We will holistically refer to these points as social experience. A key element within this realm is the importance of allowing a diverse input of discussion and allowing space for differing perspectives to be heard, a crucial requirement to insure an inclusive application of “deep mapping” (Roberts, 2016; Springett 2015; Lewis 2015). One point we must highlight upon gaining information about various ancestral landscapes is the potential for multiple names, and various differing accounts and understandings of place. Aporta et al. (2014) note that the mapping of place may differ where the emergence of underpinning ontologies portray a different relationship with the ancestral landscape. This is an interesting point for the present research to delve into; more specifically how has the social experience of individuals and collectives ontologically transformed and shifted place names based on various differing accounts and understandings of place over the course of history?

As a way of gaining a deeper understanding of these experiences, Hakopa (2011) notes the importance of what he refers to as “ground truthing” - an embodiment of social methodological research. Ground truthing involves the practice of cultural mapping where researcher and knowledge holders of ancestral sites physically visit their traditional landscapes and recite stories of that particular place. Hakopa also mentions the meaning of these ground truthings as a collective experience where a group of kin bond and revitalise cultural collective memory. This is also a valuable method of recording ancestral landscapes in more detail. Kieth et al. (2014) applied a similar methodology within the case study “The Kitikmeot Place Name Atlas” where site visits to
various ancestral landscapes of the Inuit were guided by Inuit Elders from which narratives were recorded via audio or video. However, both Hakopa (2011) and Kieth et al. (2014) did identify that such a method could be expensive and time consuming. Nevertheless, this particular method would provide a valuable qualitative method in relation to the knowledge dissemination and knowledge restorage aims of this research therefore, it will be applied to this project.

Attached to this notion of ground truthing and site visits we must also consider how such visits or remembrances can be reflected on. That is, what is seen, felt, smelt, heard and tasted upon these visits. Davidson & Milligan (2004) state that when an individual engages with a therapeutic landscape one’s sensorial memory can stimulate various memories and connection with place. Tapping into these perceptions of experiences and asking participants what exactly they sense upon site visits could provide yet another key insight into the social realm of mapping. Gesler (1996) also provides a more subjective method in the application of therapeutic landscape methodology that is, the expression of self-reflection being a researcher immersed within site visits. From this perspective Gesler was able to reflect on his own personal accounts to add another dimension to his research. Therefore, another aspect of this research will be an analysis of experience based on participant reflection and my own personal reflection of such visits.

Navigation through ancestral landscapes in contemporary times with the expansion of new technologies such as social media has opened a new dimension by which indigenous peoples are able to navigate their ancestral landscapes. Cultural mapping projects such as “The Kitikmeot Place Name Atlas” Kieth et al. (2014) and “The Creation of the Inuit siku (Sea Ice) Atlas” Ljubicic et al. (2014) are two of many ways that indigenous peoples have sought to utilise modern technology to allow the continued navigation of their ancestral landscapes. It is a space of navigation that moves beyond the traditional physical navigation of site visiting where peoples of these communities can now access traditional mapping knowledge via the internet. In Hokianga it was clear that whānau, hapū and iwi placed great importance on maintaining a strong connection with their ancestral lands, especially as a majority of kin live outside of their ancestral lands (Mokaraka-Harris, 2015). Therefore, how might such research present traditional mapping knowledge utilising modern technologies in a way that is appropriate for hapū?
2.4 Conclusion

Figure 2 depicts the theoretical framework that structures the present research. For this project the tree of traditional mapping knowledge consists of two core roots: traditional knowledge of temporal and spatial mapping. Both coexist and draw sustenance from three main layers or realms of knowledge in order to sustain the mauri of the tree of knowledge. Drawing sustenance from the physical layer, this research will seek to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship traditional forms of mapping have with the physical realm. The research analyses what this relationship is and the insights/influence this link has in relation to the laying of hapū boundaries and the ecological environmental management within; sources of various terminologies for the

![Theoretical Research Tree of Knowledge](image-url)
natural environment; and seeks to understand the potential leys in the land which may contribute towards understanding this physical relationship. Secondly, the research draws knowledge from the spiritual realm to further provide structure to this study by seeking to identify and document oral maps in order to understand not only the meaning behind certain names, but also spatial placement information. The investigation into the relationship mauri has with ancestral sites will also provide an additional temporal aspect. Finally, in the third realm of social relationship will seek to specifically unearth how the social experience of individuals and collectives ontologically transforms during the shifts of multiple names, various differing accounts and understandings of place over the course of history. This investigation will be based on the reflections of participants and myself as a researcher.
3 Soils of Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Sown through-out the metaphoric “field” of research, a seed of cultural appropriateness will be retained and planted. The following sections contain the methodology that has been adopted in order to conduct this research. This chapter will first set the context of indigenous methodology - the field or niche from which this research will be planted. We will then reflect on various methods used through-out the course of the research, explaining how they were implemented and the importance of such methods in order to approach the main aims of the research.

3.2 The niche for cultivating research appropriately

Looking back to the first two chapters we have been given a seed. A seed that resembles an indigenous issue in need of research, falling from the tree of historical context; in chapter 1 and cast into the winds of theory in chapter 2. The current chapter seeks to carry this seed to the environment that will best nurture its growth and vitality, which we will metaphorically refer to as the niche. First, the soils of indigenous methodologies will be the space this seed of research will draw its nutrients from. Moreover, this research will analyse an indigenous geography and must in turn embody an indigenous-appropriate methodology. Smith (1999) argues that the importance of indigenous-appropriate methodology within indigenous research reveals itself in the way such methodology can provide an awareness of protocol, respectful methods and guidelines that are ethically beneficial for indigenous communities. Such methodology also allows the conceptualisation of indigenous knowledge and traditions offering a more in-depth understanding of the indigenous worldview (Lavallée, 2009). Therefore, by placing the seed of indigenous research within the soils of indigenous-appropriate methodologies the growth of the tree will be best supported.

To gain further contextual understanding of what and why indigenous methodologies best support the growth of indigenous research, we need to turn back towards our past and the relationship indigenous geographies had and may still have with the concept of western derived research. Through the telescopic lens of the traditional scientific western worldview, indigenous peoples amongst other non-western communities became an untapped exotic subject in need of documentation, research and preservation (Porsanger, 2004). During the process of collecting indigenous knowledges and investigation of indigenous societies, research often carried the burdening luggage of imperialistic assumptions of the inferior/primitive “other” (Smith, 1999) and as a result planting the concept of indigenous research in a foreign soil. The makeup of this
particular soil had dire impacts on what the seed of research eventually grew into, the following three brief examples explain why.

3.2.1 Ignorance

The term “ignorance” can hold multiple different meanings. However, to add clarity in regard to the present research methodology we will adopt the definition and meaning of “lack of knowledge or information”. In relation to the soil of traditional scientific western methodology historically the seed of indigenous research was planted, the act of purposeful ignorance and disregard for indigenous perspectives became a large molecular construct of this soil of methodology. Stemming off the “primitive other” as mentioned above western academia and scholars began to undermine indigenous ontologies, epistemologies and knowledges through the imposition of the “educated” scientific observation method. Understandings of indigenous geographies, knowledges, histories and society through this macroscopic lens created a body of “indigenous” knowledge that distorted into generalisations, misinterpretations, censorships, exclusions and fabrications of true indigenous knowledge. Furthermore, indigenous knowledge became re-centred around a western worldview (Kovach, 2010; Porsanger, 2004). Trickling down these moulded constructs of knowledges adversely informed colonial discourse and perspectives relating to indigenous peoples such as the romanticized “noble savage”, “good Māori, bad Māori” amongst many more. Stereotypes and categorisations were used to reinforce, “justify” and “legitimise” colonial oppression for the subjugation of many indigenous peoples and societies. Smith (1999) shares a similar outlook explaining that such a process disassociates indigenous understandings from their origins and transplants in its place a western interpretation of indigenous knowledge that is not of its originating form. Whereas, Castellano (2004) also considers that the research legitimacy and ethical procedures conducted under such contexts could have supported a misleading fabrication of knowledge. Hence, the construct of ignorance historically contributed to the moulding of indigenous research and the deformed fruits that came as a result.

3.2.2 Appropriation

The second example that demonstrates the historical relationship western methodological soils have had with indigenous research relates to the construct of “Appropriation”. Similar to the way in which the broad process of colonisation imposed the appropriation of natural resources, land rights and human rights, western methodology and colonial research also extracted indigenous intellectual rights and knowledges away from the indigenous communities, their knowledge holders and guardians. Puketapu-Dentice (2014) states that the mechanisms of protecting sacred knowledge are very much ingrained in the indigenous dissemination process. Gaining access to
indigenous knowledge coincides with the process of establishing trust acts as a precaution to avert the abuse or purposeful contradiction of such knowledge. The act of appropriation in many ways, like ignorance also connects and contributes to the molecular construct of TSWM soil. The imperialistic concept of the inferior/primitive “other”, also impacted the abuse of indigenous intellectual rights and power relations pertaining to who’s research and knowledge indigenous knowledge it was, the researcher’s or that of the “studied” community. Historically, the structure of power relations shifted indigenous knowledge away from the original knowledge holders and the benefits of the research often became centred in appraisal of the researcher rather than that of the “researched” (Smith, 1999). Porsanger (2011) and Gibbs (2001) both highlight that this occurrence of appropriation manifests in the manner research and the collection of indigenous knowledge is analysed, critiqued and added to other bodies of knowledges with no reciprocation or act of good deed given towards the communities that such knowledges have come from; rather “stolen” knowledge has embodied benefits to those who stole it (Smith, 2012). This historical issue regarding the appropriation of intellectual rights away from indigenous knowledge holders and communities to this day is reflected in contemporary matters such as bio-piracy and the cultural appropriation of indigenous traditions, practices and rituals.

3.2.3 Distrust

The third molecular construct within the soils of traditional western methodology is “distrust”; a term that is used to explain the perspective indigenous communities have had in relation to the western researcher and the academy. Filtering down from above in the segments of “ignorance” and “appropriation” it would be fair to say that the experiences past and present indigenous communities have had with research have not been positive or intended with the best interests of indigenous communities at heart. Partaking in an indigenous research project that may restrict, misinterpret and delegitimise indigenous contributions in the eyes of indigenous communities impacted most definitely would deter indigenous participation in such a project (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006). Alongside the collective memories of colonial grievances, distrust also has come as a result of the one-way in which the research has been conducted. There has been a generational indigenous realisation of hidden intentions and impacts. The application of traditional scientific western methodology has added yet another dynamic to the historical relationship indigenous communities have had with the concept of traditional western research. Here we have a layer of residue soil that displays the colonial context of the research of the indigenous, which we will now contextualise; a tilling of soil from the research of the indigenous towards the indigenous of the research.
Therefore, depicted in Figure 3 we come to the conclusion that the past indigenous seeds of knowledge have become subject to a form of withering solely due to the specific soils of methodology indigenous “research” had be planted. The subsections above describe and explain that the constructs of this traditional western soil held a molecular construct of distrust, ignorance and appropriation. Unfortunately, leading to “DIA” consequences inflicted upon the “indigenous” knowledge produced and the indigenous communities from whence the knowledge originated. Therefore, with this in mind in regard to how the present research is conducted it is ethically appropriate that we search to plant our seed of research within the suitable soils of methodology. The following section will explore how such an approach can be applied to this study.

### 3.3 From indigenous soil to Māori soil

As explained in the sections above of the broad impacts western research has had on the what classified as “indigenous” research we must now acknowledge that whilst it will be fair to say indigenous communities from the four winds of world have experienced the negative impacts of western research, we must also avoid the homogenisation of the “indigenous”. Rather more, be aware that the indigenous geography spans the globe of different environments, different histories and different experiences with the western world and colonisation; and that responses for indigenous appropriate methodologies may differ based on these differences. By this realisation this research will seek to construct a methodology
that not only is indigenous -appropriate but is even more closely related to being a Māori-appropriate methodology. A Kaupapa Māori research theory will be applied to the narrative of the research to further exemplify this more localized approach. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2005) amongst a vital network of Māori scholars emerged to provide a critical framework of knowledge that paved a way in which research can be respectfully, ethically and beneficially conducted within Māori society. A strive that not only seeks to dismantle the concepts of ignorance, appropriation and distrust but also provide a foundation that produces social change, elevates the Māori worldview and way of being. Such a strategy has been constructed to build a Māori research capacity that supports the aspirations and development of Māori communities (Smith, 2005). In Figure 4 we have depicted that indigenous seeds of research knowledge needs to be planted within the appropriate soil of methodology in order to produce positive and beneficial outcomes for indigenous communities involved. The molecular construct of the indigenous appropriate soil consists with a bit of “TLC” where we view the impacts of “distrust” can be replaced with “trust” and mutual partnerships, “ignorance” replaced with a “link”, that acknowledges true indigenous contributions to research; and where “appropriation” is replaced with a “cycle” that fosters a reciprocal relationship of shared benefits.

Figure 4: Indigenous seed of knowledge planted within appropriate soil of methodology
Within Kaupapa Māori research there are key principles that outline and contribute towards the constructs of this Māori soil of research. Smith (1999:224) identifies several of the key concepts attached to Kaupapa Māori research; rangatiratanga, whakapapa, te reo (the language) and tikanga Māori (Māori customs, laws and protocols). It will be from these principles that research methods will be aligned in the present research.

### 3.3.1 Rangatiratanga

Rangatiratanga is attached towards the notions of Māori worldview validation and the way in which power is intrinsically bestowed within Māori communities; to self-determine and have control over research practices and the knowledge disseminated within such process (Rae, 2013). This principle acknowledges that Māori are empowered within the course of research from which integrity is maintained (Smith, 1999; Smith, 1990). As I whakapapa, share ancestral connections and affiliate to the hapū from which I will conduct this research there is a sense of rangatiratanga embedded within. As a hapū researcher engaging within a hapū from which I belong to; there is a capacity of self-determined control deriving out of the hapū; being both the researcher and also the validating knowledge holders and research participants. With this research, I will seek to act as an amplifier for hapū perspectives and voices embodied throughout this narrative of research, principally by presenting their knowledge and aspirations in relations to cultural mapping. In his doctoral thesis Hauiti Hakopa (2011) conducted research within his own ancestral landscape examining the relationship methodologies and applied methods had within the “un-controlled” environment of his research. Stating the difference that conventional western research followed a more linear “controlled” methodology. In contrast Hakopa (2011) discusses the importance of the corresponding uncontrolled environment methodology; a more unstructured perspective of research guided by principles. A methodology that is described by Struthers (2001) as a collection of data that is an informal, unrestricted, open-ended flowing river of conversation and storytelling. The uncontrolled environment allows participant to guide the conversation and path of research. Although this process can be timely, it can be effective and respectful towards Indigenous communities. The concept of what the uncontrolled environment represents I believe in itself is an application of rangatiratanga that whilst from this research perspective of open-endedness and informality the term uncontrolled is also control; in a self-determining context for Māori communities and participants. Taken from this methodology there is also a value put in the things that don’t necessarily go to plan rather a shift to embrace such tangents and encourage flexibility. Therefore, I to shall draw this methodology within this research.
Semi-structured interviews as a method will be one of the main catalyst that will seek to uphold the principle of rangatiratanga within this research. As there are limited sources of research on indigenous mapping from a hapū perspective it is a crucial requirement to collect what is perceived as “undocumented” information. Semi-structured interviews will comprise a large proportion of the research engagement. The purpose of the semi-structured interview method is to encourage discussion between the interviewee and interviewer based around key questions the research seeks to clarify (White, 2014). In reference to the potential uncontrolled environment this research may be immersed in, semi-structured interviews provide a flexibility that fosters open discussion and a sense of reciprocal conversation that allows for a more fluid and relaxed atmosphere in what otherwise could be seen as a formal setting (Hakopa, 2011). To further add to this notion of a relaxed atmosphere the way in which the interview is conducted may vary based on each participant’s cases. For example, in my previous research (Mokaraka-Harris, 2015) whilst interviewing a kaumatua the semi-structured interview developed into a rather more narrative experience. After asking for a brief overview of the interview questions and discussion topic given in my own words; the kaumatua responded to the interview through the telling of his own story. Where though no questions were asked throughout the kōrero all the questions that I intended on asking were answered within his storytelling response. This narrative expression of information portrays an example of tu taha ke ai, which will be explained further in this chapter. It is this fluidity of the uncontrolled semi-structured interview that allows the participants to have control over their contribution to research thus maintaining the principle of rangatiratanga. Topic of discussion through these interviews will be based around the physical, spiritual and social realms highlighted in chapter 2.

As a research method the principle of “rangatiratanga” will also be partially implemented through the application of respondent validation. Respondent validation involves a reciprocation of preliminary research findings, results, discussion and conclusions between the researcher and participants that allows the participants to review, add and critique various aspects of the research (Torrance, 2012). Aspects of the research may entail a response to my own observations throughout research in the field and/or interpretations I have made and the accuracy of such interpretations. In order to insure this method is acknowledged in this research there will be at least two meetings with participants; the first initial meeting will be focused around data collection whereas the second meeting will be centred around the reciprocation of the preliminary research allowing the participants to reflect, control the passage of their contributions. By acknowledging that research participants are equally if not even more empowered within the research project it
would be fair to say that the application of respondent validation is a crucial aspect in upholding rangatiratanga amongst our communities involved.

### 3.3.2 Whakapapa

Whakapapa or genealogy in context to research employs a duty that acknowledges the importance of relationships and an awareness of the connections whakapapa weaves together. Jackson (2015 p.257) notes that there is a need to adopt a theoretical and methodological framework that enabled her to “conduct quality research that can meet the obligations and expectations of the communities [she] works with, but at the same time not compromise what is means to be a Māori researcher”. Through this experience we start to see a taura (rope) tied between being a Māori researcher and the obligations to the community involved in a project in order to balance to the research conducted. Therefore, this is one way the principle of whakapapa will be conceptualised in this research; that of the whakapapa between myself and the community I will be collaborating with for this research. This whakapapa informs the methodology of this research by means of positioning myself as researcher within the research. As noted prior it is I who is a part of a hapū from which the same hapū will produce the results of this research. In doing so, I must acknowledge not only my position within the Māori community but also my position as a geography student within the University of Otago community; and recognize the implications of these two positionalities. Hakopa (2011) suggests that as a researcher it is important to position oneself within the research and to disclose to a receptive audience who you are, where you come from, and what are your worldview and ideas; moreover, he speaks that it is “not to boast but to open a window to my world and to provide a glimpse at the world through my set of lenses”. Based on humility this statement establishes trust between one party and another which for indigenous communities is ethically appropriate.

To further add strength in fostering a trustful relationship the principle of whakapapa also extends into the realm of utu, otherwise known as reciprocity; and manākitanga (hospitality and kindness). Research as a dialogue symbolizes an interaction of exchange from which the ear of the researcher listens, looks, and feels the spoken words of research participants. In this process valuable time and knowledge is given through those spoken words where there is a need for the researcher to reciprocate and maintain a healthy relationship with those involved within research. Reciprocal gifting in this context extends far beyond that of material exchanges, though this is an important aspect of such practice. Koha (gift/s) for the participation of communities is an integral part of indigenous research. For example, White (2014) exhibited her personal appreciation by preparing homemade cakes as a koha for her research participants to acknowledge the valued time,
stories, ideas and feelings that they had gifted to her. Another way in which reciprocity can be
gifted back is through the reasons and advocacy such research conducted can benefit the
community. For this research there is a possibility that traditional, sacred or sensitive knowledge
may be gifted during my personal interactions with participants, therefore, I must be grateful for
such exchange and seek to preserve and appropriately handle such a gift. Reciprocity also presses
that relationships with Māori community. Relationships do not cease upon the completion of a
project rather the relationship is continual. Manākitanga is also another concept woven to
whakapapa that provides a comforting relationship of trust. When discussing various topics, I must
first internalise whether such a topic is sensitive, sacred or whether I am in a position to ask such
questions. Thus, it will be courteous to ask whether certain topics will be appropriate to discuss
and if not respect the participants’ discretion. This establishment of kindness and comfort also
links to Hakopa (2011) and his insights on being respectfully open.

Being aware of whakapapa within research data is also an important aspect towards this
research context. As the research objectives of this research is centred around exploring the
relationship traditional perspectives of mapping has with the physical, spiritual and social realm we
must take into account what information has been highlighted and what its whakapapa is with its
surroundings. For example, if there is a significant landmark possibly an old tree sitting on a hill,
we need to deeply analyse its whakapapa. What other flora are or are not in its surrounding and
how does that impact the way in which the landscape is mapped. What this aspect of whakapapa
exemplifies that of interconnectivity and researching into the potential connections various of
spaces of this research may have.

The principle of whakapapa in context to this research will involve an analysis of mapping
the physical, spiritual and social relationships throughout the course of history. In order to uphold
this principle, the method of archival analysis will be utilised to bring light towards understanding
this historical relationship mapping has had in relations to the respective hapū involved. This stage
of research will entail the analysis of existing documents, accounts, maps and government reports
connected to the ancestral landscapes. Not only would such method provide spatial information
such as identifying historical land rights, tenure and old places names, but Roche (2012) also
highlights that the method also seeks to understand each documents purpose, underlying
motivation, background, and the ideology of those who constructed these documents. Upon
sourcing the appropriate archives from Archive New Zealand, Māori Land Court Archive and/or
private collections an analysis will be made alongside the conceptualisations of the participants
involved. Gaining insights from a hapū perspective about their relationships with archival sources
and how they impacted historically the conceptualisations of their ancestral landscapes. From
highlighting spatial information documented within these archives we will also be able to discuss how such names can be transferred over to visual representations. Moreover, by analysing the relationships and transformations of indigenous mapping over a historical archival perspective

3.3.3 Te reo

The principle of te reo represents kaupapa Māori research that seeks to support the revitalisation of te reo Māori as a language. (Walker et al., 2006) suggest that the use of te reo Māori in research projects within Māori communities can provide access to information, perspectives and experiences that might not otherwise be available. Hakopa (2011) also advises that a competence in te reo Māori is required in order to fully comprehend traditional Māori concepts. However, such as a Māori researcher like myself whose proficiency in the oral application of te reo Māori is not fluent (Walker et al., 2006) encourages that the application of te reo be used to the highest extent one can achieve. Though I do not know how to orally hold a proficient conversation within te reo Māori there are various other aspects of te reo Māori that I do understand, treasure and will apply through-out this research. Te reo Māori can also be spoken through actions, visualisations, the way things are said, the way in which the world speaks to you and how you listen, receive and interpret such information. It will be through these aspects of te reo Māori I will offer my proficiency in the language for this research to be in line with my methodological approach.

Oral traditions, stories and experiences within Māori society has become an essential part of knowledge dissemination, storage and revival. Woven with the thread of morals, values and hidden messages the concept of oral traditions and narratives has offered the orator a way of expression and those listening a path of reflective learning. Narratives can be perceived as catalysts of information from which the way language is used offers an insight into an individual or collectives epistemological understanding of the world. Bruner (1990) also contributes that the position from which a story is told can be a reflection of historical circumstances thus becoming aware these historical circumstances can offer a deeper understanding of these narratives. Furthermore, to express personal narratives it is a process of reflection and telling; a means from which evokes a temporal and spatial process that allows the orator to have control of their stories often laying a trail of their own past. Therefore, the use of narratives within this research hold invaluable insights and application of depth. Tu taha kē ai meaning “to stand at one’s side” is a learning process from which evokes a level of understanding by the sense immersion of touch, sight, sound and smell whilst doing a particular activity (Halba and McCallum, 2011). Tu taha kē ai exhibits a reciprocal relationship between the knowledge holder and the one who listens; where upon receiving such information the listener can have the chance to reciprocate what they have
just interpreted to validate whether one has learnt the right concept. This method holds a strong reverence towards the knowledge holder in a way that the application of Tu taha kē ai can only be experienced by the choice of the knowledge holder (Puketapu-Dentice, 2014). For this research I will not only seek to listen to narratives stories and experiences but also reciprocate with narrative of my own; through weaving such method into the way I deliver research questions, the presentation of this thesis; and the creation of new narratives related to cultural mapping.

Through-out this thesis, the use of visuals as a depiction of ideas, knowledge and theory is a method I view as an important notion of te reo and the expression of language. Craine and Gardner (2016) suggests that “visual methods, ranging from discourse analysis to geovisualisation to the use of the virtual…better provide an understanding of how geographic knowledge is conveyed visually”. Such method can allow the analyses of the “seen” and “unseen”, from whose position is something made visible and why (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Visual methodology can also be used to contrast a visual such as a “map” be it oral, mental, written or drawn through-out a temporal or spatial scale; to inspect the act of seeing as a product of tension between different images and conceptualisations (Craine and Gardner, 2016). However, how exactly can an oral, mental, written or drawn “map” each be visual. Simply, it is through the very way a kaumatua (elder) may visually present themselves when orating an oral map, their mannerisms, when and where they recite. It is what is seen within one’s mind when they recollect memories, experiences and stories how they visually “map” inside. It is what is written, what language is used, who can read it, who can understand it, if there are no pictures only words are the words “colourful” when heard within the mind. If drawn why has it been articulated the way it has, does it offer the same perspective from all angles. These are but a few ways in which diverse types of “map” can be visual where by understanding these various aspects of the “visual” we can in turn start to conceptualise various aspects of how this research can begin to present and understand relationships of knowledge.

A method that will be employed to collect data in relations to visual methodology is that of participatory GIS (PGIS). Schuurman (2009) describes PGIS as:

“A flexible system, comprising a suite of integrated methods and technologies that, through the incorporation of multiple perspectives and a diversity of alternative information forms, facilitates collaborative planning efforts, supporting inclusive public participation in decision-making. It is both a computer-based system employing a collection of software tools and an interactive human process. The public participation
process involves an exploration and description of the problem, evaluation of solutions, creation of alternative, feedback, and finally prescription of an acceptable approach.”

As a part of the semi-structured interview, traditional information and ancestral knowledge that provide insights into a hapū perspective of mapping will be presented and portrayed through the visual application of hapū constructed maps using PGIS. For this research I will be using a combination of printed topographic maps, electronic maps such as ArcGIS and Google maps for participants to identify and conceptualise spatial information pertaining to the hapū mapping process. Ingrained in this process is the methodology of the visual highlighted above. Identifying significant sites, place names, boundaries, amongst other aspects of mapping each participant justifies. Data collected from archives, narratives and accounts will also be drawn into this process from which will a draft map will be constructed and finally validated by participants to create a final map. Yet again respondent validation plays a crucial role in the construction of hapū perspective maps.

As we see embedded within the method of PGIS there a correspondence of rangatiratanga very much in the way it seeks to empower and facilitate a community’s engagement with their conceptualisation of knowledge in relations to a focused research problem. The description of the problem for this research is to gain an understanding of how hapū can conceptualise a traditional form of mapping and the knowledges surrounding such project. Therefore, as a method to speak the language of te reo Māori the incorporation of PGIS will be utilised to gain a Māori perspective and understanding for this research context.

The final way in which I will seek to apply te reo Māori for this research is through the dialogue I personally have with my own ancestral landscape upon site visits and what Hakopa (2011) notes to be “ground truthing” as alluded to in chapter 2. Phillips and Johns (2012) suggest that there is a value in the method of open-minded observations; taking note in either written, sketch, audio, photographic form of the researcher’s interpretations and experiences through-out the field of research. A method that allows a researcher’s personal reflection of various stages of the research journey. We must also note that traditionally the conduction of detached observations was a method applied in traditional western methodology and as a consequence became a damaging effect upon research of indigenous societies. Therefore, in order to insure this damaging impact of observation will not arise from this research a reciprocation of my thoughts in particular experience whilst in the field will be expressed to the community I am with at the time out of an ethical and respectful approach. Therefore, given these understandings of te reo as a principle of kaupapa
Māori methodology I will endeavour to make aware my personal proficiency of te reo Māori and encourage the use of te reo Māori through-out this research the best way that I can.

Rangatiratanga, whakapapa and te reo are three key principles of Kaupapa Māori research that will be interwoven through-out the soil of indigenous methodology that will insure that the growth of this seed of research will grow in the most ethical, respectful and beneficial way for the hapū involved along this narrative.

3.4 Case Study

As alluded to in chapter 1, there was an aspiration within Hokianga whānui to retain and build the hapū capacity to produce their own knowledge with a very localised approach. In accordance to this aspiration it would be highly beneficial to apply a methodology that weaves in well with such idea of knowledge capacity building. Therefore a case study methodology will be applied to provide an opportunity for this research to focus on this specific realm. The benefits of a case study methodology allow the analysis of a specific place, identity, community or specific issue alongside the use of various methods (Hardwick, 2009). For this research I will seek to gain specific interpretations various knowledge holders have in relations to hapū traditional mapping knowledges. In doing so this study will allow more localised un-homogenised voices to be heard in relations to the topics this research seeks to address. The application of case study in this way allows such research to gain a degree of depth that offers an understanding of spatial occurrences and the constructs of such occurrences related to this research (Berg, 2009).

3.5 Listening to and noting the songs of the manu

As alluded to through-out this chapter it is kōrero (discussion) and a means of expressing that encapsulates the body of this research. Where without such conversation with the communities who hold our indigenous knowledge the validation and life of this research will not exist. In saying this it is a foreseeable obligation to collect undocumented information and the kōrero told by our participants from which I will from now on refer to as manu. Regarding participants as manu (birds) whose symbolic songs are the body of this research acknowledges their contribution. In Te Ao Māori the term manu can also be regarded as a person held in high esteem; this dual meaning encapsulates the profound insights and valuable time our manu shared with this project. For this research our manu will sing from various backgrounds, metaphorically showing their own “bird eye view” from the different trees of knowledge from which they are perched. Gathering a range of insights will ensure that a more extensive range of understandings and ideas will be grown from this research. Hapū kaumatua and other hapū members who are
involved in holding traditional knowledge will be regarded as the core manu or key informants for this research, due to their wealth in traditional knowledge and integral involvement with their own respective hapū. As this research builds on my own dissertation (Mokaraka-Harris, 2015), networks with kaumatua and hapū members of Ngai Tupoto are still strong. Therefore, I will intend to first re-engage with manu whom I have already established relations with. However, the other hapū I wish to engage with for this research, Te Mahurehure, does not stem from a continuation of research. In acknowledging this differentiation, finding potential manu will first be sought through the interconnected web of whakapapa my whānau have with Te Mahurehure and who they know. Stating this method of recruitment, I must also highlight the potential for bias. Upon establishing contact and explaining the research objectives with hapū kaumatua and other traditional knowledge holders from both hapū a second phase of manu recruitment will be employed, in geographical terms otherwise known as “snowball sampling”. Snowball sampling entails a method of participant recruitment that stems from the recommendation of a potential research participant given by a key informant who is already involved with a particular research project (Lo, 2009). Through the application of this method I will seek to engage with potential manu who are hapū members and hold a generational relationship with their ancestral landscapes as well as engage with such landscape on a frequent basis. Gaining insights from these manu will not only incorporate their knowledge into traditional knowledge, but also provide a “grounded” perspective of the ancestral landscapes. For the present research these manu will be knowledge holders who will contribute their understandings and perspectives of what indigenous mapping is. Manu will be contacted via email, phone and/or kanohi kitea (seen face). The potential manu for this research will be made aware of the purpose of this research and the structure of how the project will be set up.

All manu will be respectful knowledge holders of their hapū whom share whakapapa to their hapū. This research was fortunate to spend time with four manu; three whom held a strong connection with the Ngai Tupoto ki Motukaraka hapū and one other manu who shared a strong connection with the Te Mahurehure hapū. The following excerpts will introduce our manu, offering a brief insight into their totem manu that will embody their insights throughout the duration of this thesis. These reflections were written after the completion of each semi-structured interview. These totem manu hold a strong personal connection with each of our manu and it is therefore, appropriate to express this connection as follows:
3.5.1 Kaiaiā

The kaiaiā is the embodiment of one of the manukura kaumatua (elder of high-esteem) who has contributed deep insights and whakāro (thoughts) to this research. In part descending from Te Mahurehure hapū, the kaiaiā holds a vast depth of traditional knowledge that expands beyond hapū boundaries maintaining connections to affiliating hapū within Hokianga, within Ngāpuhi-Nui-Tonu, within te iwi Māori katoa; but also acts as a catalyst that acknowledges and seeks to maintain, make aware our ancestral links with our wider ancient Polynesian continental community and global indigenous world. The kaiaiā is a kupu (word) of Te Mahurehure hapū which describes the female kāhū, otherwise known as the native New Zealand bush falcon. For Te Mahurehure the kaiaiā holds a spiritual significance and is a name that is embodied into the ancestral landscape of this hapū. If you stand feet planted into the whenua of Waima, the ancestral lands of Te Mahurehure, you overlook a range of ancestral maunga. Amongst these maunga stands “Whakatere Manawa Kaiaiā” a name if unfolded and translated conceptualises a meaning detailing migration/navigation (whakatere) + heart/power of endurance (manawa) + female kāhū (kaiaiā). Here we see a significant connection the kaiaiā has with Te Mahurehure hapū for its name and presence lives on within the ancestral maunga of the hapū. However, it is not just this aspect that expresses why the kaiaiā was chosen to represent this manukura kaumatua rather, the nature of the kaiaiā may also be interpreted through the kōrero and whakāro provided by the manukura kaumatua in the process of discussion. The following section will envisage the various thoughts and perspectives kaiaiā has in relations to traditional methods of mapping ancestral landscapes. From here on kaiaiā will assume the embodiment of this manukura kaumatua as named “Kaiaiā”. We must note that a conventional interview was not recorded during our time spent with Kaiaiā, rather in the short times we did spend a collection of reflection notes were produced and validated by Kaiaiā. This manukura kaumatua has also renowned for his own works involved with the local Māori community of Te Mahurehure, Hokianga and the wider Ngapuhi Nui Tonu iwi from which we will also weave in to compliment the reflections gathered through this research.

3.5.2 Te Torea

Te Torea is the embodiment of one of the manukura (informant of high-esteem) who has contributed deep insights and whakāro to this research. In part descending from Ngati Tupoto/Ngati Here hapū, Te Torea maintains a deep and critical understanding of traditional knowledge pertaining to not just our hapū but also weaving knowledges that holds bonds to our whanaunga hapū, iwi and Hokianga whānui. The Torea is a kupu i te ao Māori which describes the Oystercatcher, a migratory coastal bird of Aotearoa. For the whānau of this manukura te tore
holds a symbol of significance built around its connection with multiple places due to its migratory nature. Our manukura elaborated that te torea is a manu who in its journey for a time visits the braided rivers of Te Waipounamu and then departs to spend time in the estuarine waters of Hokianga and other estuaries in Te Taitokerau. To the whānau the torea is also symbolic of their own whakapapa ties to both of these places and the areas in which they have grown, learnt and developed as a whānau. The presence of the torea within the rohe of Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here have always been present since the times before our memory flow, Tokatorea (Torea Rock) is a place name given by our tupuna that acts as testament to this presence. In the past 10 years Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here ki Motukaraka have built a jetty that stretches out from our marae, Te Iringa o Tupoto from which the torea occasionally settle on and make their next flight plans to another rohe. From here we see the multifaceted connections our manukura has with this particular manu, it is a manu that symbolises a personal connection of whānau development, it is also a manu that is etched into the ancestral landscape of Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here and to this day still breathes presence along the shorelines of this rohe. Therefore, the torea will now assume the embodiment of this manukura as named, “Te Torea”.

3.5.3 Tirairaka

The Tirairaka is the embodiment of one of the manukura who has contributed deep insights and whakāro to this research. In part descending from Ngati Tupoto/Ngati Here hapū, the tirairaka holds a vast depth of environmental knowledge that has grown out of her personal involvement in hapū-led, iwi-led and Māori research-led environmental research projects. Given this experience alongside contributions towards administrative/managerial roles within both her iwi and hapū, Te Tirairaka has built a close and strong relationship to the ancestral whenua of her tupuna and aspires to find holistic ways for our Māori communities to grow into a more sustainable and healthier future. Tirairaka is a kupu in te reo Māori which describes the NZ fantail. At the conclusion of the interview I asked this manukura what “spirit animal” would best represent the whakāro and insights that had come out of our korero that day, the answer given was certainly and almost instantly, he tirairaka. The tirairaka for the whānau of this particular manukura is a strong symbol that has held a deep significance in the establishment of their small papakāinga in Rawene. Before establishing the foundations of their soon to be kāinga, the whenua below and surrounding was a barren paddock. The whānau took up the task of bringing more life back to the area. Filling in every corner with native flora, orchards and mara (gardens) it was not soon after that various native birds started to return to the areas; one of the first returning being the tirairaka. To this day the presence of the tirairaka is still endless, greeting any visitor who walks up the path to where the each kāinga stands today. For this manukura and her whānau the fantail symbolises growth, life,
revitalisation and positive change all occurrent themes that had come through in the korero of this manukura. Therefore, here we see a puzzle fitted, a puzzle piece that has made a connection between our manukura and the tirairaka; creating a bigger picture as to why this specific manu best suits our manukura here. From now on tirairaka will assume the embodiment of this manukura as named “Te Tirairaka”.

3.5.4 Te Kāhu

Te Kāhu is the embodiment of one of the manukura kaumatua who has contributed deep insights and whakāro to this research. Descending from Ngai Tupoto/ Ngāti Here hapū Te Kāhu holds a vast and in-depth understanding of traditional mātauranga Māori and philosophies pertaining to the Hokianga. Growing up within his ancestral rohe Te Kāhu is now an active kaumatua of Ngāi Tupoto marae and holds strong interests in the redevelopment of the hapū capacity in terms of localised environmental, cultural, educational and economic development. Te Kāhu has a deep understanding of how colonial processes have impacted the wider Hokianga community and believes a revitalisation of traditional knowledges and value-imbedded practices are crucial to the future wellbeing of the coming generations. The Kāhu is another term used to describe the Native New Zealand bush falcon. This manukura noticed the way in which the Kāhu scans the landscape and surveys its surroundings; and believed this was a mirrored process within his own mind as we spoke during through this research and embarked on our trip around the ancestral landscape. Therefore, from now on this manukura kaumatua will now be embodied as Te Kāhu.

3.6 Collecting information

For this research project I intend to meet at least two times with each manu; the first hui intends to gain insights and the second to reciprocate and report back my research before concluding analyses. This two-step meeting process will insure that the information I have gained is valid and has been formed in the aspired way the manu has requested. Prior to initial contact, I will offer the opportunity to our manu of whether they would prefer to gain an insight into what sorts of questions or topics that might be discussed in the meeting process. This will allow our manu to either prepare responses in the dissemination process or decided whether or not to participate in such research.

The conversations and data collected within these interviews are essential to the investigation within the present research. For the data analysis process electronic recordings of each interview may be obtained given the ethical verbal or written consent of each participant. During each interview and site visit handwritten notes will be taken to record spontaneous thoughts that I or our manu thought of in the procees. In the case that an informant did not wish
to be recorded notes only written notes will be taken during the interview process. This allowed the participant to feel most comfortable during the interview process. In the event that both parties, myself or the participant were unavailable to meet in person the participants had the option to be interviewed via Skype or via phone call.

Spatial and temporal information in relations to mapping will be recorded and documented through the application of participatory GIS from which participants will validate the representation of traditional knowledge in this research. This method will be accompanied alongside the interview process from which the participant and I will discuss and transfer traditional spatial information in handwritten form over to a GIS database and how their ancestral landscape will be visually represented. I will be the technical supervisor for this method. The reciprocal relationship between the researcher, research participants and the research project will be upheld through the method of respondent validation. A methodology that requires observations, interpretations and conclusions made by the researcher to be reviewed, edited, critiqued and validated by the participants involved. As a method respondent validation will be practiced upon a second visit to each participant. Based on the data collected in the first set of interviews a second meeting will follow where a collation of preliminary results will be presented back to the participants for respondent validation. This will insure that research coming out of communities are the true voices of the participants.

3.7 Understanding the songs and data analysis

Understanding the songs entails the process from which all information given by the knowledge holders will be analysed. In order to fully analyse the knowledge gifted by our manu all songs will be transcribed into written form or maintained through video footage. This process will be used to double-check that the notes that I will mentally take within the listening process were valid and credible. During this process each recorded interview was transcribed into a written form, recording each interview from every single word said. This three-step process is a part of the criteria used to check the validity and credibility of the data analysed, to ensure that the information I mentally and physically will note during the interview were in accordance to what was actually said. In doing so this method of analysis will allow me to reflect on a level with more depth as the replaying of audio whilst transcribing incited research related ideas and reoccurring themes that had not been realised during the initial interviewing process. During this transcription process I will utilise the Microsoft Word comment review panel to make notes of certain ways different interview extracts could potentially relate to this study prior to the formal organisation of themes. In order provide further clarity themes will be categorised based on the three main realms of the
ancestral hapū landscape that of the physical, spiritual and social landscape. Within these three realms data will be further organised into temporal and spatial aspects. As state prior, the importance of respondent validation is an integral part for this research therefor part of the data analysis will involve a dialogue of validation from each of the manu involved in this mahi.

In my previous dissertation project (Mokaraka-Harris, 2015), I found that the display of coded information and themes via the use of posters provided myself a resource that I could instantly refer to when analysing the data. Placing the posters on a wall in my work space extended my computer screen beyond its physically restraints allowing the wall to act as an extended window of information. This is a process of data analysis that has worked previously and will be utilised for the present research as well.

3.8 Ethics

As discussed in previous sections above the importance of ethical procedure is a paramount part of this research from an indigenous perspective, but also from the perspective of the research institution I work within. The ethical practices and procedures will be set in adherence to strict University of Otago ethical standards from which a departmental level ethical proposal will be obtained in order to inform the University on how the current research intended will be exercised in an ethical manner along the guidelines of tikanga and kaupapa Māori; and furthermore, gain the appropriate approval to conduct our research. A copy of this proposal will be made aware during the implementations of research methods. This copy will then either verbally or physically be shown to each of the participants to ensure that their response and contribution would be treated with the utmost confidentiality and anonymity. Creating an environment as such allows the participant to feel in a safe space when being interviewed.

Positionality needs to be taken into account as well. Positioning myself as a Māori researcher I must also take into account different backgrounds on a basis of class, gender, sexuality and ethnicity. As sharing or having different backgrounds in relation to the manu, myself as the research must ensure that the communication of ideas and questions are clear and of a nondiscriminatory nature. There must be a prepared and interpretive manner from which responses given by the participants can be open to be understood based on these axis of differences, as responses (from manu) or questions (from myself) may be seen as offensive or unclear. In this case a professional manner was sought to be maintained in allowance for the participant to respond in a manner they feel most comfortable.
3.9 Methodology Conclusion

For a seed of indigenous research and knowledge to grow into its utmost constructive and enlightening potential there is a need for careful consideration. It is about being aware of the environmental niche from which we as indigenous knowledge holders and builders place our seeds of traditional knowledge. Historically, we have become mindful that not all soils produce the same outcome and experience for our communities. Therefore, we must insure that as advocates of indigenous knowledge, knowledge that is produced is grown out of mutual partnerships, true acknowledgement and reciprocal relationships. Upholding the rangatiratanga, whakapapa and reo of not only our manukura but their whānau, hapū and iwi is a core principle of our methodological approach within the present research. The diverse layering of ethical considerations through-out the knowledge collection process will insure that this seed of research grows into a tree of knowledge formed on a basis of thorough integrity and in-depth analysis.
4.0 The Ancestral Space of Navigation

One may not fully appreciate the concept of traditional indigenous mapping without the understanding of space from an indigenous perspective. Therefore, “The Ancestral Space of Navigation” is where we will provide a context chapter from which the following findings chapters are placed within. Embedded in this chapter we will begin to conceptualise a broad overview of what exactly is the realm of indigenous mapping from a hapū context based on the findings arising throughout this research. Though the first question discussed, “To you what is indigenous mapping from a hapū perspective?” was not initially intended to be a part of the interview questions it was evident an analysis of “indigenous mapping” that was abstract from any specified relationships, would impart significant understandings of wide-ranging concepts that theorize the realm and space of indigenous mapping. This broad overview is necessary to apprehend the specifics of the physical, spiritual and social research questions of this thesis that follow. Furthermore, within this section we will describe and explain a hapū perspective of space, place and the interconnected fibres embedded within and what creates our perception of indigenous mapping.

4.1 Te Atea/Maraeroa: The Ancestral Landscape is a landscape of our ancestors

The metaphysical world of indigenous mapping from a hapū perspective sung by our manu envisage a large and expansive area created by the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Referred to as “Te Atea” and “Te Maraeroa”, it is the ancestral space of our past, now present and soon to be future; which was prior to the conception of any form of mapping knowledge a space that was physically, spiritually and socially unknown to our human ancestors. This was at a time before the various ancestral waka left our ancestral origins of Hawaiki, long before their arrival onto the shores of Aotearoa. Kaiaiā refers to this time as tuwhakarere, the time before our memory flow, a time of existence before our conscious existence. Te Kāhu also spoke of the realm of tuwhakarere referring to it as “Te tuwhakarere o nga atua o te ao nui, a time of the gods behind us”. In his explanation Te Kāhu observed that this realm was the past and all elements coming together creating what we have in the present noting the realm “represents the creations before us”. Though the extents of “Te Atea” at this time was unknown Kaiaiā noted that these ancestors over time began to understand that such an expansive space bare a series of connected pockets of whenua which rose above the ocean each holding catalysts of life beyond the ancestors existing knowledges. There may be a perception that such pockets of whenua were separated by the vast and expansive ocean of Kiwa (Te Moana Nui a Kiwa), Kaiaiā further explains that the
ancestors were well aware that all was physically and spiritually connected beneath the oceans through Papatūānuku below and in the air above within Ranginui, this was reinforced by the way in which Kaiaiā referred to Polynesia as our ancestral continent. The term “continent” from a western perspective is commonly referred to and defined as vast tracts of land defined by the separation of oceans, where through the eyes of Kaiaiā the ocean and land are not seen as contrasting definers of the term continent. This is an interesting insight as land and water through an indigenous perspective is seeming as one. Te Kāhu elaborates that such catalysts of life as noted above manifest in the form of not only Rangi and Papa but also their offspring referring to “Te Maraeroa” and the primal ancestors as a series of layers “The space is very very important because every one of these layers that we are referring to is a god within that environment”. Both Kaiaiā and Te Kāhu alluded that this space was woven with the fabrics of complex relationships aware to our primal ancestors and are awaiting to be understood and made aware to our navigating ancestors. Te Tirairaka further adds that we must note that the space and the complex relationships within such space are not strictly physical relationships rather they have multifaceted connections including spiritual and social dimensions as well. The realisation of obtaining knowledge to voyage from the unknown and into the known became a core reason to which bound the concept of navigation and exploration to the pasts of our ancestors. When we speak of the term “Ancestral Space of Navigation” we not only refer to the space in which our ancestors once traversed but we also acknowledge that the “space” in itself is of our primal ancestors being, that they are the landscape we traverse today. The conceptualisation of Te Atea and understanding the ontological constructs of such space are key in understanding space from an indigenous mapping perspective.

Another key aspect that moulds form the ancestral space of navigation is the concept that indigenous mapping is in effect a practice of mapping movement. Kaiaiā explained that the space of Te Atea is always set in a constant motion, a concept that gels well with aspects of the Inuit community and their indigenous way of mapping highlighted in chapter 2. Both Kaiaiā and Te Kāhu referred that when immersed in one’s ancestral landscape we ourselves move as well therefore, knowing how to navigate this space is a concurrent proceeding of mapping the movement of the space whilst at the same time mapping one’s own movement within such space. This notion of dual awareness is to ensure that whilst navigating the ancestral space a “navigator” is kept most importantly physically and spiritually safe. Furthermore, Kaiaiā and Te Kāhu expressed that the space of Te Atea is woven full of navigational knowledge and that it is important to understand this information for it contributes to traditional methods of indigenous mapping and informs safety protocol whilst navigating such space. Kaiaiā concludes that when we create
maps of such space they are not stagnant rather they are fluid, they are constant and continuous maps of movement; and they are living maps of the natural world.

4.2 Five Dimensions of Space

Perspective from place within the ancestral space was a strong aspect of indigenous mapping that came through in the songs of our manu. Kaiaiā spoke of five dimensions that weave one’s perspective together when seeking to navigate the Ancestral Space of Navigation. The five identified dimensions are as follow and are depicted in Figure 5: “ki roto”, what is in; “ki waho”, what is out; “ki runga”, what is above; “ki raro”, what is below; and “ki anga” what is across. It is these five dimensions of space, their relationships with each other and an individuals or collectives position within this space that gives birth to a particular perspective. These dimensions are the coexistent fibres of a rope that binds the indigenous perspective of mapping together where it can be difficult to speak of one without the other. The following four extracts of expression will provide an interpretation of how these dimensions may be conceptualised in relations to indigenous mapping.

**Ki roto**

Ki roto or the perspectives from within can be understood as the intrinsic perspective we all have inside ourselves. Te Torea and Kaiaiā noted that traditionally the indigenous mapping perspective was all held within the knowledge holders head, it was a complex array of
environmental information that was stored here in its most raw form. The perspective within oneself is a crucial dimension that upholds the core essence of an indigenous mapping perspective. Kaiaiā provided an interesting perspective in relations to knowledges of navigation perceived within, whilst residing with an Aboriginal community living in Coober Pedy, Australia. Kaiaiā received the privilege of spending time stargazing with members of this community, hearing old stories how Aboriginal ancestors would navigate their ancestral landscapes not by the brightness of the stars, but by the darkness in between the stars. These darkened spaces hold the silhouette of an emu with its beak facing south and its back-facing north. Kaiaiā then realised at that time it was not a matter of star gazing rather it was “darkgazing” and identifying forms within the darkness. Here we see an example of how ontological perspective influences what is perceived on the inside looking out. Another aspect of the perspectives within also relates to a seeking to understand the contents and structures consisting within the space ones is immersed within. Te Kāhu provided a different and interesting insight speaking of the connection roto has with the compass direction east, the direction from which the sun rises. Through the eyes of Te Kāhu, roto and te marangai (the east) were the same expression interchangeably resembling the source of life and energy. Te Kāhu noted for the old Māori people the east resembled the life source and energy of the sun and the direction our ancestral origins of Hawaiki is believed to be exclaiming “Maranga mai te hihi ki te marangai.”

**Ki waho**

Ki waho, the perception of outside is the extrinsic perspective holding two scopes from which the space can be read; the first scope explains the perspective of what is literally outside. From the example of “ki roto” above, the complex array of environmental knowledge originated in the realm of ki waho where in the form of generational observation and the deep internalisation of the external environment comes in part the perceptive constructs of ki roto. The second scope delves into a perspective of the inside from the outside being aware and acknowledging that whilst navigating one’s ancestral space there is a perception of oneself from an external realm. Te Kāhu expanded on this insight highlighting that the use of karakia was “our interface with the natural world and the atua within it”, in which our ancestors would respectively bind themselves to this ancestral space of navigation. The relationship between ki roto and ki waho are very much intertwined where one’s perspective from the inside can impact what is perceived on the outer realm; but also, what is on the outside can influence what appears on the inside. The efficacy in terms of knowledge transmission is very much at the whim of one’s ability to traverse from either one of these realms into the other and vice versa. Illustrated in our discussion of te reo Māori within the methodology chapter we had highlighted key aspects of how information is received,
interpreted and passed on. The interface between the realms of ki roto and ki waho within the broader context of indigenous mapping can also be interpreted in a similar meaning. Referring to the way Kaiaia and Te Torea allude to the knowledge holder that internalises raw information from the outside where it is stored within their head. The efficacy of passing on such knowledge is yet again determined by their ability to re-introduce such information back into the realm of waho so that those receptive can in turn interpret and build on such information through their own observations. Therefore, the process of mapping knowledge transmission is in part woven into the cyclic moving interface between ki roto and ki waho.

**Ki Runga**

Ki runga and ki raro are perspectives relative to one’s position within space—, whether something is above or below another. There are two interpretations of this perspective, the physical sense in which Ranginui is above us or we are below Ranginui and Papatuanuku is below us or that we are above Papatuanuku. However, this interpretation does not denote a sense of hierarchical status rather symbolises only physical position. Soaring to the far fringes beyond the Polynesian continent Kaiaia also told of precious times spent with the Hopi, Navajo and Havasupai peoples whilst standing amidst the tops of the Grand Canyon in Arizona, USA. Kaiaia retold his experience of seeing the sun and moon from a distinctive place, for the canyon so deep and wide had nestled the sun and moon down below offering a perspective that such large entities were not up in the sky rather the sun and the moon were down in the sky. It was from retelling this story that the Kaiaia explained another indigenous perspective and how the Hopi, Navajo and Havasupai viewed their ancestral space from a particular place. This perception highlights the importance of perspective in relations to whether one is above, below, in, out or across a particular space. Te Kahu also adds an interesting aspect attributing that the meaning of ki runga can in addition mean “to the head or top of” and ki raro attributed the contrast of “to the feet or bottom of”. This additional perception adds an element of personification onto the landscape and space of navigation. The second interpretations of ki runga and ki roto can be seen as being of a hierarchical nature. Understanding the multifaceted expressions of whakapapa was highlighted to be one of the most important aspects involved with mapping our ancestral landscapes.

**Ki Anga**

The dimension of “ki anga” is one of the most interesting concepts embedded within the discussion of perspective from place within the ancestral space, an interest that will be explained in more depth in the following section. Meaning “across” or “over a distance” the dimension of “ki anga” was described by Kaiaia to be a concept that acknowledges the connections between
multiple places spread across distances either spatially and/or temporally. All manu spoke of the importance the ancestral past had in relations to mapping from a hapū context, a concept we partly discussed in the section “Te Atea” above and which is very much captured within this temporal dimension of the across time. In terms of the spatial facet of this dimension, connections shared between various places are highlighted to be highly important within the indigenous mapping process. One point made by the Kaiaiā in relations to the use of runga, raro, roto, waho and anga; was the lost use of the term “anga” meaning “across”. Highlighted in the place names of Hokianga and Whitianga the Kaiaiā mentioned that you can tell that such place names are old as for some reason the term anga has faded from the Māori language as a commonly used term. My interpretation of anga not only means across, but it also means across an expansive distance. This lead me to think and questions why the term anga is rarely used in te reo Māori of today and also in what we perceive as our classical Māori society. I believe the submergence of the term had to do with the very formation of the classical Māori society and a reduced frequency of long distanced voyages to the scattered islands of Polynesia. As whānau grew into hapū and hapū into iwi there began more of an emphasis on maintaining closer to home inter-hapū and inter-iwi relations and whakapapa may it be through warfare or peace; as opposed to having to maintain long-distance relations with the scattered communities of the Polynesian continent. If we look at the evolution of the traditional classical Māori waka the design of the waka is outfitted for shortmid distanced travels as opposed to the more longer distanced vessel of our ancestors. However, this is not to say that long distanced voyages ceased to exist after the formation of the classical Māori society rather the frequency and focus for such voyagers reduced. As frequent travel focused on more endemic travels the use of anga I believe began to fade as there was less anga and waho; and more roto.

The five dimensions that have been used to conceptualise the space of ancestral navigation begins to strengthen our understanding of the complexities within such a realm of indigenous mapping. Though we have only provided a brief interpretation of these five dimensions of space will seek to build on these insights in the chapters to follow further creating a more comprehensive understanding of how such conceptualisations of space have in relation to specific hapū landscapes and mapping knowledges of their respective localities.
4.3 Conclusion: Te Mahara, connecting to be a part of The Primordial Memory

At first placed within the soil a seed remains in darkness, a realm of the unknown. Emerging from the seed, the shoot and taproot grows. Meandering through the darkness the roots expand and extend out seeking to navigate, explore, connect and understand this soil environment. Very much in the way the seed of a tree develops our seed of research follows. By first pursuing and understanding what space our research is embedded within, highlighting various elements with which our primal root system connects with as they navigate through this space. It gives us a depth of indigenous perspective that informs and details dimensions, movements, awareness of intricate micro to macro networks and areas of established relationship from which indigenous mapping knowledges stem. As the seed becomes well established within its soil environment it becomes aware that there has been an existence before its own existence where it’s growth and wellbeing is drawn from this space and its extension and expansion is sourced from the time beyond our memory flow. As the roots of the seed settle in various places within the ancestral space, a longlasting relationship within the soil environment is formed connecting this seed to this primordial memory flow of the natural world. The roots show us where we come from, our unique perspective, our ancestral space of navigation.
5 Eco-Physical Relationship

This chapter will present key results on the physical ecological relationship indigenous mapping has from a hapū perspective. The importance of this chapter aligns with the aims of this research by exploring the significant aspects indigenous mapping has with the eco-physical realm. These key results were gathered by the mixture of methods conducted within this research. Through-out this results chapter and also the two to follow, reference will be made towards Appendix A. In application of the chosen methods of this research this is a reflection based on a trip over to the ancestral lands shared by Ngai Tupoto ki Motukaraka and Ngati Here. I had the privilege of accompanying Tirairaka, Te Tōrea and Te Kāhuwaka during this trip. During this haerenga (journey) we covered a majority of the Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here traditional boundary given road access. Visiting the various sites stories were told and preliminary scope for this research was discussed. These brief reflections will be used to offer a first-hand experience of our “grounded” approach to this research whilst also weaving in insightful aspects towards the piecing of key findings to follow. Figure 6 displays the various sites (encounters) we visited during this haerenga. Each site visit was recorded using GPS to map our path and spatial position in relations to the hapū rohe as a whole.
5.1 Visions of the old Ancestral landscape

Our manu from the Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here hapū were asked to envisage their sense of what the Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here landscape would have looked like before the arrival of their tupuna. Drawing into the notion of a particular perspective from a particular place highlighted in the previous korero, our manu each spoke of where they were positioned within this vision of the past. Flying in to perch upon the prow of a waka Te Torea began to express a vision:

“Coming in from the harbour you would see many of the key features that you can see today we would see the predominant landscape features; our area was pretty much in full ngahere (bush) cover with substantial wetlands and the reason we would have come here because of the harbour and our relationship with the harbour.”

Highlighted above Torea has begun to paint a canvas of the past looking from an outside perspective into the ancestral landscape. Te Tirairaka perceived a vision at the centre of the rohe peering from a vantage point stating “I would probably see a lot of things in colour, see a lot of the ngahere, I’d be in the middle looking out”. Dashing back and forth within the canopy of this particular place Te Tirairaka saw a three-hundred-and-sixty-degree view of the old ancestral
landscape, surveying around that such an environment held a degree of diversity layered throughout:

“For our hapū we were fortunate to have a real mix of land forms and ecosystems because having the moana, the awa, a lot of high country, some flats, a big mix of different landscapes and you know we had big wetlands then. So, I guess that could be different from some hapū that would be totally inland or totally coastal. I always thought we were kind of lucky having the best of all those worlds and all the creatures within it. The freshwater, salt water and everything in-between”

Torea also speaks of a similar perspective of the hapū rohe in comparison to others:

“If you go to some other hapū areas they talk about open sea and fresh water lakes and all those sorts of things, but you know ours is pretty much takutai”

Adding another layer upon the ancestral landscape both Te Tirairaka and Torea speak of the ranging physical and ecological aspects embedded within the hapū rohe. Adding into this vision of the ancestral landscape Te Kāhu whilst slowly venturing along the banks of the ancestral awa spoke of a vision of abundance:

“What I saw and only listening to the prayers that our tupuna first spoke when we arrived in different areas were these areas were plentiful in food, plentiful in resources. On their arrival, they were sustained by a plentiful of food. I feel that I’m looking at an area which was really the garden of Eden to them at the time. Before all arrived and resettled here I find here just like the whole of Aotearoa was really the garden of Eden to them at that time.”

Tying in these three extracts the visualisation of the old ancestral seems to be a space of abundance and ecosystem diversity. In relations to the ancestral landscape of Te Mahurehure our Kaiaiā in his works “A Māori Community in Northland” (Hohepa,1964) centres the ancestral landscape of the hapū from which he descends in the valleys of Waima describing such an area as:

“A valley hemmed by ridges, hills and a tidal river … Physically it is merely a part of the Hokianga landscape … The inhabited portion of Waima valley is dominant by the high up thrust mountains to the west, rising gently to 400 feet before jutting upwards almost perpendicularly to sky-line crests of 2000 feet or more.”

These insights were but a glimpse, the first visualisations that flew into the minds of our manu when they pictured their hapū ancestral landscape. However, what we found is that such a landscape held a much deeper understanding through the eyes of our manu. The following section will begin to unravel this deeper understanding with the ancestral landscape.
5.2 Carving the landscape – Ki uta ki tai

During the discussions pertaining to what Torea refers to as “predominant landscape features” our manu all mentioned three common elements from which the hapū landscape consists. The following three landscape features: ridgelines, waterways and catchments will be portrayed to conceptualise a basis for spatial information that underpins indigenous mapping from a hapū perspective. These features came through during the time each manu began to piece together what exactly is the hapū landscape in physical ecological terms.

5.2.1 The Ridges and Skyline

In order to see what the first of the three principal features of the physical hapū landscape we must climb up to the highest points where the pounamu (dark green) hue of the land and forest merge with the blues in the lower sky realms of Ranginui. This is the place of nga pae maunga or the mountain ranges. In relation to the ancestral landscape of Ngai Tupoto Te Torea highlighted that the highest peak of the rohe, Rakautapu was not that high at all rising 235m above sea-level and that in comparison to surrounding maunga of neighbouring hapū rohe Rakautapu had a good strong low stance. Tirairaka also in a jokingly fashion observes:

“Our maunga yeah it’s up on the ridge you know! It doesn’t hit you in the face you have to really hunt for it. So, I’ve always found that quite curious to get my head around and to actually try and understand what and where the boundaries of that [maunga] might be”

Whilst highlighting that the Rakautapu maunga is of inconspicuous nature, Tirairaka also raises another interesting point that we must internalise during this research. That is, what are the spatial limits that define a maunga, is it just the peak or are there other aspects of the spatial maunga that we need to explore; as we begin to piece these findings together we may be able to bring to surface such understandings. Relating to this anomalous finding within our rohe the following two reflections also make comment on this occurrence whilst on our rohe haerenga:
Though, there were probably countless times our manu had passed these specific areas it was the kaupapa of our trip that lead to unintentional yet welcoming conceptualisations of our ancestral space. We were able to notice and discuss different aspects as they spontaneously popped up. What we found was that every new encounter and observation made had the possibility to create additional narratives embedded within the landscape. When we refer back to the highest land point of our rohe, Rakautapu is not a peak that stands alone rather stands amongst many forming the strong ridgeline that surrounds and nests the rohe of Ngāi Tupoto/Ngati Here.

In the songs sung in the rohe of Te Mahurehure our Kaiaiā recited that though linked there are two main ridgelines that nest the Waima valley; Waoku a high plateau to the south-west and...
the second as mentioned previously, Whakatere Manawa Kaiaiā which joins Waoku being a part of nga pae maunga in the western and most inland side of the valley. Kaiaiā further adds on the other sides of these ridgelines there are other whānaunga (close kin) hapū or papahapū who inhabited and maintain strong relations with each other. Kaiaiā further explains that in the old times two eponymous ancestors of Te Mahurehure and other papahapū in the area were each residing in two pa sites at both ends of this ridgeline that enclose the Waima valley. These eponymous tupuna were Uewhati and Hauhaua who were siblings born from the union of Uenukukuare and Kareariki. Uenuku-kuare was the first-born son in the union of Rāhiri and Ahuaiti, two of the eponymous ancestors of Ngāpuhi Nui Tonu. Uewhati and Hauhaua lived on this whenua 14 generations before I. Kāhu notes an explanation as to why tupuna resided on the raised elevated areas for the fact that:

“As time went on resource were tended to and hapū grew many other people came to take those resources. At a time in our past the fighting for resources created a need to be able to defend”

Torea also shares an identical perspective of why pa settlements were established observing:

“I think in terms of their ability to defend an area the physical landscape was very much important to where people lived safely so that you could tell if others were coming close. Pa sites on hill tops that gave you a visual opportunity to see up and down the river. Areas that were hard to get to on several side so that you could be safe and be aware of what was going on around you… I suppose it was all about resources as populations grew there was more pressure on land and people take resources from others, history of the world”.

In context to Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here rohe we had identified that there were four main pa sites that our ancestors had held over the course of history. These pa starting from west to east are Matawera, Motukaraka, Te Rangai and Rangiora. As we can see shown in Figure 7 all four pa sites are situated on the coastal boundary of the ancestral rohe. Torea explained that each pa site have a distinct position and perspective of the harbour and not all pa sites could see what the others were able. Therefore, it was essential in times of stress that manawhenua maintained eyes in each pa for the security of their rohe. During our trip around the rohe we were unable to visit all pa sites due to accessibility, safety and time constraints. However, in order to simulate the vantage points and unobstructed views provided by theses pa we used a set of digital elevation model data and the identified points on ArcMap. Here, we decided to explore the visibility each pa site held in relations to the harbour. The following maps individually display our findings of each pa site and the visibility of the surrounding areas in relation to each point. Highlighted in the green are areas visible and those highlighted in red are the areas unseen by the eyes of the pa.
Figure 7: Identified pa of Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here
Relating to Matawera pa that is depicted in Figure 8 geographically situated the eyes of the pa far reach west towards the entrance of the harbour. Areas in this sight are Panguru, Motuti and Whirinaki, turning towards the east Matawera is able to see up Omanaia River, Motukaraka Pa, Rangai Pa and the western ridge side of Rawene. Turning to Figure 8 that depicts Motukaraka Pa, the lowest lying pa we can see up the Tapuwae River, Matawera Pa, Rangi Pa and also the western ridge side of Rawene. Moving to the two eastern Pa sites depicted in Figure 9 and Figure 10, Te Rangai Pa, the highest pa in our rohe peers over to Matawera. The western bank of Omanaia river, Wairupe River. The Eastern side of Rawene and up the Waima River. The most eastern pa Rangiora also sits high up observing Waima River, but also peers North towards Kohukohu, Mangamuka River and Motukiore.

However, as mentioned before the important message here is that while each pa oversees a particular area, the most significant aspect is how each pa create a network of eyes that surveys the surrounding areas. Piecing together each individual pa site eye view as depicted in Figure 12
assists in helping conceptualise the relationship pa have with ridgelines and elevation drawn from such sites. Both Kaiaa and Torea mentioned that the Te Awanui o Hokianga (The Expansive River of Hokianga) was the main highway for all hapū the area since the first arrival of the ancestors right until the early 1900’s. Therefore, the importance of having a clear view of these waterways and streams was essential for the surveillance of human activity and the ability for hapū to maintain manawhenua status over their respective rohe. This important physical relationship with pa and ridgelines was all about safety and understanding advantages that can be gained by creating refuge in these places.

Drawing from the korero above we begin to gain one fibre to the thread of how hapū traditionally would spatially map their ancestral landscape and that is the use of natural ridgelines as defining borders between neighbouring hapū but also allowing places for security. Te Kāhu agrees with this whakāro adding another insight that:
“The border ridges play a major part for our boundary areas. Why? because between those two ridges they have separate resources. How would you identify one area from the other? Well you identify by the natural actions and purposes of that area. How else would you do it?”

With this statement Te Kāhu points a focus that such natural boundaries not only define hapū boundaries but also in ecological terms define and create divergent ecosystems of what can be referred to as resources. When trying to conceptualise natural markers that in part draw the traditional borders of hapū Tirairaka contributes that there are two main definers of this visualisation:

“With our maunga, you know if they all had pou (posts) on top of each of them you’d soon be able to see where the natural boundary was yeah that’s how I would see it”

To add on to the notion of how ridges and contours of the landscape defined spatial areas we now turn towards the content embedded within the Old Land Claims that are historically attached to the rohe of Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here. Upon giving evidence of right to the land many of our tupuna recited place points, such as streams, peaks and flora to demarcate tribal borders and boundaries between different whānau within hapū rohe. An extract from Old Land Claim (OLC) 1043 notes an example of the manner from which various tupuna regarded spatial mapping:

“Hone Ri that the names of the places of those persons who had not agreed to the alienation of their lands should be taken down and these are the names of those places, Kowatuhoahoa ascending and going on the top of the ridge to Waikukupa, thence turning on the ridge to Kaiwakairi to Tamawahine Tahi thence descending to the stream Pei to Raekaihau, Whia, Porotahi, Rimu, Patutu, Rangiora, Araiwa, Te Ahingarara, Putawakaru, Witikawarea, Paponga, the plantation of Kahukura, Papaohawaiki, Whanoko, Manawuirihia, Kopuru, Rotokahi, Taraire, Toupapaka, Purou, until you come to Kohikohi.”

What this extract of Native Land Court minutes tells us is that whilst disseminated in a colonial land court setting the traditional spatial knowledges of reciting the natural features of the land have been documented. Furthermore, under close examination of the first land survey maps of the Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here rohe by our tupuna Nui Hare and an accompanying surveyor in the late 1880s, some of these place names recited in the OLC minutes through these surveys transformed from being only oral references into binding such names to a spatially mapped dimension. We found that over 40 years after the OLC claims tupuna Nui had placed survey points and place names that were recorded on a path that aligned with the natural contours and ridgelines of the rohe almost identical to those named prior. The importance of spatial references to ridgelines and land contours, ascensions and descents were a key principle in understanding the physical relationship hapū had with their ancestral landscape. Due to the early engagement our tupuna Nui Hare had with the Native Land Courts (NLC) and the colonial surveying process we
are very fortunate today to have copies of such interactions. To contribute to the objectives of this research we are very fortunate that Torea held a vast collection of OLC and NLC minutes and archival document copies. From this collection we scanned 16 separate survey maps specific to the Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here rohe that were drafted in the late 1880s. From these scans we cropped and stitched together the 16 maps analysed and digitalised the ridgeline pathways on the ArcMap software and in doing so we began to construct what our manu agreed to be an outline boundary of our ancestral rohe. Depicted in Figure 13 is one of the first maps that pieced the 16 individual maps together in a homogenous form. The yellowed line resembles the ridge pathways that were walked by Nui this which was regarded to be the ridgeline that naturally defined the Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here rohe.

Figure 13: Georeferenced survey maps
The initial information obtained by this finding offers a spatial conceptualisation of one of the specific hapū areas this research is focused within. In reference to our other hapū however, during the time of this research we did not have access to the survey maps of Te Mahurehure rohe in order to conduct a similar process. However, Kaiaiā through oral dissemination provided an insight into where the ridge boundaries lie for Te Mahurehure and neighbouring papahapū:

“Flowing out from Waoku Plateau out to Te Rorikiwi or kiwi trapping area and Rori being our term for trap and that is all a part of Te Mahurehure territory which begins at Rawene comes up the Waima river through Ohuri then Moehau then cuts across here and goes across to Waimamaku and links with Ngati Korokoro. The right over the top to Waipoua forest almost to Kaihu where you overlook Kaihu then it circles back to the tribal groups of Tautoro, Mataraua, Mangatawa and Taheke. The cross to the other side almost to Utakura that is our Tribal area.”

Figure 14: Spatial representation of Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here and Te Mahurehure hapū
Piecing the korero together sung by Kaiaia we constructed a spatial ridgeline map to compliment the boundaries of Te Mahurehure as depicted in Figure 14. In order to weave this map together we utilised a LINZ topographic data base map and contour data to identify where certain ridgelines would lie based on references given by Kaiaia. Note Te Mahurehure rohe coloured in a blue hue in contrast to Ngai Tupoto Ngati Here coloured with a light green tinge.

In relation to Hokianga we found that there was only one historical map that depicted hapu boundaries within the whole of the Hokianga catchment. We were very grateful to have received an archival map from the Auckland Libraries Heritage Collection. A digital copy of a map is depicted below which was drawn in 1862 by the government official, John White. White grew up in the Hokianga and became a collector of traditional kōrero and history from which he produced the following map. In terms of visual spatial information pertaining to hapu boundaries and our ridgeline hypothesis Figure 15 would be the closest comparison from which we could analyse. In the map we can see that hapu borders to an extent were aligned to the natural contours of the physical landscape. However, in some instances such definitions inhibit the form of artificial straight lines that cut through streams and parcels of land. Edited into the map below, we have highlighted in yellow the position of both hapu involved in this research. It is quite interesting to note that the Ngai Tupoto rohe in this map is significantly
smaller by ¼ from what was conceptualised by or manu above that is highlighted in red. Whereas the “Mahurehure” rohe has borders that overlap main ridgelines in the area.

However, abstract from Figure 15 are the prospects of spatial accuracy and where it can be difficult to identify the specific spaces of these hapū boundaries. Therefore, for the purpose of spatial clarity we constructed an enhanced georeferenced version of this map with an accurate topographic underlay highlighted in Figure 16. This map was created by carefully extracting geographical information (waterways, ridgelines, coastal forms) from the Figure 15 above and ancestral knowledge highlighted by our manu; overlaying such information over a topographic map in ArcGIS. Shapefiles containing the spatial information pertaining to each individual hapū were then imported into Adobe Photoshop software to improve the aesthetics of the map.
Based on these three examples above it is fair to say that the mapping of ridgelines embedded within the physical landscape historically can be used to in part help define how hapū traditionally used to conceptualise their rohe boundaries. However, it is apparent that there are different conceptualisations of hapū boundaries even when ridgelines are used. This may indicate an arising issue as kinship groups grow over generations and complete for resources as noted previously.

Building on the concept of ridgeline classification Te Kāhu notes that like all aspects in te ao Māori there are always two coexisting elements within the ancestral landscape, they are the masculine and feminine. As we previously referred to the ancestral landscape as being a consistence of Ranginui and Papatuanuku this is in its primal form a basis for this thought. When we focus into Te Taitokerau rohe being at its widest 40km from east to west there are two main coastlines that characterise the rohe; Te Tai Tamatane, the west coast and Te Tai Tamawahine, the east coast. The literal translation of these terms can be interpreted as being the masculine tide (Te Tai Tamatane) and the feminine tide (Te Tai Tamawahine) reason being the nature of the two coastlines; the west being rough and the east inhibiting a calmer nature. In the kōrero of Torea there was a mentioning of the nature of Te Tai Tamatane in Hokianga:

“Talking about physical stuff. So, a lot of the places would be defined by what grows there what is the character of the trees that grow there. Just thinking of this tauparapara that talks about this: “Ko Panguru ko Papata…… He rakaupatapta I te hauauru”. Tree shaped by wild west winds and that’s where that name comes from and its right on the top of the ridge and it gets the worst of the westerly gales”

Through the kōrero and works of Kaiaia a full version of this tauparapara is provided:

Hei konei rā e Ninihi e Puhanga
Tohorā
Hei Terautawainui
Hei te Ngarunui a Pahunu
Ka haere tēnei ki Panguru ki Pāpata
Ki te rākau tū pāpata nui e tū ki te hauauru
Ki te tai tamatāne
Ki te tai i tūria ki te Marowhara.

I take my leave of you Ninihi and Puhanga
Tohorā
Farewell Terautawainui
Farewell Te Ngarunuiapahunu
This one goes to Panguru to Pāpata
To where the tree stand leaning from the westerly wind
To the male tide
To the tide held up by the warbelt (of Kupe)
[Translation given by Kaiaia]

Kaiaia in the works (Hohepa, 2011) explains that this proverb is an old recitation given by one of our tupuna ancestors, Tamatea who in his elder age became a kaitiaki (guardian) of the old burial caves within Hokianga. Through one whakapapa line from which I descend the life time of
Tamatea was 11 generations before me. Embedded within this saying that both Torea and Kaiaia recited our tupuna Tamatea notes the prevailing winds of the Panguru ki Pāpata landscape that has shaped and formed the pae maunga and flora of that rohe. Though this area that is referred to is not explicitly Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here pae maunga our ridgelines are right next door where it would be fair to say like the whole of the Hokianga landscape we to an extent are subject to the prevailing westerly winds that come with the tides of the west coast. However, what does this entail when we explore principle aspects of the physical hapu landscape. Reaching back to the rising point of the masculine/feminine elements of landscape that was highlighted by Te Kāhu I asked, “How does this apply to the hapu rohe?” Tracing a map with a finger Te Kāhu runs up the western side of a ridgeline that runs parallel to the eastern bank of our ancestral awa, Tapuwae. Te Kāhu replied “What’s this? it’s a steep slope facing west.”. The finger moves to the eastern side of the ridgeline away from the river bank. Te Kāhu asks “This side is still steep but on this side it has more flat”. What we found here was that as a result of the western facing slope of the ridgeline that sustained the burden of the prevailing westerlies there was a more sheltered area on the eastern side. Identical to the way Tai Tamatane and Tai Tamawahine coexists this is the ridgeline component of how the masculine and feminine elements are embedded within the hapu ancestral landscape. Through the eyes of Te Kāhu these feminine/masculine features of the landscape resembles but a deeper understanding of coexistence and the need for the balance of the two in order for things not only to grow but to be well:

“There needs to always be a balance you see, you need a mother element, a father element and they need to work together for the betterment of the whānau. Same applies to the whenua you need the steep slopes to protect the flats. Why? Because there’s the gardens, there’s the swamps, there’s the sustenance below but you see you also get sustenance from the steep slopes as well”

Therefore, the coexisting feminine/masculine features embedded in the landscape alludes to an indigenous understanding that the wellbeing of the landscape is in fact about a natural balance of landscape features.
Reflection 3: Te Kāhu recalls Waimangemange and Torea introduces TGPS

As we drove from 3 to 4 Te Kāhu retells stories of when he was younger helping one of his uncles to build a big red shed here. The shed in its current standing state had stood against the tests of time but was no longer in use. With his finger following the descending slope from where we stood, Te Kāhu referred to a stream by the name of Waimangemange. This name given its literal meaning may have referred to a grove or area where the mangemange bush would have grown. At this time, I do not know the full story or what significance the mangemange has. Te Torea also points out two maunga to the east by the name of Maunga Taniwha and Whakarongorua. At this time, it was quite hard to see Maungataniwha because of the misted weather, just a silhouette in the distance. On a clear day, this maunga can be easily spotted by the reception tower sitting atop. Te Torea also pointed out that Whakarongorua is easily to spot for its flattened summit as if something chopped it clean off. Here we discussed that the protrusion of various maunga in the skyline would have given our tupuna a fair idea where they were. Just like how a GPS device beams to 3 or more satellites to tell ones position our tupuna would have beamed their eyesight to various maunga to pin point their own position, one of many TGPS (traditional global positioning systems) our tupuna would have used. Both maunga were given names based on their ability to hear both the waves on the west coast and those on the east coast.

Indicated in Reflection 3 above is an interesting interpretation of how pae maunga and the peaks within a traditional sense contributed to the ways in which our tupuna would have navigated around not only the hapū landscape, but also the wider Hokianga and Tai Tokerau environment. The visualisation of pae maunga in a traditional sense provided our tupuna with a macro perspective of spatial information within their wider ancestral space. In a description given of the rohe boundaries Te Torea further alludes to the way in which knowledge pertaining to the recital of maunga within ones pēpeha is a way of positioning oneself within the ancestral landscape socially and mentally but also in a physical navigational sense:

“Coming from an overland perspective there would have been trails that would have lead North and you would have reached the highest point and would have had vantage point where you could look down over. So, I don’t think it’s of any coincidence that pepeha pick out those fundamental big picture issues in a rohe. So, that people say oh yeah that’s where you can locate it and if you go to other parts of the takiwa you can see over here from afar. you can orient yourself with maunga and with awa from a substantial visual distance away you would have seen that “

All these insights shown above weaves in well with the thought of Tirairaka regarding how hapū would have linked mapping knowledge with the natural landscape as elaborates in the following tune:
“I think hapū would be working with their environment and so using kind of natural boundaries, markers. Not trying to make boundaries where it was countered to the landscape. I feel that would have been a kind of hapū general way of thinking.”

The prominent landscape feature of the ridges and pae maunga embedded within the ancestral landscape, as shown above has provided us with a multiple of perceptions in how our manu viewed the physical relationship hapū have within their own rohe. Nevertheless, the ancestral landscape does not only consist of ridgelines and high elevations and in the following section “The Rivers” will now dive down to the lowest depths of the ancestral landscapes surface to link in the second of the three prominent landscape features within hapū rohe. The height of a mountain is not solely at its highest point. Without knowledge of where its feet are planted there is no way to compare how tall it is.

5.2.2 The Rivers & Springs

“I suppose our Tapuwae river is another really significant place for me and I guess it’s the relationships between each of the streams, the different places and what’s adjoining it. I think is a special part. How the awa connects, what’s on each side of it, what vegetation is there, what kind of organisms live there, animals, birds all those sorts of things” - Tirairaka

In the quote above Tirairaka introduces the ancestral awa of the Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here rohe by emphasising an expressed fascination into the physical environment that makes up the ancestral awa. Embedded within a similar discussion about Tapuwae Te Torea provides an example of mental mapping by tracing various waterways that flow down from Rakautapu:

“From Rakautapu I say the waterways, the Waipoka coming into the Tapuwae, Te Huahua coming into the Tapuwae. The Wairupe on the other side. These are our two main awa”

Torea above during the recitation of various streams that flow into Tapuwae also acknowledged a separate Wairupe awa which is a part of the Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here rohe. Therefore, in relation to the rohe described above, there are two ancestral awa that are linked to this particular landscape. Flowing back to Te Mahurehure rohe Kaiaiā also provides a korero of our ancestral awa Waima and adjoining streams:

“Waikaramihi, the waters that welcome. It links onto the Waima river that flows down. We go up to the top we have 5 main tributaries. The one that is more well known to have a traditional name climbs up a series of waterfalls that are called the callused hands of the Norse star or Nga Ringa Tapa o Tariao. Once you get to the top of them there’s a long deep very slow current moving area and then the river suddenly split one turns back and curves the other way but there’s this other that does this sharp right angle right behind this mountain it’s called Te Puke, the hill. Behind there it’s called Te Awa o te Atua or the water of the god. Now I don’t know how that name came about but I know the name.”

Here we see linking in with the korero of Torea and Tirairaka an ancestral awa consists of a multiple of tributaries that merge together into a larger body of water. Kaiaiā also notes defining characteristics of different tributaries. However, what is the significance of these different branches
of waterflow that meander through the landscape? Te Kāhu provides an explanation that helps us understand such significance:

“You know te wai rere from across the mountains and it’s through our rivers, mapping was about knowing about the distribution of water…. You got to realise they are the jugular veins of your maunga, the blood veins of your maunga. These streams going all over the place feeding vegetation which is the streams are the veins of distribution of your wai.”

In the explanation spoken by Te Kāhu a direct relationship between the waterways of the landscape and the ancestral maunga has been made. This statement “mapping was about knowing the distribution of water it” means that understanding the waterflow of the ancestral rohe needs to be considered to be a part of the indigenous mapping knowledge. When discussing this importance of waterflow in mapping knowledge Te Torea mentioned such application are attached to traditional concepts such as rāhui which is a protocol of spatial and temporal restriction, explaining:

“You know even when people drown or get killed in the waterway. What is the extent of that and whether we would put a rāhui on the whole of the harbour, or they put a rāhui in the specific tributary to the harbour. It would depend where and what happened.”

Expanding on the discussion of mapping waterflow Torea has spoken that traditional decisions made in relations to waterways had a spatial component. Leading on from this realisation Torea has then begun to reflect on the potentially complex situations that may arise. Kāhu mentioned when he was younger and during the times of our tupuna water management was a serious matter explaining there was a huge awareness of how they used water, and where water went after various uses. In this discussion Kāhu talked about the strict separation of water used for washing clothes, water used for drinking and cooking; and waste water noting that the management of water did not solely revolve around the needs of the people, but also the needs of other species.

In regard to both hapū rohe our manu also mentioned the significance of puna. Puna can be interpreted as fresh water springs from which our manu had told stories of the ancestral landscape being dotted with many. Our Kaiaiā had mentioned that in the pae maunga of Waima there is an old kauri tree grove from which a hot water spring bubbles to the surface, this is a very sacred area. Tirairaka also recalls her mother telling stories of old puna that would flow up at the point of Te Wharau at a family block called Waipuna. All manu believed that the concept of mauri was an integral part of the ancestral landscape and that it was essential to understand its relationship with both the physical and spiritual ancestral landscape. When asked the question “What is mauri?” our manu agreed that such concept is woven into the waterflow of the ancestral landscape:
“There’s lots of life force of puna and things like that that are named with linkages to waterways to each other and the mauri of the water system.” – Torea

“Mauri o te wai is like medicine because the mana of curing is in it and that’s the mauri. The remedial ingredients are already in it. The mauri means keeping water to that quality. Mauri means to sustain whatever mana there is in that water. You must sustain it for it to be effective as wai mauri and if it was to be contaminated then there right the mauri is gone. Polluted water will have no mauri.” – Te Kāhu

“Mauri to me is something that gives life to everything, everything has got a mauri and It’s that mauri that connects the intangible with the tangible things and that’s why we shouldn’t muck with it. It kind of you know it’s our connector back to Rangi and Papa, it’s our whakapapa links through for all living things that’s how i see it. … I think the water has a big part to play in mauri. Without water we are nothing I would say water would be my main source of mauri” – Tirairaka

The meaning given by Torea creates a link between mauri, waterways and place names. Kāhu acknowledges that the concept of mauri bears a cleansing quality that can be altered and/or diminished. Tirairaka believes that mauri gives life to everything it is the connection between our hapū and the primal ancestors and that it binds our physical realm with the spiritual; a source of life that should not be carelessly interfered with. Drawing in these ideas of mauri what is mauri we can see this concept holds an important role within the ancestral landscape. However, the conceptualisation of water and waterways is only but a small fibre to the weave, where in order to gain a more fuller understanding of the tapestry we need to expand into the holistic realm of the physical ecological relationship. The following section will do so in highlighting the importance of catchments and how our manu see this conceptualisation of space and a means of incorporating a holistic relationship.

5.2.3 The Catchment

In one respect or another our manu throughout their korero mentioned and discussed the term “catchment” and how such notions manifested within the physical relationship hapū have with mapping their ancestral landscape. Highlighting its connection with the concept of mauri and the elements of life that inhibit the hapū rohe. When talking about the flows of water from one smaller tributary into a larger stream Torea mentioned that catchment areas were used to classify different uses and ecosystems embedded within the ancestral landscape the following extract was based on thoughts of how the catchment idea flows into the context of the Tapuwae awa:

“We’ve got the Pukekohe area which is a catchment really which goes up one area, and you’ve got a Waipoka one which goes up in another direction, you’ve got the Mangakino
one that goes up in another direction and they are all a part of the bigger picture but they’ve all got their separate little identities. And so, you’ve got a whole area that might be wetland or estuarine area but there might be little island and that would have its own name even though its apart of the bigger picture.”

This is an interesting insight into the discussion of catchment definition. As mentioned by Torea there are sub catchment with their own individual identities they are a part of a much larger catchment tying in the concept of a holistic perception of space. During similar discussion about what exactly a catchment was Tirairaka regarded that previous discussions about the ridgeline pa maunga and waterways was essential what is referred to as the catchment expressing “I see them all very interconnected I don’t see them, the land and waterways at all separate. I see them all quite connected”. Likened to the expression of human emotion Kāhu also related the concept of catchment interconnectivity in his explanation:

“Our whenua and relation to water is like this… e tangi mai nga roimata, the tears begin to weep the trickle. E rere mai nga roimata, the tears flow the stream. Ka toro mai ngā ringa hōpu, the hands are laid out to hold. See like that “

Therefore, based on this realisation it would be fair to say that when regarding the term catchment we are talking to all of the physical complexities that have been put before us above in this chapter. However, we need to still delve deeper into this eco-physical relationship as there are many more facets as to how the relationship of the ridges weaves in closer to the relationship of the waterways and concept of mauri, a connection this section will explore.

“It’s the lay of the catchment that determines what is suitable to grow here and what’s not suitable it’s all about the feeding capacity of the catchment area [that] is going to determine what you are going to find there. If the catchment wasn’t an area where water was plentiful at certain times of the year. You’d find they have two or a crop you could sustain on less than half the rainfall in that area. Your tupuna were very good at putting the right plants. First, they would look at the volume of the catchment area, second they look at the area they could garden or develop and then the balance would come” -Kāhu

Kāhu talks of a feeding capacity embedded within the catchment and that either nurtures or neglects the growth of life and how it would have been part of a traditional developmental criteria to first understand the natural capacities of the catchment before conducting any sort of economic activity such as growing gardens with adaptable crops. Relating to the constructs of natural catchment capacity Torea relates how the impact of ridgelines also influences such capacity whilst reflecting on the generational knowledge our tupuna gained by interacting and observing the natural world:

“Well you might learn through practice that certain areas got a warmer microclimate, there’s less wind or its more sheltered. So, then you might put your gardens there or you
might put your houses there. So, you would differentiate between places that were good
to live in or had handy resources”

Kāhu recalls in regard to defining capacity boundaries it took years to build a sufficient
knowledge base to understand what the capabilities of the catchment area were noting that in time
of our tupuna there were tohunga who went into the ngahere to understanding these relationships:

“Whānau were told to grow this here grow that there because the soil where they were was
suitable for that. These tupuna went around and analysed different soils themselves by
growing the same things in different places and sure enough eventually they found how to
do soil analysis. It was 5-6 years of observations for trees and rongoa it was decades even
generations.”

Here we see an example of how the physical relationship of mapping was strengthened by
the lengthily times our tupuna would have endured in order to conduct a sustainable soil analysis.
Building on this whakāro Kāhu also regards that while observation were conducted our tupuna
had a fair idea of what species would be supported in various area based on the species already
there exclaiming:

“Nature actually already created that sustainability of plentiful themselves you know all
the tupuna would have done was look at it and nurture it in the capacity already there but
had to keep working in harmony.”

A method in understanding the ecological relationship of the sub catchment environment
was highlight by an experience noted by Kāhu:

“Some trees you can’t move out of the bush you have to go there and get it. There’s a
place up there called Te Rongopai. Te Rongopai was a place where medicine was got. I
was like how does this place relate to medicine as this kaumatua was saying “listen to what
I’m saying”. Rongo see if you listen you’ll get pai, see ko tika”

The term “rongo” can be interpreted as “to draw on your senses” by being in such a place
this kaumatua was asking Kāhu to draw on his senses to understand what medicine was needed

Kāhu also highlights the importance of understanding knowledge pertaining to trees
stressing that various trees like the miro, kowhai and kauri trees were very old trees that were
treasured and protected by the ancestors as a result of the various birds that would be attracted to
them. Coming back to conducting various activities with various catchments Torea highlight that
there is a need to be aware of one’s actions and how it impacts the environment:

“Well I think about catchment and waterflow within a certain area the use and control of that
water is in itself a discrete ecosystem that only you impact upon and so if you are clearing land or
gardening you need to realise that has an impact on the environment within that catchment.”

To conclude Kāhu stresses that it is very important to understand each individual catchment
with the Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here rohe noting that when entering different areas:
“Your behaviour with these areas must be different because there are different species with different kaupapa and different whakapapa you know and the reasons why they were put there was because the land layout was more suitable for their natural purpose”

In this abstract Kāhu believes that each and everything within a particular environment have their own unique relationships and purposes in the environment and that we need to understand this connection and adjust our behaviour when interacting with such environment. The following section will provide another insight into another unique relationship traditionally had with their ancestral landscape, a relationship that fostered healthy inter-hapū relations.

5.3 Te Wairua o Te Rakau

There was one very interesting aspect Te Kāhu highlighted about the physical ecological relationship hapū had with their ancestral landscape which was to have a deep understanding of te wairua o te rakau. Te wairua o te rakau in literal translation can be interpreted as the essence or soul of the tree or plant. In the old times Te Kāhu recollected that almost every marae in Hokianga had two types of gardens; one garden that produced kai (food) and another that grew rongoa (medicine). Te Kāhu further mentioned that not all rongoa plants could be cultivated in a garden where the old people in this case had allocated groves close by that grew these wild rongoa plants. Access into both the rongoa garden and grove was restricted to the tohunga. In relation to these garden Kāhu spoke of a cultural practice that rarely if at all is observed in contemporary times, that of the ceremonial exchange of rakau and/or rakau seed alongside other koha occurred when one party visited another marae.

This practice had a multi-layered precedent; one layer: likened to the saying “give a man a fish he’ll eat for a day teach a man to fish he’ll eat for a lifetime” the exchange of seeds expresses the wishes of the visiting party to insure a sustained wellbeing for the hosting haukainga long after their departure. The second layer of such practice if successfully cultivated also represented a longstanding relationship between the two parties. Kāhu mentioned that there was a strong spiritual connection embedded with such practice where future gatherings between two parties would often lead to during formalities to the referral in the growth or the abundance of cultivation of the past rakau gifting’s. However, one of the most important insights given by Kāhu to compliment the concept of te wairua o te rakau is place in the extract that follows

“The DNA of a person is not created by man it is created by the earth, change the earth you have to change the rongoa. This rongoa and that rongoa they look the same, but you do a DNA [analysis] on this one here you’ll it’s different.”

This extract came from a story Kāhu told of a time when seeking treatment for an illness from a tohunga rongoa when working in Rotorua when he was young. After seeking treatment,
the tohunga instructed Kāhu to go back to the medicine trees of the place he grew up as though the medicine will work its best to go back to the medicine of your locality as your DNA is embedded in the environment you grow up in. Articulated in this story there is a unique understanding that since the rongoa and an individual of the same locality shares the same DNA that is drawn from the same environment there is a principle of best practice attached to one’s physical environment. This is an interesting reasoning that raises the questions of how such indigenous belief contrasts with an increasingly globalised world where food sources are drawn from the DNA of other environments. In relations to gaining an insight into indigenous mapping perhaps further research could hypothesize such theory and research into such issue.

5.4 Sanding down the landscape

“As soon as our hapū became involved in trade with Europeans the landscape and our relationship with the whenua changed if you compare the condition and state of the water today and at that time [pre-contact] there’s only one thing that altered it and it was commerciality, it’s the only thing that altered it. So, water I’d say would be an area we need to focus on a lot more. It is because as a collective we haven’t got that physical and spiritual attachment to water like what they had in those days.” - Kāhu

Since we have a fair understanding of what the physical relationship hapū have with their ancestral landscape we will now turn towards findings that highlight how this understanding has changed over time and furthermore, see what that means for our hapū today. We will yet again draw on various insights provided by our manu in order to make consciousness of this topic. All manu believed that the physical relationship and physical landscape of the hapū rohe has dramatically changed by layers upon layers of alterations over a temporal period. The main four main changes upon the physical landscape were noted to be resource shortages, timber logging, pastoral wetland drainage and land reclamation. Tirairaka mentions that practices in the past have destroyed the mauri in a lot of the place within the rohe and now things are beginning to happen such as land movement, erosion and landslips. Tirairaka believes that the embedded mauri of the landscape is warning us of our actions reflecting on a recent experience:

“When things aren’t so good was at Waipuna with the erosion there. Uncle and I done a bit of planting there just to try and build it up. But just seeing the damage of the erosion and realising hey all’s not good here. I supposed the other one at Matawera and the big reclamation there and the effect that’s had you know I can understand why it was done. Our Deli grandfather was really instrumental in putting that in and it was a thing that all the farmers who had those mud flats were doing at that time and they had no flat land all the rest was hilly, everyone dreamt about having these flats with grass. But last year we had a storm and a big flood and the stock bank broke first time ever and all of those flats got totally covered right up to Remana and it was a disaster they had to get a helicopter in and spent days sandbagging it to get the water out. It totally wrecked the pasture there, but it just
made me think weighing up the benefits and the bad things about doing something radical about that to our land.”

Transforming the physical landscape of Te Mahurehure to pasture in the mid 1800’s also had an impact of the physical relationships the hapū had with their rohe. Kaiaiā spoke of the times our ancestor Mohi Tawhai upon being Christianised became instrumental in getting the people of Te Mahurehure to move out of their residences in pa sites and into homes, splitting the valley flats into intensive horticulture around individual homes. As a result of this shift Kaiaiā commented that the once inhabited pa sites became ideal places for Christian burial grounds. Kaiaiā makes a distinct difference between traditional burial sites and Christian burial sites as the traditional sites resided in caves hidden amongst the Waima pae maunga and other ridgelines in Te Tai Tokerau. This shift symbolises a transformation in the way the hapū once related to the ridges one on the prominent features of the hapū ancestral landscape. In addition, to the individualisation and shift to the splitting of the Waima valley catchment Kāhu has observed a similar occurrence in the rohe of Ngai Tupoto:

“Today the holistic is gone because you are only answerable to yourself or the council. An example is the problem of flowing water down the draining, see that house up there? All he is lawfully got to do is get his waste water off his property, it flows down here and now it’s your problem. What is missing is the holistic because then everybody becomes one, this is tika”

In this reflection Kāhu talks of the problematic issue that the individualisation of land title has an impact on the traditional holistic management of the catchment area. This statement also ties into his earlier reference towards the traditional awareness of water use. Furthermore, Kāhu added that these traditional ways of managing and dividing their whenua “with a stroke of a pen” reorganised land tenure through the Māori Land Courts which forced catchment divisions. In relations to this korero all manu have described how hapū today have difficulties having their ancestral lands and traditional boundaries acknowledged due to colonial processes such as land alienation. Kāhu believes that though our traditional perspectives of mapping may not be fully recognised we as manawhenua must continue as those lore’s are still embedded within the landscape. Building on the shifts in populations noted by Kaiaiā previously Torea also mentioned a more severe impact on our physical relationship with the landscape caused by urbanisation:

“If you look at the whole of the rohe our haukainga are now a very much reduced amount of people now I would think that a majority of our people would only engage with a minor fraction of our rohe compared to what we’ve done in the past. And over the last couple of generations its increasingly less water based, and more land based”
Shifts in local populations, frequency of interaction and modes of interactions have been highlighted as being impacted by urbanisation. Kāhu reflecting on his own workings in the forestry notes the impact such practice has had on the rohe:

“We done the forestry chopped the trees, cleared the land and open the land up to erosion. We done all that sort of thing and now the mauri is affected. Siltation has come off the activity that’s ashore”

In this statement there is a realisation that the practices of deforestation has impacted the waterway with sedimentation this highlights the perception Kāhu now has in respect to holistic awareness. Moving on land Tirairaka mentioned that within the rohe failure to develop alongside sustainable means has detrimentally impacted the puna in our rohe:

“Mauri has changed in a lot of those places. Waipuna is a good example of that right down the end of the point. We are struggling there now with water issues and our mum remembers and all of the old people remember there being wonderful puna there and now there’s none. So they have probably been bulldozed over and blocked off to develop in some other way and now we are paying for it and we’ve got a lot of erosion and land slippage right around the point and I actually believe that that’s where that’s all stemmed from all through time we’ve kind of mucked around with the land to do something different with it instead of appreciating the puna and things that were there and using them as a resource and so we’ve got no puna and we’ve got just lots of land movement.”

The experience here is a clear example that contrasts with how hapū traditionally would have planned to develop an area by supporting the forms of mauri already embedded within the natural environment. Kāhu also mentioned the impacts on how modern developments have affected our engagement with our landscape:

“There we have only learned about modern day development not the ways of development how our tupuna had. A lot of our ways of development takes time and there’s a reason for that. Here [today] you get a seed packet and read the packet, then put it in the garden; that’s all the technology you need. The proper way of doing mara kai you’ve got to spend time, you got to nurture. I remember doing a garden you dig the garden then you wait one week, and they go back and dig it then you wait 3 days and then you plant it and have to do that done in 1 day you see. Now you just put a hole in the ground that mauri not as much there. You do the plant and that’s it. Give it time.”

In this account provided Kāhu explains even in what can be perceived as a simple task such as gardening there are more deeper relationships that often are forgotten when engaging with the ancestral landscape. This is also symbolic of building a strong and long-lasting relationship with such space. In contrast to all of the changes that have occurred in the past all our manu acknowledged that as manawhenua there is a lot of shifts needed in order to adhere to the
traditional sense of indigenous physical mapping. Tirairaka speaks of the potential benefits we as hapū could obtain in aspiring to reawaken our awareness of this traditional physical relationship:

“I think if we could define them then we could work towards understanding what used to be there and then if we know that than we can work towards doing whatever we need to restore or enhance or to try and get it back at some sort of level. But first we have to start to understand what was the ecology of those areas. Because they have been so changed over time that they are so different and then we would have a better understanding of what we should be doing with those places.”

Therefore, the ability to physically and ecologically define our ancestral landscape shares a strong importance for building hapū awareness which in turn informs the much-needed conceptualisations of what is needed for future developments of the ancestral landscape. Moreover, it is this awareness that allows hapū to make clear and concise decisions in regard to the ecological wellbeing of their rohe.

5.5 Eco-physical conclusion

In summary based on our findings the physical ecological relationship is defined by first the foundations of prominent landscape features; nga pae maunga (the ridgelines), te wai rere (the waterways and springs) and the holistic conceptualisation of ngā ringa hōpua (the catchment). Growing from these footings there is a profound awareness that this ancestral environment consists of an interconnected network of diverse ecosystems, each embedded within the feminine/masculine elements of the landscape. It was traditionally the intergenerational appreciation of this physical and ecological landscape that hapū began to build their intimate and distinctive knowledge of their surrounding environment. Knowledges built upon a deep understanding of defining natural boundaries, mauri and its natural capacities; and the consciousness management and distribution of water. These significant aspects of the eco-physical ancestral landscape provided our tupuna with foundational planning and spatial information that would inform traditional hapū practice and decision making.
6 The Spiritual Relationship

Leading on from conversations surrounding the concept of mauri this section will seek to explore the spiritual relationship hapū have with the ancestral landscape. More specifically, key results stemming from discussions involving place names, the embeddedness of mauri within such names and the perceived impacts one’s spirituality has in regard to one’s behaviour within the ancestral hapū rohe.

In lay terms our manu identified that the very primal foundation of understanding place names was all about communication. For example Torea explained:

“Place names became important as populations grew, you would increasingly have the need to give a description to the people on how to get to the right place”

Torea noted that the delegation of such place names was placed onto the authority of the rangatira at a particular time:

“They [the rangatira] would lay the korowai of names that would no doubt make sense of rohe so that would provide a framework which they would occupy by it. So, these names served a purpose they wouldn’t be for their own sake they would be for communication”

Adding on to this whakāro place names were used to communicate the right to land of a hapū Kāhu elaborated:

“You gotta know the whenua, the names and if you don’t know the land you are standing on. You effectively are standing on thin ice or even worse you are standing on nothing, you have nowhere to stand see”

This notion of knowing where you stand is crucially attached to manawhenua and became critical in giving evidence in Māori Land Court claims, where consequently if a claimant failed to recite the place names of the area ones claim case significantly diminished. The following sections will provide an insight into these places names by providing classifications of these names that were found through-out the investigation of this research.
6.1 Place Name Classification

There are 3 main identified places name classifications that have been found during the duration of this research. We managed to record 265 ancestral names related to Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here hapū alone. We used a combination of methods to record these places names ranging from geo-referencing old survey maps on ArcGIS as depicted in the previous Figure 17, place names handwritten on a tracing paper with a topographic background underlay that were noted by the assistance of our manu as depicted in Figure 17 below.
In combination of the two sources of information we were able to produce a digitalised representation of place name knowledge as displayed in Figure 18. Of our knowledge this information has never been spatially mapped and made accessible to the hapū of Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here in previous times.

Figure 18: Digitalised Place Name Map

In order to enhance the accessibility of place names knowledge to the wider hapū community we managed to create a draft map application through the ArcGIS online website as displayed in Figure 19 that follows.
There were three main categorisation of placenames that were identified whilst working alongside manu. The following subsections are an elaboration of each of these three categories.

6.1.1 Mirrors of the Environment and Places of Utility

As mentioned previously the concept of mauri extends over into the discussions pertaining to places names. Names under this classification are noted to provide a description of a particular place based on the environmental mauri that is present within the area at the time of discovery. These names often provide what Kāhu refers to as signposts of that particular area such as predominant tree species, topographical resemblances, fauna species, state of the waterways; amongst many more life-giving qualities in the area. These reflective names were bestowed in places to document the untouched natural state of mauri that such areas were upon the discovery by certain ancestors. 79 out of the recorded 265 place names resembled elements of this form of mauri. There is a fascinating perception of the origins of where and how names flow into the minds of people, an idea that was expressed by our manu. Upon assessing a list of place names that we had unsurfaced from old minute books and the initial survey maps Kāhu remarked:

“You know all the names that are here now, they have been named by the gods, the language is from the gods, we only listen”

Linking into this idea Torea also makes a similar comment when discussing the use of hapū specific language in naming places:
“It came out of the whenua the unique words that differentiate hapū came out of the whenua. That’s a parallel those place names and the way that they are used is unique to that particular whenua and those particular people. Therefore it’s the heart of their identity.”

Torea perceives such place names hold a high element of pragmatism noting that these names reflect a local intimate knowledge of what the area was capable of but also held embedded knowledge of hazards such as flooding and land instability specific to hapū rohe. The following subsection will provide examples of these ancestral places name provided by our manu:

**Wairupe**

As we have spoken of earlier, Wairupe is one of the ancestral awa of Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here rohe. However, we never provided an in-depth explanation of the name. Breaking up this name into two compound words Kāhu explained that “wai” meaning water and “rupe” meaning ripples refers to the ancestral awa waters as being inherent with a “rippling” quality explaining “it’s rippling water because of the abundance and movement of fish. Well you know rupe ana te wai, the fish life is plentiful”. Linking this to the concept of mauri one with the understanding of such name gains an understanding of the abundance of life elements imbued within that environment. Kāhu then further provides an explanation as to how the physical capacity of the Wairupe supports such a mauri:

“Te Wairupe that Wairupe, you see I’ll give you a classic example of that Wairupe. There are fish that were actually up there, and you notice the downpour. That catchment area is so big that almost fresh water fish is sustainable there. Why because there was so much fresh water catchment it actually diluted the volume of salt water that was coming up the creek. So right up the top you’d have this certain species and further down into a higher salinity of water you had another species. So that river sustained both fresh and salt water species and that’s why it is very very important. The area that had a catchment area so big it could grab enough fresh water to sustain itself and those freshwater species”

The mirrors of the environment held many different names pertaining to rock forms such as “Kohatu Hapai” (Uplifting Rock), Waterway characteristics such as “Waipoka or Kauati” both meaning a narrow deep stream; and flora qualities such Pukekauri (Kauri Hill) amongst many more names attributed to the physical indicators of mauri in these areas.

Utilities of place similar to place names are based on event from the past. However, the differentiation between this classification and the latter. Is that these place names often reflect areas of the past that held a more mundane or everyday life presence about them, aligning to the more pragmatic aspect of indigenous place names. These place names reflect areas where certain activities occurred Torea provides an elaboration:
“We have places called “Waimango” which is where they used to hang shark meat to dry you know and so that’s a practice that took place there. Waiparore which is another type of fish that they would dried so it’s a good cross-section of the names.”

Based on this elaboration we begin to see a relationship this classification of place names has with various economic activities of the past. There is also a highlighted similarity between the names of the those that mirror the environment and those that resemble utilities of place where without the appropriate knowledge distinctions between the two are almost impossible to draw.

6.1.2 Events of the past

Events of the past are characterised by things our tupuna experienced and passed on from generation to generation. This event was often related to eponymous ancestors of our hapū or big events that are etched into the collective memory of the hapū landscape such as intertribal warfare. The following subsection will provide examples of these ancestral place names provided by our manu. The section “Tuwhakararo and the naming of Tapuwae” is an adapted version of Maori Land Court minutes provided by Torea:

**Tuwhakararo and the naming of Tapuwae:**

Around 500 years ago Tuwhakararo was living on the Tapuwae. A tribe called Ngati Tamatea under Mitiha came to take land at Tapuwae and Motukaraka. When Tuwhakararo heard of it, he went up the Tapuwae stream. There he found the war parties. He showed himself and the taua chased him. His weapon was a hoerua (canoe paddle). While he was running he recited karakia to give speed to his feet. This was the origin of the name Te Tapuwae o Tuwhakararo; the resounding footsteps of Tuwhakararo. The taua did not catch him and they turned to gather cockles. Tuwhakararo arrived safely at his Pa in Motukaraka and told his people that the taua was a very large one. The taua came to plunder the cultivations, fern roots and so on. Tuwhakararo’s people let them plunder for one day. Then he told them to set fire to Motukaraka to lead the taua to suppose that they had fled. They did so and went to their pa at Rangai and sent their women to another pa they had at Rangiora. The taua seeing the smoke and flames said "Tuwhakararo and his tribe have fled". They headed off from Motukaraka in pursuit. When they got to Rangai, a fight commenced. Tuwhakararo had 140 men. Mitiha and his people were defeated. Wairuao, a chief was killed, also Rihui, Ratuku, Pekaeka, Paroaanui, Puketana, Te Paku, Whango, Te Tuinga, Tokotorua, Te Tokotoko, Te Waipuna and Te Kawai. These men were all chiefs and the places where they fell are named after them. This was the first fight that took place on Motukaraka. [Source: 4 NMB 131-185; 2 NMB 226-246]

In commenting on this adaption Torea also notes the significance of such place names and stories:

“It was to remind people of the nature of particular lands. It’s where somebody would have bled to death and their blood had gone into the land, from then on, that land became different from other lands. Enemy leaders who were killed in particular places and their names are still there. You know most people don’t know that they are named after a person you know”.
One very interesting example highlighted by Kaiaia in relations the naming of places significant to Te Mahurehure rohe is that of the naming of one of our marae, Raukura:

“Hokianga was called to Parihaka to help. Te Mahurehure was one of many Hokianga groups that went down. After the sacking of Parihaka apart from those who marched 200 miles to Ohakune the rest were rescued by Hokianga ships many of the chiefs had their own trading ships. And they were brought to Hokianga and when they were married a series of intermarriages occurred. In our case Kataraina Puketapu was married to our ancestor Pene Kahi and Pene Kahi had Ngameremere which is my grandmother who married David Wilcox and had Paerau my Mum and that link is still so strong that when the call came for the protest of the taking of the lands Moutoa gardens we all had to go down there and be a part of the occupation of Moutoa in Mangonui. In all the times there have been right through the generations the repetition of this. Well the marae built just after this one was just a family arguments over the use of marae. So that one was built called Te Raukura being the white feather worn by those of Taranaki and it’s a reminder that we are linked to Taranaki.”

In reference to the naming of Raukura marae we see that the naming of places after significant events are not only lost to the ancient sands of time, some naming events occurred in mid-1800’s. Together with the story of Tuwhakararo woven within these sections above there is raw realisation that these place names were not only named after events that had occurred but there is a strong attachment to the tupuna engraved into the memory of the particular place.

There is another interesting example that holds a hybrid classification between the mirrors of the environment and the events of the past. Motukaraka is the homogenised name that is regarded to encompass the whole of the Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here rohe. This is a name that has derived from one of the oldest pa sites in the rohe, Motukaraka Island. The literal translation of Motukaraka can be interpreted as the island of karaka. Based on the theory of the mirrors of the environment classification such an interpretation will allude that the mauri of Motukaraka Island in its natural untouched capacity held an abundance of karaka trees. However, in the korero handed own over the generations the naming of Motukaraka Island has been linked more closely to events that have occurred in the past. In this context, the derivation of Motukaraka is believed to have come from one of our eponymous ancestors, Miruiti, daughter of Tupoto. Tupoto who as mentioned before is the tupuna from which our hapū Ngai Tupoto derives our name from. The children of Tupoto were renowned for their ability to understand and nurture the deep mauri connections embedded within the natural environment. Through this deep understanding these children were regarded to have immense knowledge in regard to horticultural cultivation. During her early life residence in the Motukaraka rohe it was believed in one story that Miruiti had brought karaka seed to the Motukaraka Island to grow within the pa. The karaka tree alike the miro tree is
renowned for attracting and supporting the mauri presences of the kereru or wood pigeon. Hence a potential reason as to why Tuiti may have planted the trees on the island. In the following statement Torea provides an internalisation in making sense of this hybridised classification whilst also providing another example from place names in this classification:

“The literal meaning of the name in some instances doesn’t really bare any real relationship between the actually meaning of the relationship to the actual depth of the meaning. There’s lots and lots of examples of that which we have had the benefit of being told and others which we haven’t, there’s this name up the top of Te Huahua called kuri whakanganga. People talking about it being named after where Tupoto was up there and he was hunting kiwi or something and his dog wouldn’t shut up and he was trying to shut the dog up you know from making a noise, so they wouldn’t be heard you know so there’s those sorts of events.”

Torea in this provided example notes that indigenous places names often have more deeper understandings than what the surface interpretation of the name alludes to. Appropriate knowledge and oral stories are required.

6.1.3 Overlapping Names

We also found that there are certain places have multiple names, can be interpreted to have multiple layers of meanings. One of the most significant examples of a place that holds more than one name is the ancestral river Tapuwae. Both Torea and Tirairaka identify that Toromiro is an old name that was used to refer to the ancestral river. Torea provides an insight into the explanation behind the meaning:

“There’s an old name up in the Tapuwae there called “Toromiro” which refers to the Redness of the berries of the Miro looking like flames and so how things looked.

Embedded within this name holds the classification that once described the mauri of the ancestral awa. Described in the name, Torea refers to the abundance of miro lined along the awa, emphasising that such a sight was likened to visual of a flame. In relations to overlapping place names Kaiaia notes that streams and river can have many names dependant certain sections of the stream:

“Kauati is a river in a very narrow valley. Steep sided with slips on the side. The reason for that name is Kauati is the narrow carefully prepared timber for beginning fires and in that narrow part are put moss or mainly dried harakeke or korari and they rubbed the bottom to start the flames. So, it looked like that so the name Kauati has a reason for it. Now Kauati is one of the main sacred areas for us because the major home of the Turehu, that guard us and the mountain. When I was younger I was told not to walk up the centre of the stream, it’s the easiest way but to crisscross. If you go up the centre, you are actually blocking the pathway of Turehu and they do get angry and the next thing your lost. Now
all of that is part of what we were told when we were younger. That stream part is called Kauati but like many areas when you come further out the name changes and the name change occurs at the cemetery called Okahu.”

Stories attached to place names have also been found to describe differing accounts. For example, embedded in collective memory and recorded in historical archives there is a place name referred to as Wahakirikiri, this name can be interpreted as being the place where mouths were filled with sand as a result of two ancestral parties transgressing. There are two concluding accounts that were given one is that such an event was part of an ancient big battle between two primal iwi where the warriors who died on the beach their mouths were filled with sand as the tide came in. Whereas a differing account explained that the origins of the place names came from an internal quarrel within Ngai Tupoto from which two family groups argued resulting in a sham fight where the pushing of each other’s faces into the sand concluded the naming of that area. Provided above are two accounts of differing stories of the same place name our manu noted that this can be a common occurrence for different place names. Embedded within the Native Land Court claims it was clear that parties who opposed other claimants often shifted details within their own testaments to suit the agendas of their own party this may be a factor as to why stories diverged, grave as stories were passed over generations still holding innocent traces of those Native Land Court agendas. The influence of various spaces and places can therefore, lead to a changing in place names. Another facet to the way in which place names hold a multiple of lays can be linked to a hierarchical system Torea explains:

“Te Wharau, the peninsular there are more names that relate to whanau area and these places have their own derivation, you’ve got wahakirikiri there, next one down you’ve got Ngangehu on the other side we’ve got Waipuna, Te Kowhai. Each one of those are papakāinga areas with their own names but they are all sitting on top of Te Wharau. So, they are subsets of each other. Within those little parts like wahakirikiri there will be little names for little places within those blocks”

Expanding on this extract Torea further elaborates that when regarding place names it is similar to a hierarchy depending who you are talking to and their knowledge of the area.

“If you are talking to someone who doesn’t really know well you’ll say Motukaraka but then somebody who’s from there you’ll refer to it as Te Whārau because it’s the end part.

Then if your down at wahakirikiri they’ll be names that come, and your families will use because its usefully to you. So, it’s a hierarchy of names.” -Torea

Elaborated in the words of Torea we found that there is a micro to macro application of knowledge that reflects levels of intimacy of place, where hapū members during the dialogue between two or more parties are receptive and responsive to other levels of intimacy and
knowledge with the landscape. This in an important insight of indigenous mapping where one internalises another’s knowledgeable standing and adapts to assist the latter’s mental navigation of the landscape.

### 6.2 Revitalising our ancestral landscape through revitalising place names

“I would say 90% of the names we won’t have the benefit of someone’s interpretations of the naming. That doesn’t mean to say we won’t still use the names, we would know some of the stories connected with them even if it’s not the story of the name that’s giving the derivation of the name.” - Torea

Highlighted above Torea notes that many of our ancestral names or their meaning have been lost in the sands of time. However, in the process of this research we managed to extract 170 ancestral names from the survey maps to add to the tree of knowledge our hapū has so far. These are ancestral names that date from the mid-1880s all the way back to the arrival of our ancestors into the rohe. Torea also mentioned that embedded within our rohe there would have been up to 1000 place names prior to the arrival of Europeans. In realisation to this decrease of place names our manu believed that it was important to maintain those place names we do have and start to look into ways in which we can build and revive knowledges surrounding traditional place names and philosophies. Part of the revival process is for hapū to continue engaging with the place naming process in present day. Kāhu supports the continual process of naming places given certain considerations exclaiming:

“Yeah sure, new names can and will arise but as long as it relates to what is physically and spiritually there. Anything new that comes has to be related to what needs to be done on the whenua. There’s not a thing that can come in without being connected to nature. I don’t give a damn what it is”

All manu have noted that there are a multiple of recently names place that hapū have named these examples follow:

“Ponderosa, the reason why was people were doing a lot of mustering at that time and they were on the horse had cowboy hats and all this and that’s. I suppose it’s the physiological meaning of being a cowboy and that’s how it got its name Ponderosa put there by Mangu Noa, the Māoris used to own that. They were great for that aye? Where you going? Ponderosa and everyone knows where you going straight away you know? But sometimes you need names like that ae, you got to give it character.”

Torea also mentions the Ponderosa:

“I remember this place up Tapuwae called Waikiwi that Pākehā came there and built a flash house and it was given a name off a tv show they called it the ponderosa and that name has been sitting there for 60 years now and they still use it.”
In addition to other cultural influences, both Kāhu and Torea noted that there are examples in the adoption for te reo Māori transliterations of English Torea provides an example:

“This place as well called Te Remaeka, the 5 acres you know it was a waka landing reserve and you know it had its own name it was called Huahua but now everyone calls it Remaeka you it was 5 acres.” - Torea

Naming places after significant people was a common practice in the traditional mapping process though not as common in recent history Torea also recalled a place name in his lifetime being called “Miha”:

“Oh, and also its where people would have lived Miha Hoani lived at this particular place at matataiki and everyone refers to that as “Miha” where he lived because he was well known and kind to children, so they named it after him.”

Drawn from these extracts above we can see that there can be an overlapping and hybridisation of different places and experiences within naming process within hapū rohe to an extent is still being practiced at a capacity with added influences that have stemmed from our recent past.

One of the most essential parts of the spiritual relationship hapū share with their ancestral landscape is the importance of upholding the mauri that is embedded within ancestral place names. When asked what is the importance of upholding the mauri within places names for hapū today all of our manu believed that it was about maintaining a longstanding healthy relationship with the land and waterways that pre-existed our arrival to the rohe. Kāhu stresses that place names are our contracts to our ancestors and mokopuna. Stating that the name sets a standard and that it is our responsibility to keep to that standard. However, what exactly does such a statement entail? As noted previously a majority of the place names within the rohe of Ngai Tupoto are embedded with a description of their life-giving qualities or state of mauri. A reflection was asked of our manu to think of our ancestral places in the landscape today and whether their current state resembles the embedded mauri woven within the places name. It was clear that a majority of the place names didn’t not in fact resemble such qualities as noted below:

“You look at the name Motukaraka. You know? how many karaka are there now. Mum remembers heaps when she was a kid. I know in Waipuna there’s probably two straggly looking ones [puna] but yeah, these places should be full of them. And it sounds quite a simple starting point ae not that hard grow karaka trees, clear the puna” – Tirairaka

Referring back to Wairupe the question was asked whether fish today are still causing the waters to ripple Kāhu replied as follows:
“No, it’s absolutely stagnant it’s absolutely stagnant, there’s no fish life in there and there’s a cesspit of pollution. It’s a cesspit of pollution now that Wairupe and it’s an area we really need to look into very seriously because it’s a breeding ground of many other things. That one creek is big enough to pollute the whole harbour. But unfortunately, that’s not the only creek in the harbour that’s like that. But for the mauri it used to have, it’s really sad I know, knew that creek well. I lived on it I was brought up on it. I spent 60 years on it and I could see the deterioration of the people, I could see the deterioration of the vegetation, I could see the deterioration. It’s non-existent the fish life that’s in there right now so that’s the deterioration level I’m referring to.”

Kāhu notes that when understanding the mauri within our hapū catchments we must also be aware of the wider catchment of Hokianga for all hapū are environmentally, physically spiritually and socially connected. Noting that the whole harbour not just our own awa mauri has changed through the sedimentation and land reclamation processes of the past that have changed the waterways and water flow of the harbour. Kāhu perceived that the destruction of various wetlands have destroyed the mauri as these places were the “cleaning wings of this harbour”. There are several areas of Ngai Tupoto catchments that have been converted into farmland pastures one of the largest areas being the Wairupe catchment area, once a large estuarine river. By blocking the mauri flow Kāhu records “The mauri in that wai has been interfered with by denying the water access into that place so that place can’t be flushed out. You need that volume of water to get it all out, move it all out.

As a result of this realisation that our ancestral landscape and the names are lay a top do not currently resemble their mauri value anymore. The term “reinstate” came through strongly in the responses of our manu. When asked about the state of Wairupe Kāhu responded:

“I think I’d keep it there, keep the names like Wairupe because it obligates us to get up to that standard. So, if the environmental signposts of the place says, “I’m dirty” we put the signpost there, we did so we are obligated to clean it. To change the wairua and mana of that creek, it wasn’t like that before our commercial greed…. We wanted more land we wanted this we didn’t care about the life of the mauri of the creek, we didn’t care about that”

From this statement Tirairaka also began to reflect on what exactly the diminished states of mauri meant for wellbeing of manawhenua and kaitiaki:

“It has a huge effect and it ties in with colonisation. We were kind of taught not to worry about those things anymore just go and live in the city and everything will be fine. A lot of our kaitiaki practices went with our people to the cities. Now we are kind of starting from scratch again. You feel kind of stink when you can’t and don’t know all of those things, when you don’t know the history and everyone’s clambering to find the little stories and that. It should be ingrained in us.”

Tirairaka notes from this statement the psychological impacts on manawhenua when they do not have the ability to rectify and maintain the wellbeing of their ancestral landscape. The links
between the wellbeing of the mauri and manawhenua based on this finding binds the two together. What we seen in relations to reviving place names it is not just about finding these names and archiving such knowledge for future generations it is also about the revival of the mauri embedded within such name by physically engaging with these places.

**6.3 Spiritual Behaviour**

One crucial outlying concept of our spiritual relationship with our ancestral rohe is related to our behaviour within our ancestral landscape. Kāhu believes that as a hapū collective to an extent we are slowly losing our spiritual connection with our whenua as a result of our loss of understanding between the lore’s of noa and tapu. In the following extract Kāhu notes that a lot of old scared practices have been lost or replaced with disbelief:

“Today when you say, “oh pass me the Holy water” subconsciously people grab it they say, “oh this is Holy water” and “pass me that jug of water” oh it is just water. So, the treatment between oh pass me the holy water and oh pass me the jug of water it’s different because of that spirituality connection to you know our minds need to change to respect ourselves plus those around us our minds have to change. That’s where we have lost it the spirituality is no longer there and our respect for the environment is no longer there. Why,
because the jug of water is equally as important and spiritual as the Holy water. You lose that, and you’ve lost the respect for the environment see.

Reflection 4- Manuoha (Place of Abundance of Birds) or Puke Parahanga (Rubbish Dump Hill).

There was an ascent from point 13 to 14 where we reached a viewpoint just below a maunga called Tikataringa. Here we decided to have a look around where Te Torea was pointing out a few places that were below us. As we walked to the western side of the ridge what we saw next was quite disheartening for what we saw was an unofficial dumpsite where rubbish had been continuously dumped. We decided to sift through the rubbish to see if we could get an address of the person who dumped it. We didn’t find a name but what we did find were 4 Te Rarawa rūnanga election papers which told us that whoever they were, were probably our whanaunga for only kin of Te Rarawa iwi would have the right to receive and vote in such election. Torea and Tirairaka took photos and were going to contact the council of this sad discovery. It was sad to see this happening within our ancestral landscape, but it was like putting salt on an open wound knowing it was probably our whanaunga. The rubbish flowed down to a catchment traditionally known as Manuoha which would eventually make its poison into our awa, Tapuwae impacting the environments downstream. UPDATE: Litterbugs identified. A kaumatua in the neighbouring area sorted them out.

After this incident Kāhu was asked to comment on such a devastation in relation to the spiritual behaviour of individuals:

“That’s what I mean about self-respect that’s a signpost as to whatever that person was like. You know with all that rubbish we saw there. The eventuality of all that is whatever the decaying results of that eventually is going to be in the water. So, behaving like that is going to go right down into the waters which we survive on.”

This example and incident is a key testament that notes how ones spiritual behaviour is related to our ancestral landscape. All three manu of Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here believed that the severity of the issue is tied to a lack of awareness in the various knowledges pertaining to our physical and spiritual ancestral landscape and the as a hapū there is a need to relight these connections not within out whānaunga but also the wider community.
6.4 Spiritual Conclusion

The spiritual relationship that hapū share with their ancestral landscape just like the physical relationship is a very complex tapestry of in-depth knowledge and understanding on the natural environment. We must also acknowledge that the physical and spiritual relationship are very much entwined and can be regarded as one. The concept of mauri is the fibre of understanding that weaves these two realms together. Our investigation into the significant spiritual aspects of traditional mapping related to the ancestral hapū landscape converged around the importance of ancestral place names. Place names in a nutshell were historical mirrors of the natural, social and economic environment used by our ancestors to communicate with each other. These ancestral place names predominantly told us a story of our ancestors and their environment; signposting resources, events and practices that were once present during their time. Like the micro to macro understanding of ecological catchments highlighted in the eco-physical chapter we became aware that the layering of places names also shared similarities resembling different degrees of intimate knowledge. Where in this case the use of particular place names could be scaled from intimate whānau knowledge, hapū general knowledge and a more vague knowledge for iwi and the wider community depending on the intended audience. Places were found to also have multiple names and varying accounts underlining a diversity in how different whānau relate and perceive ancestral places. The significance this knowledge has for hapū today, is that these place names provide us with key insights into the lives of tupuna, ancestral past, and intimate knowledge that informs spiritual ethic.
7 The Social Relationship

Stemming from the spiritual relationship of chapter 6 it is clear to see that there is a strong connection between hapū and their ancestral landscape of the past. This strong bond was shown in the way in which our manu perceived the value of ancestral place names and their importance for hapū moving into the future. While keeping in mind these previous conceptions we will now move towards an understanding of the social relationships hapū have in regard to their ancestral landscape. This chapter will weave yet another insightful dynamic into the aims of this research by introducing two principal finding sections that have been found to inform the social connections hapū have with their ancestral landscape. The first half of this chapter will explore the way our manu perceived the growth of their own social relationship with their respective ancestral landscape, drawing on their past experiences within such space and the binding memories that have stayed with them throughout their lives. The second half of this chapter will address the historical complexities surrounding the social relationship hapū have had in relation to their respective ancestral landscape; further highlighting shifts over time and how this relationship has evolved.

7.1 A Dwindling Flame

Expressed in their songs our manu began to reflect on their perceived differences between how our tupuna used to interact with their ancestral landscape and how we their descendants interact with that landscape in present day. All our manu believe that the wider hapū in general who are either living locally or outside of the hapū rohe to some extent have become socially disconnected from their ancestral landscape as Tirairaka explains:

“I think it’s been circumstances for young people and by young, I mean not much younger than me because a lot of our people have been disconnected from our lands for a long long time and so now we’ve got several generations who have never stepped foot here on their hapu lands. So, they would have a totally different idea of what it looked like physically certainly wouldn’t get that feeling of what it feels like when you’re on your whenua and that’s a really sad thing because you can’t go to Uni and learn that you’ve actually got to physically go and interact with those place and people. So, I think it’s quite a big issue. And so how do we first of all interest our young people to get to know their whenua and then how we would get that to happen realistically happen when so many hapū members live around the world.”

Growing from the idea of social disconnection Kāhu believe that such disconnection in part is related to individuals access to hapū ancestral kōrero and knowledge dissemination processes:
“Firstly, a lot of us don’t know the kōrero of the whenua you see. The whānau moves away or don’t come to the hui [gatherings] they become disconnected. You need to find a way for kōrero to be safely accessible for everyone. But first we have to get a good collation of what we have first”

Drawn from the citation of Kāhu it is clear to see that a potential solution to this social disconnection highlighted by Tirairaka could consists in working on methods to collect ancestral knowledge and present such knowledge in a safe and accessible format. Torea further adds that sought access to ancestral hapū knowledge amongst the wider hapū community of today is a very relevant issue, noting that it is an essential core for individual’s identity and belonging:

“Knowing kōrero … I think the current generations are hungry for that sort of story to maintain their identity so that when they come to a place they can make sense of a place. For those who don’t live in the rohe and those that do, the whole interpretation of the landscape is key to feeling comfortable”

Disconnection from the social processes of ancestral knowledge revitalisation and dissemination is a crucial aspect in understanding the connection between hapū and their ancestral landscape. To further gain a deeper understanding of how we can rebuild this social relationship, our manu began to piece together strengths and values that attributed to their own social connection to the ancestral landscape of their respective hapū.

**7.2 Facets of engagement**

Our manu found that hapū individuals and collectives physical and mental engagement with the ancestral landscape are crucial in keeping ahi kā (eternal flames of occupation) sustainable and burning into the foreseeable future. In terms of physical engagement Tirairaka spoke of one of the farm blocks that Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here utilise as one of their main economic bases, noting that out of 1000 shareholders a majority of the members would have never stepped foot on or know where the block is located. Stemming from this conversation Tirairaka also highlighted that despite this perceived disconnection between shareholders and the whenua, the hapū have been building their aspiration to be able to employ hapū members locally and to work on their hapū farm block. Tirairaka reflects on this aspiration of hapū physical engagement and its significance in building social connections within the hapū:

“So, it’s about employing our own people it about being able to feed our people. It’s about all of those things you know … At the moment we started harvesting the pine forest last year, so we’ve done it for nearly one year and we’ve got about four years to go. Just knowing that you know there’s not much money in forestry at the moment so where not going to make tonnes of money out of it. But the important part for us is that it’s got about 20-30 people employed, whether they are in the forest or in the trucks or doing the roading or whatever it’s a good stack of our people working there and just to see the difference. I went to see the Christmas do the end of last year and just seeing the Kohukohu club full
of our whānau that were just feeling good about themselves you know having jobs and they all knew what they were going to be doing next week and next year and the year after. So, it’s kinda that having sustainable employment for our people and also making sure those lands provide a place for learning and training. So, learning about the environment learning about making a fence whatever you know. I just see them as places of learning.”

There is definitely a positive result in the aspiration in employing hapū members to work upon their local ancestral rohe, where through the eyes of Tirairaka it is building social capital and relationships amongst whānaunga that shines through as a constructive achievement in connecting collectives to their ancestral landscapes. Tirairaka also mentions that physical engagement also contributes to a sense of mental engagement referring to the working place as places of learning. Continuing along the lines of mental engagement Torea has noticed that amongst whānaunga today there has been a resurgence in demand to create waiata and kōrero in relations to ancestral kōrero and knowledge:

“Another level is people trying to capture that sort of thing in waiata and teach waiata there’s a strong sort of desire for people to create waiata that are homegrown and to be homegrown what’s the point of difference? It’s the physical environment and things that went on in that environment captured in words of waiata and so again those sorts of things”

Building on this resurgence of homegrown waiata Torea also mentioned that there is a potential for the hapū local communities to mentally reengage with the poetic realms of the ancestral landscape. Te Kāhu also agreed singing songs of the past, lamenting that our ancestors often spoke te reo Māori in a normative and poetic way:

“You know, our tupuna spoke differently than what we do today and we only do it in the formalities but if you listen to the reo of the old people it is very poetic and in metaphor you know in today you always hear ‘Tēnā koe e te kaikaranga mo te karanga nei’ see, ‘Thank you to the caller for the call’, where the old people would speak and say ‘Tēnā kōrua e nga manu tioriori mo te kārangaranga o te ata nei’, ‘Thank you to the beautiful songbirds, the songs, the calls who are the resonances of the morning’. You see there’s a difference in how we speak today, there was a lot of meaning behind how the tupuna spoke, a thing we have to bring back today”

In the extract above Te Kāhu elaborates in highlighted structural difference between the poetic nature of our past and the more literal use of language in the present, believing that the revitalisation of te reo Māori needs to incorporate the way in which our spoken words disseminate the much more deeper meaning of our thoughts. It is evident through ancestral tauparapara, waiata and lamentations similar to those in this thesis that the poetic nature of kōrero is an essential part of the social connection hapū have with their ancestral landscape. It is this expression of the landscape that shows to those both within and outside of the community the intimate knowledge and relationship hapū have with their rohe. It was noted by our manu that a lot of this intimate
expression of kōrero has been lost or yet to be rebound through personal reengagement. However, Torea believes a lot of old kōrero can be resurfaced if we look back towards old transcripts written in the Old Land Claims and Native Land Court minute books discussing:

“The oral history with colonisation and with the introduction of western surveying techniques, it was the rangatira of hapū who translated that knowledge of rohe onto paper mapping and it was through the Maori Native Land Court system we have got a treasure trove of korero which gives us some insights into that process. So, it’s exciting now that we’ve got new technologies for mapping that we can start to reclaim some of those processes... we can start to create resources that can be used as a repository to gather up all these sorts of things that’ll take time but it’s important to do it.”

In response to the use of technology however, all manu believed that though the use of technology can enhance one’s experience there is nothing more powerful than individuals or collective’s physical exploration of their ancestral rohe. Leading on from this discussion Torea also brought into light that these same social processes of intimate knowledge are still being produced within the hapū landscape noting a contemporary tauparapara composed by a renown kaumatua of Hokianga and Te Rarawa iwi, a tauparapara that conveys the various aspects of the Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here ancestral landscape in Motukaraka:

Ka timata mai koe i te kohu herenga i te waiwaka Rangiora Okua
Ka aupanapana te tāi pāri o Rupe
Ki te hau puhipuhi o te tāi wiwi.

Te Tapuwae o Tūwhakararo ko Toromiro tere,
Ka patepate te hinu ika ki te mata i wera ai Tupoto.

Ka tiri ko te maunga mauai o nga Rakautapu,
U atu ki Te Wharau kai ota ota o Mirutī i Motukaraka.
I takutaku atu tonu i te kara kā Purakau noa.

Beginning at the misty hitching place towards the narrow passage of Okua
Rangiora.
The incoming current of Rupe flashes to the breezes of the southern waters.

To the place of the resounding footsteps of Tūwhakararo.
To the prized berries of Toromiro
And to Matawera where the sizzling fish oil spattered the face of Tupoto.

Then looking to the protecting vitality of Rakautapu.
Reaching the shelter of the fruits of Mirutī at Motukaraka.
Continuing to the rituals of Purakau.

Embedded within this tauparapara there are references to the various kōrero, stories and events that are specific to the history of the hapū within the rohe. The creation of contemporary localised waiata and kōrero Torea and Te Kāhu noted that the distinctness coming through in the songs and stories not only reengaged whānau on a mental level but also when recited or performed, a special expression of emotion came through resonating the intermit relationships haukainga had
with their whenua. The following subsections will help elaborate core aspects of this social connection and provide insights as to how such relationship can be improved.

7.3 Ground Truthing and Binding Memories

As mentioned at the start of our Eco-Physical Relationship Chapter Appendix A was compiled reflections that had been written based on our haerenga around the Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here rohe. It was in the best wishes of both Kāhu and Torea that we embark on this journey to “jog the memory” and unsurfaced any knowledge our manu may have had in relation to many of the places we were to visit. Though our course was fluid and impromptu, this journey allowed our manu to call on many stories old and new; of ancestors, whānau, and personal experiences that may have not arisen in a more conventional interview setting. It was clear that our immersion within the physical rohe brought an added dimension of knowledge that were derived from visual cues and being in close proximity to particular landmarks. Moreover, there was an evident connection between the memory retention of stories and one’s physical standings within a particular ancestral space. Drawing on this understanding our manu were asked to reflect on the times they began to feel a sense of belonging and connection to their ancestral landscapes. The memories of past experiences varied from manu but became central around occurrences on the marae, whānau farmsteads and working the land in different places within their hapū rohe. In the following passage Tirairaka notes the two memories of the past that imparted a strong sense of belonging for him:

“Probably for me it was spending a lot of time at Matawera because our nan and gran pop lived there and our uncle and what not. We used to spend a lot of time there and it always felt like no other farm that I had ever been on. It was really hard to put your finger on why in the grand scheme of things it was an ordinary farm but it was a really special place. To be able to go get a feed get kai moana just down the bottom. Going up the bush with our uncle you know doing things like that. That was when it felt like this was really home, this was really home. Even with Tapuwae now that I’ve gotten involved with in the last 20 years probably that’s got that same feeling. It motivated me to do what I can to help. Same with the marae and the whole Motukaraka point thing. Just always looking for ways where we can strengthen our people by strengthening the land. You know what I mean. I am a great believer that the health of the people and health of the land is totally entwined you can’t have one that’s doing well without the other one. So yeah that’s where I come from.”

Drawing from the experiences of growing up on the family farm, being connected to the surrounding environment, and later contributing back to the hapū farming incorporation (Tapuwae) and marae; Te Tirairaka began to gain a stronger sense of belonging to the hapū. Not only did these past experiences offer a sense of belonging, but also presented our manu with the certainty to re contribute to the operational aspects of Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here hapū. Kāhu also felt that the
need to recontribute to the hapū came through during past experiences that also connected to a sense of belonging:

“I couldn’t have been involved couldn’t have been at a better time it was at the end of the slum. It’s when there was a global shortage of anything edible, the whole world was doing a planet starve. By helping to build this, grow that build this, build this all of a sudden all of us were being used to feed all of the people that’s how advanced we were. Our parents were advance in this. My grandfather told me the worst hasn’t come to us they are starving over there it’s always 12 months it will be us. And coming back to us it hit us it hit us yeah. But we had already prepared for it.”

At a very early age Kāhu could recollect to memories during and immediately after the 2nd world war mentioning that this time was a difficult time for the hapū living within the Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here rohe and broader communities of Hokianga. Contributing further to the war effort food from Ngai Tupoto farms and fisheries were sent to feed soldiers fighting overseas. However, Kāhu experienced that despite the very hard-working ethic of the whānau and hapū there was still at a struggle for food amongst their own people. This binding memory for Kāhu exposed an awareness to the collective burden the hapū all shared, alongside a resilience in the wake of various repercussions caused by global affairs. Consequently, the Kāhu noted that the major retraction of the dairy sector in the area further placed an economic burden on their people. Drawn from these observation Kāhu saw a struggle and the importance of what it meant to be a part of the hapū collective. Further weaving in an own sense of belonging within this ancestral landscape. Binding memories are a crucial part that connects one within the collective and the collective with and within their ancestral hapū landscape.

### 7.3.1 Sensing the landscape

“I think your senses are really important in this, all five senses are really going overtime in these places. There’s smells that you will associate with those places. There’s tastes. The salt air when you are in the mud and being in the ngahere after the rain and that smell and taste of everything that’s there. The feel of all the different species, tree trunks, leaves and different branches. And then what really strikes you in the really good block of ngahere. That’s just the birds are really loud, so the senses are right up there as being important.” – Tirairaka

“I think some of the strongest memories would be those gravesides burial ritual in the different urupā and each of them have each got quite a different experience and interplays particularly with fog is a common thing for us you know you can be absolutely enveloped in fog, so your sense hearing is heightened the emotion, the physical excursion to climb the hill to get there.” - Torea

Our manu took us back to particular places in time where they felt characterised their deep bonds to their ancestral landscape. Upon the recollection of a multiple of memories our manu
began to refer to their senses when explaining what specific aspects of their past experiences had woven such retentions into the memorable fabrics of their minds. The significance of sight came through in the stories of Torea and Kāhu each describing how such sense became etched within particular binding memories of their ancestral landscape:

“Sometimes I could see nothing because there was nothing, no food we couldn’t see past that. I could only see starvation beyond that. We were all the same no one was better off than others” – Kāhu

“The times when I was standing on vantage points looking at people and we’re talking, you could see how it all fits together, so it was a visual thing with your imagination. Thinking of parties arriving down the rivers on waka, you could sort of make a mental picture, standing there you had visual things” – Torea

As highlighted in the way the smell of the rain was scented within the memory offered by Tirairaka, Kāhu also held a strong reference to smell in a memory recollection, talking as if we were there at that moment in time:

“I can smell, well we all shared a permanent cooking area that’s what I can smell. Not for one house but for the whole community. It’s here at the marae. Certain times of the year We’ll go down to the marae and we’ll cook people bring food and we cook 24/7. The reason people used to come to the marae is to talk about their experiences at home. There was a lot of stress at these homes they were commercial stresses. Helping one another out it was about a sharing of both the good and bad.”

The connection of smell in this instance for Kāhu became reference in remembering a particular space in time where whānau would come together in the sharing of food when food was scarce and to assist each other in relieving various stresses that the hapū felt. Therefore, the particular smell of fire, smoke and food cooking attached such memory to the connection Kāhu has had with this particular ancestral landscape. Echoing across the landscape are also sounds that have continue to ring within the memories of our manu each composing added connections to their sense of linking within the ancestral space. All retentions noted by our manu in this respect held a strong bond to the sounds of the natural environment at the time:

“The sounds of the bird the state of the tide, it’s a big part of the changing environment for us because the tide is in and out and it’s very different when it’s in and out. It’s different when its calm or rough, very much.” - Tirairaka

“Just listening to the sounds, if you are ever there by yourself the main things you’ll here are the kanae jumping (pssshhhhhhh) in the water, hear the seabirds that squeak, squeak at night you know, the wind and the sound of the tide you know all that sort thing.” – Torea
“Hardly any machinery back then haha. I heard only the birdlife. They were always around us while we were working, at home, at the marae always” - Kāhu

“Another thing that sticks in your head is the noise of the mangrove you can here that you know the nck, nck, nck whether it’s the crabs there or the holes filling with water or you know you attune your hearing to those things.” – Torea

The examples given by our manu above are related to specific senses that have either etched, scented or echoed their way into each of their memories binding to their own understanding of ancestral space. It is understandable that when we refer to such memory bindings, sensing the landscape in respect to one's retention of the five senses; holds a whole array of emotion, knowledge and information that offers an insight into the way in which individuals with varying experiences ties into a collective relationship with their ancestral landscape.

7.4 Environmental Visualisations, Formality and Repetition

Linking to personal experiences within the hapū landscape our manu emphasised that there was an immense importance placed on the telling of ancestral kōrero and pūrākau from which we are further woven into the social relationship we have with others and their ancestral realm. As highlighted previously the appropriate passing of knowledge is a crucial part in maintaining the wellbeing of ancestral indigenous knowledge therefore, in relations to the objectives of this research it would be sound to gain a comprehensive insight into this aspect of knowledge dissemination. Our manu found that there were at least six valued and memorable characteristics attached to ancestral kōrero and pūrākau. These valued characteristics of kōrero are “Environmental visualisations”, “Formality”, “Repetition”, “Vividness”, “Togetherness” and “Localised and relatable”. The following subsection will delve into each of these characteristics providing further elaboration.

Connected to the role one’s senses tie with memories of the ancestral landscape Torea noted that when korero and stories were told, we tend to add our own mental factors to the story environment such as time of day, type of weather enhancing additional visualisations that made each korero unforgettable and relatable providing the following example:

“Talking about how Matawera got its name was from Tupoto burning his face with fish hinu [oil]. I mean how do you burn your face on fish hinu… I sort of picture it in the dark and a flickering fire and something spurts up and OH! You know I burnt my face! rather than it being in broad day light…being told these stories in the marae at night also made it more memorable”

In the extract above not only are memory visualisations influenced by one’s own mind but also by the surrounding state of environment when stories were told. Holding this understanding
in mind our manu were asked to ponder on the times old hapū stories were told and what made the stories so memorable. Both Torea and Kāhu mentioned that the formality from which kōrero was delivered paved as one aspect that bound such stories to memory. Torea in the following extract speaks of the way in which the formal settings of the pōwhiri (welcoming ceremony) on a marae allows an appropriate passing of knowledge towards those who are interested in learning hapū specific knowledge:

“If you go to the marae their korero is laced with information about the rohe and particularly when they are welcoming visitors from other places they are telling them about our physical environment making connections with their physical environment. Here you hear the use of pepeha, use of tauparapara that they’ve built off connection to the physical environment so that one of the ways that has helped maintained knowledge of all those things and pass them on to the next generations.”

An interesting insight provided by Torea above speaks of the way in which the merging and building of social relationships between the haukainga who are welcoming and the manuhiri (visitors) are made by weaving a connection with each other’s respective ancestral physical landscapes. This experience also can be connected back to the insight when Te Kāhu spoke of the continual references of the old rongoa exchanges.

In another experience Kāhu spoke of a childhood time when wānanga were held away in the bush. Accompanying elders and cousins Kāhu remembers that there was a formal setting where everyone would sit around the fire at night and stories and oral histories were spoken. Such a setting though in a relaxed informal atmosphere held a high degree of formality for each rangatahi (youth) were silently and unknowingly assessed on their memory retention ability and attention to detail. Kāhu observed that from this point the elders would determine whether one was able to be taught much deeper understandings of traditional knowledge and kōrero. In addition to the formality of the occasion all manu noted that the continuous repetition of korero further helped to etch various korero into the retentive memories of the mind.

7.4.1 Vividness

Attached to the korero setting of the marae for Torea and the firepit gathering of Kāhu, both manu highlighted an important and most memorable experience in how certain stories were told, these stories Te Kāhu referred to as the “taputapu stories” or ghostly stories. Referring to the place name Wahakirikiri Torea talks of how such taputapu stories attached to that place had remained in memory:

“That name Wahakirikiri you have vivid stories of people being told about people being killed in battle laying in the shadows with their mouths full of gravel as they rotted in the
shallows, pretty vivid image. If you just look at the word waha, “your mouth” and kirikiri, “gravel” that doesn’t have the same connotation.”

Te Kāhu also referred to a similar experience after being told about the stories of Wahakirikiri:

“You know, we grew up and still go there today, camp and fish, see the tide go in and out, but when you think of the night and flicker of flame when they first told the stories. All you could see was the same tide coming in and out but with these mouths filling up with sand, gives you the hoodoos alright”

Drawn from the two retentions of memory above both manu highlight that the value of vividness connected to how korero is told held a crucial element as to how stories were remembered and passed on. However, Kāhu also stresses that there is a grey area rather a degree of uncertainty these vivid stories often create:

“Sometimes most of our people only remember the taputapu stories and that’s it. When I was little there was this place where we used to always see these funny shaped nikau trees each with a big bulge on one side and a reddish water leaking from that area. We were told not to go there, see so we thought they were a taputapu bush. Even when the tide was in we used to walk right around it with the water up to our necks to make sure we wouldn’t go near these trees. All these years me and cousins did this but as we grew up we began to learn those trees purposes… Thing was we got told the full korero but only remembered the taputapu part and got scared and that I think we have that problem of today”

In elaboration of this extract Te Kāhu spoke that a lot of our rohe and places such as pa and old mahinga kai sites are shrouded in uncertainty and that it is further unclear whether such sites are safe to visit for in the most part the taputapu element is often only remembered. In response to this uncertainty Te Kāhu notes:

“One time me and uncle were out floundering, and my spear went through this flounder, CRACK!!! I pulled it up and this skull and big solid jawbone was hanging off the side. We knew exactly what it was, so we carefully placed it back and ran to get Granpa. The next morning, we went back with Granpa with this huge 7-foot coffin box and karakia. He told us not to be scared and help dig up all the bones and we buried them in our urupā. He said “our tupuna or not we respect them the same, we are kaitari of this whenua and must always make sure the land is at peace”. You see, don’t be afraid of your own whenua, be careful and respect the whenua but don’t be scared, this whenua is your tupuna”

It is clear to see the impact taputapu stories have in how individuals and collectives may relate to an ancestral landscape to a point where such stories may in fact deter people from reengaging with areas and though there may be some areas that are deeply sacred Te Kāhu believes that there should always be a respectful and safe process when engagement is sought.
7.4.2 Local Togetherness

The sense of togetherness in relation to kōrero was emphasized to be one of key characteristics that reinforced one’s social relationship to the hapū ancestral landscape. In respect to this concept our manu had highlighted an array of ways manawhenua came together as a collective in order to foster their social aspirations within their respective rohe. Leading on from previous the subsections it would be fair to say that the examples provided by our manu up until this point resemble a reasonable avenue in which collectives have come together to share ancestral knowledges with each other. However, coming through the songs of all manu the concept of educational wānanga and noho came through as being one of the most significant ways kōrero is disseminated and used as an effective way we as manawhenua foster the social relationship we have with our ancestral landscape. Our manu noted that both Ngai Tupoto and Te Mahurehure over the recent past have become involved in hosting various wānanga attributed to the revival and dissemination of ancestral knowledge as Torea shares an elaboration:

“Well we’ve started pulling together stuff and have over the last 20 odd years where we’ve had wānanga on all sorts of things and we’ve spent one time about 20 years ago trying to identify all the names we all know to create a repository”

The following sections will expand of various wānanga that were held in relations to reconnecting hapū with their ancestral landscape.

7.4.2.1 Nga Wāhi Wānanga

In 2008 Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here of Motukaraka held a wānanga to recollect all of the places names that were still embedded within the collective memory of the hapū. This wānanga was open to whānau of all ages to bring back to life old kōrero. It was fortunate that upon the conclusion of the wānanga a list of place names was documented and at a total of 90 names were recited. Tirairaka noted that not all names and their derivation was known but recognising that the hapū still have parchments of knowledge was at least a foundation to grow from. Based on the 90 names identified in 2008 in a space of 130 years the amount of place names recollected has almost halved in size if we refer back to the 170 ancestral place names that were extracted from the survey maps recorded in the 1880’s. Nevertheless, both Torea and Tirairaka were a part of this hui (gathering) and sung songs of this event being a very relaxed and informal/formal. Tirairaka recalled that this particular wānanga process was centred around kuia and kaumatua, asking them in a gradual conversation about their upbringing as a child and slowly moving towards memories of the past, where they lived and what were the names of places within memories and their meaning. Both Torea and Tirairaka observed that through-out the duration of the wānanga kōrero
shared by one individual often created a spark of memory within the minds of another and thus begun a process of weaving accounts of kōrero together. In remark of this occurrence Torea further adds that:

“Each whānau that maintained their ahika they will have their different patches that they know stuff and that nobody else does. I think one of the secrets is sharing all of that stuff amongst our people and reinforcing the stories because less people would know about them and they'll become irrelevant.”

Drawn from the extract above Torea believed that the bringing together of ancestral kōrero held by multiple whānau is an important process in keeping alive the ancestral knowledge that we are fortunate to still have today. Both Te Kāhu and Tirairaka also share a thought of unison with Torea, noting that diversity in given accounts should be welcomed and in fact contribute to the richness in kōrero:

“I’ve always thought there’s never just one story and it doesn’t matter there’s no right and no wrong. One it will be how something was handed down to you and what it could’ve meant, you could come up with a collection of stories around from different places” - Tirairaka

“You know, there are many accounts in many places, different stories. Take Te Wharau for example there’s kōrero where people say Te Wharau really quick because you don’t want people to know that Te Wharau means it was sold for 400 pounds see wha [four] rau [hundred] and turns out in the kōrero is true it was sold for 400 pounds by our whānaungas and another hapū but some of us disagreed with the sale it wasn’t right. Another kōrero is Whārau means you know a shelter like a makeshift one. So, see there’s different stories passed down by whānau and we need to acknowledge each and figure what it means as the hapū.” – Te Kāhu

Leading on from both the responses of Tirairaka and Te Kāhu it is clear that when sharing ancestral kōrero amongst a wider collective it is essential that maintaining the social relationship each individual have with their ancestral landscape is about acknowledging and recognizing each whānau account may differ and that the aspect of togetherness is a part of accepting such fact. Conducting such wānanga in a respectable manner was highlighted to be very important to Tirairaka especially when kaumatua are involved:

“Because for wānanga our older people find it quite difficult because they don’t always have the knowledge either. In a way it might show them up and it’s not very nice and it’s a scene where they don’t actually feel that good about themselves because all the questions they are getting asked they are not always able to answer”

Leading on from the tune of Tirairaka our traditional knowledge holders of ancestral kōrero were customarily known to be our elders. However, though today kaumatua are often most knowledgeable in this ancestral respect careful attention must still be made to ensure that a safe
environment is upheld. Therefore, the resource of ancestral knowledge woven together during this wānanga provided a key understanding that the social conceptualisation of place and space are subject to being respectful towards different interpretations, opinions, points of views and levels of knowledge. Weaving kōrero and acknowledging different accounts is about safely piecing together a social tapestry of the ancestral past that continues to stay alight in the minds of the present.

7.4.2.2 Te Rarawa Noho Taiao

During the summer of 2017 I attended Te Rarawa Noho Taiao based at Rangikohu Marae, Herekino. Te Rarawa Noho Taiao is a 4-day summer programme for rangatahi aged between the ages of 13-18 with a focus to lift their interest in science, technology and environmental studies. In order to reconnect rangatahi with their ancestral landscape the noho taiao are centred in the context of the local environments, te ao Māori and rangatahi aspirations for further education. Building from the discussions of wānanga in the previous section I was very fortunate to be given the opportunity by Tirairaka to impart some of the findings and ancestral knowledge regained during the time of this research, while at the same time be a part of a noho wānanga that fosters the contemporary social connection rangatahi have with their ancestral landscape. Capturing the interest and involving rangatahi in the production and understandings of ancestral knowledge was highlighted to be one of the most essential and crucial aspects in order to keep the flames of localised hapū knowledge alight. In relation to this notion of rangatahi involvement all manu acknowledged that the use of technology to enhance whānaunga interest in their ancestral landscape was in part a way in which these flames could be kept stoked in the face of social disconnection with the natural environment:

“I think we need to move with the times with technology I think that finding ways of using it all goes back to capturing whānau interest with things a good way to be connected” - Tirairaka

“You know the mahi we are doing needs to have a technology attachment. Use your drone to explore sites, record the kōrero and put the two together in the video thing to tell the stories and put it on the Facebook to keep others connected see!” – Kāhu
Taking in mind the insights sung by our manu above I was given the task of piecing together two demonstrations during the noho wānanga to draw rangatahi interest and explain the different ways we can utilise technology to enhance and preserve our experiences with the ancestral landscape. The first demonstration depicted above in Figure 20 came off a resulted discussion between Tirairaka and myself about ways in which the use of RPAS (Remotely Piloted Aerial Systems) or drones could be used to reconnect, rebuild traditional understandings and knowledge attached to our natural environment. Highlighted within the demonstration the concept of enhanced storytelling as earlier alluded to by Kāhu was one of the main points of interests brought up in the discussion with the rangatahi. Later that day we had the privilege in accompanying local kuia and kaumatua to various sites within Herekino to hear kōrero of the local rohe and capture RPAS video footage of the stories and surrounding area. The RPAS footage captured throughout the wānanga were used by rangatahi to tell their own stories and reflections about their experience over the 4-days thus helping establish their own connections with the landscape.

The following day those rangatahi and facilitators from Ngai Tupoto had the privilege of hosting the rest of the wānanga attendees on a day trip around the Ngai Tupoto hapū rohe. A part of this day excursion we embarked on a boat trip up our ancestral Tapuwae from which Torea
attended to tell kōrero specific to our rohe, telling the history of our awa and where its name had
derived from. During the hour long drift up the awa we conducted a GPS tracking exercise using
an off-road navigation smartphone application called “New Zealand Topo Maps Pro”. By
exporting GPS waypoint data from ArcGIS, we managed to import the ancestral names that were
recorded from the old survey maps onto the smartphone device. Figure 21 consists of a screenshot
taken from the smartphone application in use. During the GPS tracking exercise rangatahi were
asked to track our movement up the river in relation to the blue waypoints highlighted in the image
below. As we passed particular areas our rangatahi were able to reveal the ancestral names by
selecting individual waypoints. We then proceeded to discuss whether rangatahi could identify
where these areas were or if there were any predominant features in these different areas.

Noho wānanga such as the noho taiao facilitated by Te Rarawa iwi is an essential pathway
for rangatahi to not only socially reconnect with their ancestral landscape but also physically
immerse themselves in these ancestral areas. For this research it was a great opportunity to impart
the knowledge that was collected to younger generations whilst also exploring and making aware
through interest contemporary avenues to spread this knowledge. There are now discussions of extending and building on these findings through future wānanga to expand on what we now have.

In response to the use of technology however, all manu believed that though the use of technology can enhance one’s experience there is nothing more powerful than individuals or collective’s physical exploration of their ancestral rohe.

7.5 Social complexities and shifting spatiotemporal rights

During the extent of this research we found that the development of hapū social connections to the ancestral landscape is one of the most complex and dynamic aspects of indigenous mapping. To present a comprehensible discussion on this topic we will first begin to explore our manu understandings of what specifically are the fundamental foundations that construct hapū social connections to particular landscapes from this point we will lead into how such relationship over the course of time evolves leading to a varying degree of spatiotemporal complexities. Our manu identified that the fundamental foundation of the social relationship hapū have with their ancestral landscape was shaped predominantly by a multifaceted understanding of whakapapa and degrees of connections to various eponymous ancestors. It is from these tupuna where hapū draw their social rights within the ancestral landscape, allowing or restricting their actions within the ancestral landscape. Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here and Te Mahurehure manu recited many ancestors who were connected to their hapū history. These tupuna became woven into the social fabric of the hapū landscape and whom all hapū descendants to some extent share whakapapa connection to. Like the way in which places names are signpost indicators of mauri, for the hapū social landscape tupuna are signposts of hapū spatial and temporal rights within the ancestral space. In order to find a logical way to explain this topic we had to find an appropriate method to organise hapū whakapapa into a clear spatiotemporal context. We found under the analyses of Hohepa, 2011 Kaiaia identified that there were six main time periods that contributed to the history and development of kinship structures within Hokianga and our wider Te Tai Tokerau whānaunga. This six-era conceptualisation of kinship development within the Hokianga rohe provides a clear means in which we could explain these complexities. This is a context that applies to both hapū investigated in this thesis. These six periods are listed and described below, note time approximations may have a margin of error of +/- 100 years:

1. **First Arrivals:** An era approximately between 600-1200 years ago and draws on the times after the arrival of Kupe, the coming of Nukutawhiti and Ruanui and before the life time of Rāhiri, the eponymous ancestor of Ngāpuhi. Primal iwi such as Ngāti Te Aewa (Descendants of Ruanui), Ngāpuhi (Descendants of Nukutawhiti), Ngāti Tamatea
(Descendants of Tamateapokaiwhenua), Ngāi Tāhuhu (Descendants of Tāhuhu-nui-orangi) and Ngāti Awa (Descendants of Awa) lived semi-nomadic lifestyles and migrated around various places in Te Tai Tokerau.

2. **Te Kawa o Rāhiri (The Laws of Rāhiri):** This era occurred around 400-600 years ago a time that covers the early growth and establishment of Ngāpuhi iwi. This was a time when Rāhiri, his sons Uenuku and Kaharau through to their mokopuna (grandchildren) Tūpoto and Māhiapōake established their influence through conquest and alliances with other hapū and iwi in Te Taitokerau and wider Aotearoa. Intermarriage and rivalries with neighbouring iwi expanded Ngāpuhi influence from Hokianga into areas of Pēwhairangi (Bay of islands), Whangaroa and Whangarei. The prominence of fortified pā first developed during this time.

3. **Te Whītiki o Tūpoto (The Belt of Tūpoto):** Around 300-400 years ago the children of Tūpoto occupied different areas of the Hokianga rohe and assumed their roles as rangatira of their respective territories. The close genealogical connections each sibling had with each other was soon to be a strong bond their descendants and hapū of Hokianga would share. Seasonal rights were shared between kinship groups.

4. **Ngā Hapū o Hokianga (The sub-tribes of Hokianga):** Approximately 200-400 years ago commenced the development of permanent hapū settlements. This was a time when kinship groups grew larger, divided, migrated and begun the establishment of many fortified pā. Due to generations of marriages with other hapū inside and outside the Hokianga rohe many hapū formed strong bonds where territorial rights were often shared between different rohe. By this time all iwi in Te Tai Tokerau shared intricate whakapapa connections of varying degrees with each other. A majority of hapū connected to Hokianga today grew out of this period and each hapū developed into complex autonomous units.

5. **Early Contact:** Around 200 years ago began the early colonial era in Hokianga. This time was a time when the hapū social relationship began to form and become influenced by the impacts of colonisation. New kinship connections were established with Pākehā ancestors, the emergence of Christian religious factions, the escalation of musket warfare and colonial legislation dramatically changed the social landscape hapū had with each other and their respective landscapes.

In relation to the previous Figure we found that each hapū could map their own whakapapa to certain eponymous ancestors believed to be of influence during each of these different times. In Figure 22 we have constructed a visual of this by piecing together personal whānau whakapapa records showing these various ancestors of each respective hapū and the
time they were alive. Though date approximations (A.D) have been incorporated into Figure 22 I have also marked Generations Ago (G.A) to resemble a traditional conceptualisation of time and whakapapa. The reference to whakapapa and geneology is subjective consequently the use of “G.A” in this table has been drawn from my own personal connection to these ancestors. For example, in reference to Figure 22 “Ngahuia” my great great great great grandmother was alive around 5-7 generations before my existence in other words 5-7 (G.A). This visual not only provides specific tupuna unique to each respective hapū landscape but also shows where hapū share common ancestors as highlighted in the white bolded font. We must note that this visual is not a full nor final suggestion of the entirety of eponymous ancestors and whakapapa attached to these hapū social landscapes where if such a task were to be done it may take a life time to do so. Therefore, for the purposes and inherent limitations of this thesis we have provided a brief example of whakapapa to build our discussion.

Socially mapping hapū tupuna through this temporal method provided our manu with a visual conceptualisation of their hapū landscape whilst also linking in events and kōrero attached to these various time periods. Both Torea and Te Kāhu exclaimed that kōrero and its temporal context can often be lost and hard to understand if whakapapa between oneself and their ancestors are not fully realised. In terms of spatial rights the various tupuna highlighted in Figure 22 hapū are able to excersise their rights as manawhenua (local authority/people from the land) within their respective ancestral landscape. Our manu as depicted in Figure 23 below highlighted an array of

Figure 23: Temporal Map of Hapū Social Landscape
social rights that each respective hapū have continued to maintain since their initial occupation of their local rohe. Taunaha or Take Kite can be interpreted as “rights by discovery” these rights as mentioned by both Torea and Kaiaiā were mainly exercised during the first time periods noted in Figure 22. Kaiaiā further elaborated that migrating waka arriving from Hawaiki would often travel down the coastlines of Aotearoa searching for inhabited areas to settle. If two parties arrived in the same area the first party to arrive would exercise taunaha by naming places and building signs of occupation where if another party arrived, it was common courtesy that the newer of the two would carry on in search of other places. In context to Hokianga Kupe was believed to be the first ancestor to discover the ancestral landscape of Hokianga thus claiming the rights of discovery in the area.

Figure 24: Hapū Social Rights diagram adapted from Hohepa, 2011

It was many generations later that his descendants Nukutawhiti and Ruanui arrived in Hokianga from which they each could claim take tupuna (ancestral rights) to occupy the area based on their ancestral links to Kupe. Take tupuna is one of the main social rights that hapū have exercised in the past and still to this day are upheld. Kaiaiā in kōrero provided an example of take tupuna noting the relationship Te Mahurehure hapū have with their neighbouring whanaunga hapū who live on the west coast of Waimamaku:

“This place Waitapaua, the place you clean and prepare paua. The paua are got from the western sea coast. All along the other side were areas that the people of Waima are allowed to get seafood from in the same way that they came over here and made their gardens. The reasons for this was they were not separate hapū areas. When you realise that the major
leader of that side when you come down five generations after Rāhiri was Tarahape and on this side lived his sister Ngao. So there was crisscrossing of the two.”

In the example provided by Kaiaiā the manifestation of take tupuna was shared between the two kinship groups due to their ancestral links with each other. It is very interesting that Kaiaiā highlighted that spatial rights of the two areas were shared between the hapū of that time. In relation to Figure 22 this account refers to the times of “Ngā Hapū o Hokianga”. “Take tupuna” was also exercised in the Native Land Court hearings where hapū claimants sought to provide evidence that they held rights to various landblocks in Hokianga. An example of this occurred in the Tapuwae case, a Native Land Court case involving the Tapuwae land block that is now apart of the Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here ancestral landscape (Source: 4 NMB 131-185; 2 NMB 226-246]. During this case in 1880s the two hapū Ngati Here and Ngai Tupoto became fragmented in their claim to the land where Ngati Here claimed “take tupuna” to their ancestor Tūwhakararo who had occupied the lands in the era of “First Arrivals” as highlighted in Figure 22. Whereas, Ngai Tupoto did not oppose their claim to the land but denied that their “take tupuna” came through Tūwhakararo rather that they all shared “take tupuna” through Tupoto and his descendant Te Wehi also highlighted in Figure 22. Historically, Ngati Here and Ngai Tupoto had cooperatively lived on the Tapuwae and surrounding lands however, with the introduction of the Native Land Court processes and the individualisation of land title; hapū and their kin were often pressured to claim their ancestral lands with the threat that their land become alienated and lost (Te Rarawa Settlement- Historic Account Report, 2011). Therefore, the constructs of “take tupuna” as highlighted in this case and in regards to the social process of the Native Land Court has incited a competitive nature amongst the social landscape of hapū in relations to their traditional understandings of hapū social rights.

Ahi kā as mentioned in a previous section translates to mean (eternal flames of occupation). In relations to the enabled social rights of hapū ahi kā resembles the physical presence or occupation of a hapū within their respective hapū ancestral landscape. In his kōrero Torea mentioned that traditionally if a whānau or hapū are absent from an area for more than three generations their ahi kā can be effectively extinguished meaning their claim or manawhenua status over the land can be lost. In relation to the two hapū Te Mahurehure and Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here these hapū have maintained their respective ahi kā in their ancestral landscape since their first ancestors settled in the area. Rather more, the visual display of Figure 22 portrays this idea of ahi kā as each tupuna moving from left to right shows a simplified description of who have kept the eternal flames of occupation alight over the generations. Ringa Kaha as mentioned by Kaiaiā and
Torea; and Te Pātū as noted by Kāhu is a notion that is closely aligned to the hapū social rights of “ahi kā”.

Ringa kaha or Te Pātū can be interpreted as rights gained through the ability to conquer and/or defend. As highlighted in the eco-physical chapter the physical landscape and the strategic construction of pā on vantage points were used to enhance hapū ability to defend their rohe and resources. In terms of social hapū rights these strategic placings and intimate knowledge of the land gave haukainga an additional advantage to exercise their rights of “ringa kaha”. Based on the accounts received by our manu neither hapū have lost their lands in Motukaraka (Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here) or Waima (Te Mahurehure) to outside exertions of ringa kaha. In terms of raupatu (conquest) both hapū were a part of separate campaigns who established their influence in the Northern regions beyond the catchment of Hokianga. As a result, both hapū today exercise a degree of manawhenua status in these areas.

Mana Rangatira or authority exercised by chiefly controls are social hapū rights enacted by rangatira at a given time (Hohepa, 2011). We found that there were multiple accounts where such rights were exercised in relations to both hapū of Ngai Tupoto and Te Mahurehure. Kaiaiā in kōrero mentioned that because of the close kinship all hapū within Hokianga shared during the time of “Ngā Hapū o Hokianga” peace was often first port of call before any intentions of warfare or violence was sought.

7.6 Social Classifications

We found that there were a few social classifications that impacted how various individuals and collectives socially related within the hapū ancestral landscape related. These social complexities evolved temporally out of generational growth and introductions of different ways of thinking. Drawn from conversations with our manu we found that there were social “equations” hapū traditionally used to distinguish rights and boundaries between different kinship groups be it on an iwi, hapū or whānau level. Such social “equations” often were attached to the name of social groups to determine their spatial boundaries and whilst also describing their social and/or genealogical history. The following two sections will each provide an example of this social to the landscape drawing from how such occurrence has occurred within each hapū rohe.

7.6.1 Space + Place = Ngai Tupoto ki Motukaraka

Our first arising example comes from the Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here hapū. Through-out history our manu Torea and Te Kāhu noted that if the term Ngai Tupoto were to be placed within any space of time, there would be a different array of interpretations, kinship connections and/or
spatial boundaries based on comparing any two or more points in time. In discussions with Kaiaia from Te Mahurehure he noted that “We [Te Mahurehure] too are Ngai Tupoto don’t forget” reinforcing this notion that reference to the term Ngai Tupoto can be used to encapsulate a multiple and variation of social relationships to a given kinship group and not necessarily allowing eponymous ancestors exclusive to a hapu from which their name is derived. Moreover, the term Ngai Tupoto can be interpreted as meaning “The descendants of Tupoto” where if we refer back to “Te Whītiki o Tupoto” in previous discussions it would be fair to say that many of the hapū in Hokianga today can identify as Ngai Tupoto solely through their genealogical links to that eponymous ancestor. In order for the ahi kā of Motukaraka to distinguish their kinship and catchment rohe from their many whānaunga hapū the term “Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here ki Motukaraka” can be used to inform others of who they are (who they descend from) and where they are (where their ahi kā burns). “Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here ki Motukaraka” has become the hapū name of those peoples who have occupied the Motukaraka and surrounding areas since their two eponymous ancestors Tuwhakararo and Tupoto time. In reference to the social “equation” briefly noted above that the very manifestation of the hapū name in this case incorporates social space of an eponymous ancestor with a specific place that has been occupied by a certain kinship group since the lived of those ancestors. This combination and reference to space and place excludes this issue caused by temporal variation allowing a clear social identity for this particular hapū.

7.6.2 Place + Space = Waima Roto/Waho

Another similar occurrence was noted by Kaiaia mentioning that after the introduction of Christianity the terms “Waima roto” and “Waima waho” were used as a social classification to distinguish two different groups of Te Mahurehure people who lived within the valley catchment of Waima. These two terms were used both as spatial and a spiritual distinction. If we refer back to our previous chapter 4 the terms “roto” and “waho” can be interpreted to mean “to be inside” and “to be outside” with the same concept applied to these to different factions within Te Mahurehure. On a spatial level Waima roto and Waima waho were used to distinguish the two kinship groups who lived closer to the pae maunga upper catchment, Waima roto being those further inside; and those who lived downstream at the mouth of the Waima catchment being Waima waho. On a spatial level these two terms were used to refer to a particular area of the catchment to which these peoples lived. Kaiaia noted that on top of this spatial distinction the introduction of Christianity added yet another dimension further distinguishing the two kinship groups:
“It is not merely roto being close to the mountains and those away from the mountains. It a little deeper. Those from roto were the first to be Christianised and so they were the ones within Christianity. Those were waho were the pagan elements outside and so they kept that division for a long long time even till the time when they had their own trading ships they had roto vs waho and they survived to my time when I was little where the worst football matches to be played were roto vs waho. Christianised one’s vs us the nonChristianised ones.”

Explained in the extract given by Kaiaiā we begin to see a more deeper understanding in the use of Waima roto/waho. In comparison to the spatial application of the two terms which referred to the place being Waima and space being each factions position within such place. The use of roto/waho in the spiritual dimension not only demarcates each kinship groups and their relationship to Christianity but also provides a multifaceted example how hapū physically, spiritually and socially identify within the ancestral landscape.

7.7 Social Conclusion

What significant social aspects can we draw from the findings sung by our manu and how does that begin to construct a relationship hapū collectives traditionally have with their particular ancestral landscape? We found that social relations with an ancestral landscape was built mainly through people’s experiences and retention of memories. Our manu believed that being physically immersed within and the ability to sense the landscape contributed essential meaning and realisation of their ancestral space. The significance of ancestral kōrero came through strongly as being a core part of this relationship. It was the fluidity of formal/informal environments, vivid accounts, environmental influences and a sense of togetherness that formed binding memories with our manu during the dissemination of kōrero. Wānanga were highlighted to be a valuable forum from which ancestral knowledge could be shared and passed on. Our manu saw that it is important that wānanga needs to be a safe forum in which differing accounts are acknowledged, and peoples’ individual knowledge are secure from marginalization. With eyes set on the wider hapū community our manu understood that the collective engagement either physically or mentally was a substantial way in which hapū socially related to their ancestral landscape. This was identified through the aspirations of local hapū employment, homegrown composition and rangatahi engagement with the production of new localised research knowledges. The second half of this chapter also brings to light the multiple dynamics of social complexity and insights how hapū identity over time evolved over time. The importance of the social relationship hapū have with their ancestral landscape rests with the fact that these very aspects are a part of the living process in which indigenous knowledge and experience is passed down from generation to generation but also the creation of new wisdoms and insights.
8 He Āhua Whakahirahira – The Emanating Nature

The growth of a tree can be seen through the establishment of its rings, the innermost circles being the oldest, then layers expanding out to the tree bark, being the younger and new. In relation to this research the previous four chapters provided us with the rings of which our traditional tree of knowledge consists. These were our findings exploring first the indigenous conceptualisation of space and then leading into the significant aspects of the three traditional mapping relationships hapū have with their ancestral landscape and how these relationships have changed over time. The conceptualisation into the ancestral landscape of navigation, was our initial ring of knowledge, highlighting core insights into an indigenous perspective of space, place and time. Growing from this realm, the roots of our seed expanded first into the physical and ecological soils, then into the spiritual soil, concluding the four chapters of findings within the social soils. Each of these soils weaving their own distinct layer to the trunk and the growth of our tree of knowledge. In this chapter we will look at the bearing fruits - produced from this tree, their importance and significant messages to the wider world. These fruits are our lessons learnt and therefore, creating a discussion of what these research insights mean in the broader context of
knowledge and ways of maintaining indigenous momentum. In the unravelling of this chapter, we will be synthesising all discussions embedded within the previous section that address our final research question related to indigenous mapping, “What might this mean in terms of envisioning ways of moving forward with mapping for the development of hapū knowledge and decision-making capacities?”. Furthermore, this chapter will be the concluding part of our thesis bringing all pieces together to offer an overall insight into the āhua whakahirahira or in other words the emanating nature that resonates from this tree of research knowledge. We will also make connections to our theoretical framework bringing into light findings that wove well with our theory and profound new theory that were not expected but contribute added value to the discussion of how hapū traditionally map their ancestral landscape.

8.1 Identifying the past, the change and disconnection

To address our final question, we need to synthesize common links shared between each of the three relationship findings chapters to first discuss the core meaning of cultural mapping from an indigenous hapū perspective. Furthermore, we seek to pose what essential essence is woven throughout all three that give purpose and value to applying traditional mapping concepts in the future development of hapū knowledge capacities. Coming through decisively within all three mapping relationships, our manu strongly believed that the future of hapū development, decision making and building knowledge capacities were bound to a growing aspiration for revitalisation and re-exploration. The revitalisation of ancestral knowledge came clear throughout all three relationships stemming from a desire to connect and raise awareness in the occurrences of the past; be it seeking to understand physical ecological manifestations of the ancestral environment, spiritual understandings with their influence on behaviour within the ancestral landscape, and/or comprehending old social connections and experiences that help mould our perspectives of the past. We refer to the ancestral space of navigation and that for indigenous communities there is an inherent curiosity to explore the unknown and be connected to such space. Naturally, related to each relationship, key aspects and significant traditional concepts were highlighted in the songs of our manu, proving to be the main identifiers that represented their conceptualisation of the ancestral landscape. Our manu have alluded to this believing in our ability to re-explore our ancestral landscape physically, spiritually and socially and at the same time identify traditional concepts within. This is crucial in determining how we can safely develop hapū capacities as we move forward into the future.

Drawing on the desire to connect and become aware of the past our manu saw that there was an importance for those seeking ancestral knowledge to investigate and understand the dimensions
of “ki anga” or “what is across”, and its relation to our ancestral landscape. Such investigation came through in ways of acknowledging that there were in fact changes that had occurred between our ancestral past and today’s present cultural landscape. Moreover, our manu highlighted that “ki anga” alludes to a shared depth of consciousness that spans between temporal aspects of the past, present and future; showing that the concept of mapping is connected to identifying and analysing causes of change to our ancestral rohe and transforming relationships embedded within such place. Through the process of identifying significant mapping aspects of the ancestral landscape our manu realised that there had been a dramatic change in hapū association with these traditional concepts and applications of practice. The temporal understanding of how elements change over time is a means of building and understanding embedded knowledges within the landscape to further inform future decisions. Traditional practices and values were informed by generational observations of the ecological and physical world where connections were made between the present time of our ancestors and the primordial memory before their existences. This connection between learning from the past and application in the present is as essential to indigenous knowledge today as it had been in the past. Therefore, in relation to building hapū mapping knowledge capacities today understanding the dimensions of “ki anga” and its temporal aspect is an important component in the development and learning process of ancestral knowledge.

Through the identification of changes to their relationships our manu all realised that each of these physical, spiritual and social relationships in today’s context had become severed from its previous state where traditional understandings and applied conceptualisations in turn became disconnected from the hapū collective of today. It is this growing distance between the ancestral landscape and its people that was highlighted as one of the most prevalent themes shared across the board of our three relationships. Such realisation could not have been found unless our manu had a fair understanding of significant mapping concepts of the past and their ability to critically compare the same concept presence in present day hapū capacities. Our manu all believed that the upcoming generations and their access to ancestral mapping knowledges pertaining to our physical, spiritual and social world were to a degree restricted and not as strong as they would have wished. A disconnection at its core was attributed to a broad absence of physical and mental hapū engagements that were guided alongside traditional values and cultural practices. Through the gradual procedure of first identifying significant aspects attached to mapping the hapū ancestral landscape, understanding the changes to such relationships over time and finally pinpointing the likely deficit current generations have regarding these changes we came to the to the proposition that disconnection was a core issue in need of a remedial solution. In terms of envisioning a way forward for the development of hapū knowledge capacities the revitalisation of ancestral
relationship is most importantly linked to understanding where there has been a disconnection and consequently pursuing the aspiration to reconnect the hapū collective to their ancestral knowledges. This process of disconnection to reconnection has provided hapū a general overview of where they aspire to be in the future, it is a concept of knowing and learning from the past to inform decisions and aspirations for those generations to come. With this general ideal in mind we need to discuss the specifics of the three mapping relationships and how each are interwoven, in turn providing lessons and/or potential benefits that can be drawn from such interconnected links.

8.2 Roots Entwined.

Informed by the four winds of theory that flowed through the pages of chapter 2, our seed of research began to grow with a principle presumption that our tree of knowledge to be would need to draw on the three relationship soils to explore and gain insights into significant aspects of mapping knowledge that were each attributed to one of these three-dimensional soils. It was assumed that these soils would produce findings specifically related to each respective soil. However, as manu elaborated on various significant aspects of hapū mapping knowledge we found that as our roots drew nutrients and insights up through the trunk and out to the branches, certain fruits of this research were in fact a product of an entwined weaving of each soil below. In other words, significant aspects coming through strongly in one relationship also held interconnected influences with one or two of the other relationships. The following subsections will discuss these entwined concepts further explaining the lessons we have learned.

8.2.1 Temporal experience

What is the interconnected nature held between the spiritual and social relationship and what is its importance as hapū begin to develop strategies for the continued production of indigenous knowledge into the foreseeable future? This is a question we have posed to discuss the important interface the two relationships have in relation to the relevance of ancestral knowledge reproduction and future knowledge dissemination. The interconnected relationship shared between the spiritual and social relationship can be seen specifically in how an individual’s or collective’s experience remains on the ancestral landscape and how perceptions of such experiences evolve over time. Based on our findings it would be fair to say that the way in which hapū spiritually relate to their ancestral landscape can be attributed to and derived from the past experiences of our tupuna. These experiences of our tupuna were recorded in the creation of places names and events that occurred within certain areas. For hapū today basic understandings of these places, lessons learnt, and their intrinsic meanings help guide our own experiences and behaviours with ancestral space. However, the statement is only true if today’s generation relate to their own
experiences within the ancestral landscape and engage in kōrero production and dissemination processes. Therefore, it is important to note that at any given point in time the social experiences and interactions of the past produce the spiritual connectors and relationship foundations of the present. With such conceptualisation brought into light, we need to consider that the social experiences and knowledge interactions produced in the present day may in the future become the spiritual connectors that bind future generations to their ancestral landscape in years to come.

8.2.2 Navigating the degrees of Spatial Knowledge

A common occurrence embedded within each of the three relationships of the hapū mapping perspective is that of the ability to apply a multi-scalar awareness of their ancestral landscape. Explored through-out the findings of this thesis there is a multifaceted whakapapa layering of knowledge embedded within each of the physical, spiritual and social relationships hapū have with their ancestral landscape. Moving from the conceptualisation of physical ecological spatial information based on catchment size categorisation, the spiritual awareness of layering degrees of place name knowledge and thirdly the ability to understand and navigate the social complexities of hapū rights and relations to whakapapa it is clear to see that there is significance in the ability to understand a multiple of knowledge levels pertaining to each of the three mapping relationships. Furthermore, this demonstrates that an integrated holistic understanding is pieced together through the construction and layering of multi-complex knowledge.

8.2 An Interwoven Research Interface?

Drawing in our lessons brought into light through-out this research we need to now create the discussion and ask the question what the future of hapū mapping research might look like and how will the lessons introduced and explained above help guide the building of hapū knowledge capacities in times to come. There is a need for interwoven knowledge building that one grows from existing traditional mapping concepts in part related to significant aspects covered in our results section whilst also incorporating and supporting the inherent holistic nature of indigenous knowledge as discussed previously in this chapter. Moreover, in the same way this research has sought a multi-disciplinary exploration of indigenous mapping by resurfacing three different, yet interconnected knowledge relationships. So must the future endeavours of indigenous mapping knowledge building persist along the same path. While still maintaining its traditional essence our manukura highlighted that in a modern context there is a need for hapū to explore the use of new technologies and ideas to enhance the individual or collective community’s relationship with their ancestral landscape. In addition, such ventures need to be inherently indigenous and moulded by traditional mapping aspects. This is a notion we need to bring into light to envision ways for the
reproduction of future knowledge capacities embedded within the hapū ancestral landscape. Johansson (2004) argues that the birth of new innovative ideas and insights can be found at the intersection of different knowledges, disciplines, fields or cultures when woven together, a concept known as the Medici Effect. Building on this principle we are suggesting that there is innovative potential to further build hapū ancestral landscape relationships through the conception of an interwoven research interface that weaves indigenous hapū mapping knowledges and insights with other knowledge bases and diverse ways of thinking. A knowledge partnership that is safely grounded within the appropriate indigenous soil of methodology.

A focus as to where this interwoven research interface can be explored we suggest, can be found at the interface created by mauri. Weaving indigenous knowledge into a contemporary development context Morgan (2007; 2008; 2017) and Fa’aui et al. (2014;2017) have extensively explored this mauri interface bringing into light an innovative approach regarding holistic development and sustainable decision-making processes. Morgan (2007) contends that mainstream perceptions and attitudes towards sustainable development in New Zealand and its decisionmaking processes are often influenced and weighted towards economic and monetary outcomes, failing to accommodate a more holistic and sustainable understanding of development. Morgan (2008) and Fa’aui et al. (2014) claim that the alternative measurement and consequently restoration of mauri (life-supporting capacities) as opposed to the current paradigms of measuring sustainable outcomes can offer a holistic assessment of an impacted environment. The Mauri Model framework (Morgan, 2008) provides an environmental decision-making tool that equally gives weight and assesses four dimensions of wellbeing (environmental, economic, cultural and social well-being) to measure and make sustainable decisions and outcomes in terms of development and environmental impact assessments. The Mauri Model framework has been explored in a broad application of studies ranging from creating a knowledge interface that safely places indigenous thinking and concepts within the realm of engineering knowledge and national development policy (Morgan, 2008), advocating the voice and values of indigenous communities within decision making processes, addressing equitable distribution of infrastructural development (Wambrauw & Morgan, 2014); and providing a holistic analysis of human-made environmental disasters to understand the complex facets of ecological restoration (Fa’aui 2014, 2017). The development of the Mauri Model framework informs us that mauri is dynamic and has the innovative potential to weave together indigenous and non-indigenous knowledge into more holistic, sustainable and equitable approaches to development.

Drawing the discussion of mauri back to our research and future potential knowledge building capacities we believe that a deeper understanding of mauri can be further explored by
interweaving traditional hapū mapping aspects found within this research alongside a multidisciplinary knowledge partnership with other realms of knowledge. In relation to our research mauri is a concept that sits at the interface between Māori conceptualisations of the physical and spiritual world. It is part of the golden fibre that weaves together an understanding of the holistic Māori worldview and the woven thread that links the eco-physical realm with the spiritual realm analysed within this thesis. Reconnecting with the primordial memory flow of the past that is bound to hapū mapping knowledges capacities we believe an integrated exploration and safe partnership with the broad fields of environmental science and social science within the ancestral landscape can provide a foundation towards innovative knowledge production.

In his thesis Robinson (2016) explores a similar notion applying an interdisciplinary study of Māori settlement in Tawhiti Rahi, an offshore island attached to the ancestral landscape of Ngatiwai iwi in Te Tai Tokerau Northland. To explore the historical context of Tawhiti Rahi Robinson (2016) investigates three main knowledge disciplines; environmental science, archaeology and historical research to assist his study. Utilising palynology, the study of Pollen Robinson (2016) gained the potential to reconnect with the primordial memory of the Tawhiti Rahi using pollen, analysis to reconstruct and gain insights into the natural ecosystems of the island prior to the arrival and settlement by Ngatiwai ancestors. In addition, through the application of this environmental science the study was also able to analyse environmental change of the island over a temporal scale providing estimates in time when eras of primordial memory flow, Māori settlement; European arrival had occurred.

Assisting in the temporal analysis of Tawhiti Rahi and the changes over time a fair component of the study was focused within the realm archaeology. Robinson (2016) conducted site excavations and radiocarbon dating to not only confirm timing of settlement brought into light by previous pollen analysis findings but also allowing for a more in-depth investigation of ancestral site use and economic activities. In addition, this study through the application of the archaeological study linked Tawhiti Rahi and Ngatiwai inhabitants to other ancestral communities and landscapes within the mainland of Aotearoa. This was conducted by identifying sources of local/non-local materials found within the excavation sites on the island.

Similar to the way our study utilised archival research and traditional oral narratives the third aspect of Robinson’s interdisciplinary study involved historical research ranging from historical accounts related to Tawhiti Rahi such as journals, Native Land Court accounts, whakapapa research and personal accounts given by Ngatiwai manukura. The integration of historical research allowed Robinson’s to connect ancestors and significant events into the
chronological analysis of the island, an analysis that had been woven together with the palynological and archaeological findings discussed previously. In summary Robinson (2016) identified that multi-disciplinary study provided a valuable in-depth analysis of the environmental changes that had occurred on Tawhiti Rahi and the building of localised knowledge attached to that particular ancestral landscape.

Applying a multi-disciplinary approach like Robinson’s (2016) we believe could assist in the maintenance and reproduction of ancestral knowledge that is connected to the ancestral hapū landscape. However, how could such an approach be applied to further grow the findings and significant aspects discussed in this thesis? Figure 26 illustrates our belief that the concept of mauri in this respect is centred and resonates at the merging interface between the three relationships and their respective significant aspects explored through-out this project. Drawn into the centre we have begun to interweave other knowledge bases such as “Palynology”, “Hydrology”, “Archaeology”, “Whakapapa”, and “Oral Narratives” that being entwined together at the interwoven interface could potentially provide one of many ways forward into the future building of hapū knowledge capacities. Interwoven research at the place name interface is a space where we believe new knowledge can be produced utilising a multi-disciplinary approach, perhaps a potential future vision for following research in the realm of indigenous localised mapping knowledge.

Growing from this research we have collated an extensive knowledge of place names and their locations within the ancestral hapū landscape. Each place name offers a small glimpse into
the environmental, spiritual and social ecosystems of the ancestral past. We identified that at this current point in time “90%” of these ancestral place names, their meanings and narratives have become disconnected with the living memory flow of the present day hapū collective. Utilising knowledges and methods from other realms of environmental and social sciences like those highlighted in Robinson (2016), we suggest will help build the ancestral narratives of these place names and reconnect hapū collectives to once lost aspects of their ancestral landscape. From an eco-physical perspective soil and pollen analysis fundamentally can be used as a tool that allows indigenous communities to gain a historical perspective of how mauri has been embedded within their ancestral landscape and the environmental changes that have occurred over particular temporal scales.

Linked to the place name interface many of our ancestral names are mirrors of their environment offering a minor insight into the abundance of mauri that may have been present at the time of when our tupuna first named a specific area. However, building on this understanding the use of soil and pollen analysis alongside other studies could help hapū build their knowledges around understanding the temporal presence of mauri within particular spaces. For example, Toromiro is an ancient name that was given to our ancestral awa, Tapuwae for the abundance of Miro trees that draped along the sides of the riverbanks. Soil and pollen analysis along the banks of Tapuwae could further add to this ancestral narrative offering us clues and insights into the temporal presence of miro supporting mauri and its ability to support the abundance in particular areas. This research has identified 79 places that have been named after a mauri resembling environment therefore, there are 79 potential sites where soil analysis could be used to further explore the temporal relationships specific mauri have with particular spaces within the hapū ancestral landscape. Manukura also highlighted the importance of understanding the change that has occurred in relation to catchment sedimentation and water flows related to their ancestral awa and the wider Hokianga landscape. Te Kāhu invited the idea that there was a need for hapū to produce their own environmental scientists to evaluate methods of ecosystem revitalisation. Torea also highlighted that there are place names that may be connected to geological processes like “Kohatu Hapai- Uplifting Rock” mentioned in the previous spiritual chapter and stated that an investigation within the realms of geology could help bring light to or explain a reason why our tupuna had named that particular place.

In a similar way that environmental sciences of the latter can help build our ancestral narratives pertaining the eco-physical realm, archaeology can be utilised to further explore and understand the chronological history and occupation of our hapū rohe by our tupuna. In relation to place names resembling economic activities and places of utility our research could not identify
when such places were first occupied and utilised, there were also areas including pā and kāinga sites that were referenced in archives and Native Land Court minutes but were not spatially identified during this research. In addition, certain accounts of wars, occupations and events were also devoid of temporal reference points such as tupuna therefore, we suggest that further archaeological research could assist hapū in identifying such places and orders of events, consequently building these lost understandings of our ancestral landscape and the temporal relationships our tupuna had within such space.

Whakapapa and genealogy was highlighted to be one of the main methods hapū used to temporally map their history and events that occurred in the past. As noted in the previous social relationship chapter, hapū kōrero and stories of significant events were recalled in reference to the lifetimes of certain hapū ancestors. We argue that the use of whakapapa to temporally map the hapū ancestral landscape is a significant aspect of traditional mapping methods as it personally connects the hapū individual and collective to their tupuna and ancestral landscape of the past. If an interwoven partnership with the realms of environmental and social sciences as discussed above were to become a reality the links of whakapapa could allow hapū to better understand the state of environment during the lives of certain tupuna. Conceptualised eras in time provided by Figure 23 can be used as temporal reference points in appreciating environmental and occupational trends and findings that have occurred through-out certain periods of time identified by our manukura. In effect by interweaving a holistic chronology drawn from these findings we will be given the ability to link up connections between environmental change, occupational trends and kōrero with other hapū communities to further understand the hapū socio-political environment that has evolved over time. In summary not only would the further exploration of other knowledge bases help contribute to the extension of ancestral narratives within the ancestral landscape, but we also propose that such exploration also benefits hapū efforts in refining future aspirations and goals relating to the ecological revitalisation of the hapū rohe.

Our manukura all envisaged their ancestral landscape as being a healthy environment full of the life supporting essence of mauri. However, this research could not specifically identify to what extent such mauri was in abundance nor where certain life supporting qualities were throughout the course of history. We recommend that the further exploration of environmental and social sciences within the ancestral landscape will help assist building hapū knowledges in respect to these understandings of the past. Moreover, the physical, spiritual and social restoration of mauri within the ancestral landscape was highlighted as one of the most important purposes for hapū engagement with indigenous mapping knowledges and reconnecting relationships with the ancestral landscape. By identifying the ancestral capacities of mauri through an interwoven research
interface between traditional mapping knowledge and our identified multi-disciplinary approach; we suggest that such knowledge will give hapū a more concise understanding as to what the desired state of mauri may look like in their future aspirations to revitalise their ancestral rohe. It is clear in the above discussion that the creation of an interwoven research interface between traditional mapping knowledge and a multi-disciplinary approach can offer an array of benefits and focuses to help assist the future knowledge building capacities of hapū. We suggest the discussion above is one of potentially many approaches that will assist in envisioning ways to build the future of hapū mapping and knowledge capacities.

8.4 Limitations

There are limitations to this research that must be acknowledged and this section is dedicated to such discussion. Furthermore, in the following passage we will discuss limitations that arose from the process of research and the results produced within this thesis.

A key limitation of this research is that we must acknowledge that the valuable insights shared by our manukura and results produced from this thesis cannot be assumed to be a full and final discussion of what traditional hapū mapping has encompassed in respect to each of these hapū rohe. Nor could such results be appropriately applied over other self-determined hapū, iwi or other indigenous communities to constitute their perceptions of indigenous mapping knowledges. This manner in respect to localised communities was explained and discussed in our soils of methodology chapter but also came through prominently in our exploration of the social relationship hapū have with their ancestral landscape. A recommendation for future research would be that knowledge validation and discussion are pursued through wānanga, a further course of action this researcher is working towards after the completion of this thesis.

Another limitation of the research was the sheer scale of the research and the depth of investigation required for each respective hapū. Initially, the research sought to produce a balanced output of mapping knowledge pertaining to both Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here and Te Mahurehure hapū. Both hapū and the different capacities at which they could contribute to the research varied based on personal and political occurrences that were happening during the time of the research. For example, hapū were and are still involved in treaty settlement discussions which as noted earlier can consume a large amount of time and focus. Therefore, we found it difficult in some cases to find manukura to become involved in the research. In addition, due to researcher resource limitation at times it was difficult being based in Dunedin to meet with manukura in Hokianga at a time that suited us both.
In conjunction with the expected balanced output produced from each hapū we also found that access to archival knowledge influenced what results were produced. Archival research can be a time consuming and long process though we were very fortunate that one of our manukura could provide a private collection of archives collected over years of research that related to their hapū history. Access to such a private collection of transcribed notes and oral histories helped to save additional archival searching but we must note that not every hapū and traditional knowledge holder may have access to such knowledge. Therefore, due to time constraints archival research conducted during this thesis could not create a balanced collation of archival knowledge pertaining to the other hapū under investigation against which we could compare with the years of research invested into the private collection of one of our manukura. In relation to the access of knowledge explored through-out this research this thesis has excluded highly sensitive or sacred knowledge in order to protect our manukura and certain ancestral knowledge that can only be shared at the right time. Such exclusions impact on the level of depth explained in the thesis but is an appropriate measure.

8.5 Concluding Comments

Since the onset of colonisation our traditional trees of knowledge have become subject to a wide and devastating act of deforestation. A lot like the systematic felling of our kauri, rimu, matai, tōtara, pūriri amongst many more, we as a Māori society for a moment in our history have lost a delicate part of our natural being, an identity that was and can still be a product of our taiao or natural environment. However, in order to do so we need to actively look into our ancestral landscape for there are still old seeds of wisdom hidden, sprouts of traditions and trees of knowledge scattered through-out our indigenous world awaiting to be nurtured, replanted, and taken care of; it is a landscape environment striving to be revitalised. We found and grew but a small contribution to this revitalisation of traditional indigenous knowledge, nurturing the growth of our own tree of indigenous knowledge linked to traditional methods of how hapū map their ancestral landscape. Traditional mapping knowledge related to the three relationships explored through-out the present thesis offers key messages for not only hapū involved in this research but also for other indigenous communities who aspire to further develop their own traditional knowledge capacities.

Illuminated at the start of this thesis we saw that whānau, hapū and iwi historically have dedicated their lives and precious energy towards the production of ancestral knowledge to meet colonial processes of indigenous validity and prescribed forms of indigenous self-determination. Though it is important that true indigenous voice is heard on all platforms of self-determination,
it is very important that the continued production of traditional knowledge remains at the heart of their communities rather than solely within the imposed colonial processes. The mapping of the hapū ancestral landscape provided manukura with an alternative focus for building traditional knowledge capacities. It was true that these hapū like other indigenous communities continue this knowledge revitalisation process within their own capacities. One key message we present is that ancestral and traditional knowledge are not relics confined to the past. Rather, they are well alive and hold concepts and wisdoms that will help inform our direction into the foreseeable future. Moreover, ancestral knowledge revitalisation is connected to the process of decolonisation and the reformation of our relationships with the ancestral landscape. There is immense potential to critique colonial forms of land management and tenure imposed upon indigenous communities and to create a decolonising discussion towards a more holistic reformation of ancestral land management. A reformation that is more in tune with traditional mapping insights highlighted in chapter 5-6. Language in terms of place names and knowledge dissemination were found to hold deep understandings of expression. This deeper use of language was noted to have faded from the present spiritual and social hapū landscape and holds a compelling criterion that should be considered in future indigenous kōrero and language revitalisation strategies. Exploring significant mapping aspects embedded within our ancestral not only has the potential to inform our future decisions and relationship reformations but also provides the opportunity to establish mutual knowledge weaving partnerships with other knowledge realms to create new and innovative knowledges.

We found that this tree of research holds an intricate and diverse ecosystem of interwoven knowledge, concepts and relationship that reinforces the indigenous notions of the holistic worldview and knowledge production. This tree grown over the course of this thesis is but one of many that are planted within the larger ancestral forest of traditional knowledge. The future of indigenous trees of knowledge remains at its roots and the soils from which it grows. We must be aware of this as we navigate our ancestral knowledge into the future development of our indigenous communities and the aspired reproduction of traditional knowledge. If we look hard enough into our past the future is much easier to see.
**Glossary:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ahi Kā</td>
<td>Eternal Flames of Occupation</td>
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<td>Haerenga</td>
<td>Journey</td>
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<td>Hapū</td>
<td>Traditional Autonomous Unit</td>
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<td>Hui</td>
<td>Gathering</td>
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<td>Iwi</td>
<td>Loose Confederation of Hapū</td>
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<td>Kai</td>
<td>Food</td>
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<td>Kaiaiā</td>
<td>Female Kāhu</td>
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<td>Kaitiaki</td>
<td>Guardian</td>
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<td>Kanohi Kitea</td>
<td>Seen Face</td>
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<td>Karakia</td>
<td>Ancestral Incantations</td>
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<td>Kaumatua</td>
<td>Elder</td>
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<td>Koha</td>
<td>Gift</td>
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<td>Kōrero</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
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<td>Kupu</td>
<td>Word</td>
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<td>Manākitanga</td>
<td>Hospitality and Kindness</td>
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<td>Heart/Power</td>
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<td>Manawhenua</td>
<td>Local Authority</td>
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<td>Manu</td>
<td>Bird</td>
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<td>Manuhiri</td>
<td>Visitors</td>
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<td>Manukura</td>
<td>Informant of High-Esteem</td>
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<td>Highly Esteemed Participant</td>
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<td>Manukura Kaumatua</td>
<td>Elder of High-Esteem</td>
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<td>Gardens</td>
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<td>Māori knowledges and way of knowing</td>
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<td>Maunga</td>
<td>Mountain</td>
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<td>Mauri</td>
<td>Life Principle</td>
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<td>Taura</td>
<td>Rope</td>
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<td>The Language</td>
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<td>Songs</td>
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<td>Whenua</td>
<td>Land/Placenta</td>
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Appendix A: Information Sheet

Rū Te Whakaturu Whenua:
Understanding our Relationship through Cultural Mapping

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part, there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?
The research examines how indigenous cultural mapping is conceptualised in the Hokianga hapū context. The aim of the project is to gain a better understanding of how indigenous mapping relates to the physical, spiritual and social realms. The project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree at the University of Otago.

What Types of Participants are being sought?
Participants (6-12 people) will be sought on the basis of their whakapapa connection with either of two hapū in the Hokianga. These two hapū are Ngai Tupoto and Te Mahurehure. Participants will have either a wealth of traditional indigenous knowledge pertaining to their respective hapū such as kaumatua (elders) and/or live and engage with their ancestral landscapes on a regular basis such as kaitiaki (traditional guardians) or haukāinga (local people). Initially research participants will be recruited through key contacts and existing networks. Later participants will be recruited via recommendations of others. The results and information coming from this research will be a body of knowledge that will be equally the community’s research as the researcher’s. Anybody who is either under the age of eighteen or unable to provide informed consent is excluded from participation.

What will Participants be asked to do?
Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to take part in:

A semi-structured interview: Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview lasting approximately 30-60 minutes. Interviews will use open-ended questions and will be conducted in a conversational manner. Topics covered (see appendix) will include participant’s knowledge and experiences in relation to various aspects of traditional indigenous mapping. In the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you will be reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s).
**Participatory GIS:** In addition to each interview (and as appropriate) spatial data and traditional place names given by participants will be transferred over to a geographical information system to provide a visual cartographic representation of traditional knowledge that would otherwise be held orally or written in archives. Exactly what information is presented will be at the discretion of the participants as there may be sensitive or tapu information.

**Respondent validation:** There will be two stages of data collection for this research. The initial data collection through interviews and Participatory GIS will be followed by a second meeting in which the researcher will report back preliminary results and themes based on the initial meeting. From here participants will have the opportunity to review, add to and critique various aspects of the research. This will ensure that each participant has their voice and insights recorded accurately.

**What Data or Information will be collected and what use will be made of it?**

The interview will be digitally recorded with permission for recording sought from each informant. Analysis of the data will be used to create an understanding of the different perspectives on how traditional cultural mapping is conceptualised. The researcher will make every attempt to preserve participants’ anonymity.

Reasonable precautions will be taken to protect and later destroy data gathered by email. However, the security of electronically transmitted information cannot be guaranteed. Caution is advised in the electronic transmission of sensitive material.

This project involves an open-questioning technique. The precise nature of the questions that will be asked has not been determined in advance but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the Department of Geography is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Department has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.

The data collected will be stored securely in password protected computers to which only those named below will have access. Data obtained as a result of the research will be retained for at least 5 years in secure storage. Any personal information will be destroyed upon the completion of the research.

The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity.

**Can Participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?**

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time prior to the final completion of the research and without any disadvantage to yourself.

**What if Participants have any Questions?**

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

- Jovan James Mokaraka-Harris  
  Department of Geography  
  02102242683  
  Email mokjo844@student.otago.ac.nz

- Michelle Thompson-Fawcett  
  Department of Geography  
  03 4798762  
  Email mtf@geography.otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the Department of Geography. However, if you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the University of Otago Human Ethics...
Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479-8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

**Appendix B: Consent Form**

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**Rū Te Whakaturu Whenua:**

*Understanding our Relationship through Cultural Mapping CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS*

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information in audio and video files will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years. If I would like to request a copy of any recordings of my contributions before the conclusion of this project, I am aware that I may seek a copy from the researcher;
4. This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning seeks insight into the physical, spiritual and social relationship hapū have with their respective ancestral landscapes. The precise nature of the questions that will be asked has not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that makes me feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind;
5. This project involves the recording of spatial and temporal information on to a GIS database to which I will be voluntarily contributing;
6. This project will involve two meetings; the first to allow initial information to be collected and the second will allow me to review, add additional information, and critique the preliminary results of the research before the completion of the project;
7. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.

I agree to take part in this project.
Introduction:

Likened to the large scale deforestation of our kauri, rimu, mataī, tōtara, pūriri, kahikatea, rātā, maire; the deforestation of mātauranga Māori and our tātaditional trees of knowledge during the implementation of colonial policies and oppression has caused dire impacts on the way we as indigenous people perceive, understand and interact with our natural world. The concept of mapping can be identified as an extensive tool used to not only express perception, understandings and interactions with the natural world; but also portray power relations, hidden histories and colonial relationships with land, water and air. This research project is constructed upon the foundation that there is a vast gap between the representation of Indigenous knowledges and those knowledges of Western thought within contemporary mapping methods. Therefore, the research within this project will seek to contribute a part in filling this gap by gaining hapū perspectives in relation to the concept of indigenous mapping. The following is a breakdown of the three realms of indigenous mapping this research is interested in.

Objectives:

1) Create a draft cartographic map of hapū rohe displaying traditional boundaries, ancestral sites of significance, old places names; and other significant aspects. (Printed Topographic and Satellite maps will be provided)

2) Understand the Three Relationships of Indigenous Mapping to add depth to the drafted cartographic map.

In relation to objective 1 this project will seek to add to and gain a deeper understanding of the relationships hapū traditionally had with the Physical/Ecological landscape, Spiritual landscape and the Social landscape and how this influenced traditional mapping knowledges. Noted below are areas of significance and points this research seeks to gain insights into.
Physical/Ecological Relationship:

Picturing our hapū rohe before the arrival of our tupuna what would we see? Bearing in mind your knowledge/understandings of natural processes, ecosystems, natural resources, features, landmarks, what would our hapū rohe have as distinct from a neighbouring hapū rohe? What would be the similarities that they share? (Our hapū pepeha may have insights)

Bearing the previous discussion in mind what elements do you think our tupuna would have utilised to conceptualise mana whenua in their particular rohe. What aspects of the physical landscape would complement a particular hapū in maintaining their rangatiratanga in a particular area as opposed to another particular area? If we were to pick two or three random ancestral sites on our drafted map what type of natural and/or ecological processes would help define this site? What might be the benefits/disadvantages of naturally/ecologically defining our ancestral sites? In relation to our cartographic map would spatially defining our ancestral sites based on ecological and natural definition be an appropriate application of traditional spatial mapping.

Spiritual Relationship:

The concept of mauri (life force) can be captured in the naming of ancestral places, a screenshot into where particular life forms were supported and where they were not. For example, the name Pukerata can be interpreted as a hill where rata grow/stand therefore for some ecological reason the mauri of rata may have been supported to grow. There may be place names that may not be as literal, but can you think of any place names that may manifest or hint to the state of mauri inherent within. In our rohe are there any old names similar to these examples that resemble this concept of mauri? If so, do these places still hold that name or state of mauri. Do these places hold the name but no longer resemble its state of mauri? What does that mean for kaitiaki/mana whenua? Should we discuss a changing of the name or should we seek to revitalize it to its rightful mauri state?

What do you think the traditional process of naming places was? What are the protocols involved? Are there any recent naming of places within our rohe? what was the purpose? What relationship does it have with the concept of mauri and/or natural ecological processes?
Are there any places with multiple names or overlapping names? Why is this? Are there any hapū, Hokianga, iwi specific kupu used to describe places within our rohe that resemble a distinct hapū, Hokianga, iwi identity? We may also have names of places that we have but do not spatially know or understand their meanings. Keeping this in mind do you see any potential ways we can find out or even speculate what they mean?

**Social Relationship:**

It would be fair to say that the way in which the descendants of our hapū today socially relate to our ancestral landscape is significantly different to how our tupuna once would have. Factoring in physical, spiritual and social engagement can you briefly identify what these points of differences may be and why? Is there a need to overcome some of these differences? What structures are currently set in place to foster this social relationship and what can we do to improve this (application of traditional modes through the use of modern technology etc.)?

Can you think of any past experiences with whānau, kaumatua, kaitiaki or friends in our hapū rohe that really instilled a sense of belonging, understanding of place; or gave you an invaluable appreciation of what it meant to be a part of your whānau, hapū, iwi or Hokianga. How old were you? Where were you? Who was with you? What did you see, hear, smell, taste; and feel? If someone was talking what were they saying? How were they saying it? How did they act? What particular aspects do you remember the most? Is there another experience that exhibits a different positive/negative type of experience?
Appendix D

The Trip to the other side:

[The following reflection is based on a trip over to the ancestral lands shared by Ngai Tupoto ki Motukaraka and Ngati Here. I had the privilege of accompanying Tirairaka, Te Tōrea and Te Kāhuwaka during this trip. They were three manukura involved in this research for Ngai Tupoto and Ngati Here hapū. In this trip we covered a majority of the Ngai Tupoto traditional boundary given road access where various sites were highlighted, stories were told and preliminary scope for this research was discussed.]

I start this reflection whilst waiting at the house of Te Kāhuwaka in Rāwene, eagerly awaiting the call to come from the car of Tōrea. Not too soon it was a Beep! Beep! and time for Te Kāhuwaka and I to descend down to the road to meet up with Te Tōrea and Tirairaka. We loaded our lunch, maps and equipment onto the car and set off to board Te Kohu Ra Tuarua, our ferry to the other side. As we depart the Southern bank and crossed the waters of Te Awānui o Hokianga (The Large Expansive River of Hokianga) we could see the shoreline of our ancestral landscape, to our left we could see our marae and church peering over the waterline facing east and greeting the sun at every rise of a new day. Following the shoreline from here to the north east was the place we headed where we soon arrived on the North side to a place commonly called “The Narrows”. This would be where our trip around our ancestral landscape began. The following parts of this reflection will be parcelled up into 20 different encounters, a map of where those encounters occurred are highlighted on the map below. These specific points were recorded with a GPS during
the trip. This trip was accompanied by an A3 hand-drawn map I had put together earlier displaying traditional places names which I was referring to throughout the trip.

Rawene ki Whangape Track:

1) Rangiora Pa – The Narrows

Tōrea reminded us as we disembarked that the traditional name for “The Narrows” is Rangiora. The earliest reference we had of Rangiora could be traced back around 20 generations ago to one of our ancestors by the name of Tuwhakararo who held a pā on one of the hills that overlooked the area we were in. Te Tōrea pointed out the specific place where the pā once stood was today a place where a powerline pylon now stands. Previously this area had no indication.

This here rose the first two critical perspectives of understanding and mapping our ancestral landscape. The first perspective of this particular landscape site was that of the negative impacts of colonisation; may it have been of the Rangiora name and its submersion beneath the more recent name “The Narrows”, a product of language/cultural suppression or the lack of consultation in the past for the placement of powerline infrastructure on such a significant site, this critical perspective rose the notions of dominance of the colonial landscape over our traditional ancestral landscape. The other perspective of such site could also be that the placement of such infrastructure may be seen as a positive as it may be a node of electricity that connects our marae.
and whānau living in the area a supply of electricity. It was from this internalisation a highlight of two perspectives of place can be seen for a same place.

2) Te Riu o Ru

Keeping an open mind, we travel North about 1-2 kms and slow down. With the water’s edge to our right Te Tōrea points out across the water to a small valley catchment highlighting that Rū, one of our ancestors around 7 generations ago came from that area. We couldn’t quite put a name on that area at the time but Tōrea mentioned that it would be of interest to find out this place and show a connection in mapping the relationship between neighbouring hapū for the small valley we were looking at was not regarded to be a part of our hapū boundary. Rū was the mother of Ngahuia and Ngahuia is one of the ancestors who most Ngai Tupoto and Ngati Here ki Motukaraka descendants can whakapapa to (Note: There are other whakapapa of Ngai Tupoto and Ngati Here that don’t necessarily whakapapa to Ngahuia). Our whare tupuna is also named after her at Te Iringa o Tupoto marae.

3) RSA urupā.

We continue past Kohukohu one of the oldest colonial settlements in Aotearoa. This area is under Te Ihutai, one of our neighbouring whānaunga hapū. Turning up Rakautapu Road we stop at a urupā (cemetery) where some of our whānaunga who served in WW1 and WW2 rest. The father of Te Kahuwaka has a brother who rests here, Tihi Harris. Whilst Tihi went away to war the Father of Te Kahuwaka remained at Motukaraka for he had already a whānau to bring up. We ascended this road to a ridgeline. It was from here the traditional boundary of Ngai Tupoto wove together with Te Ihutai, to the slope descending to the right was Te Ihutai and to the slope descending to the left was Ngai Tupoto/ Ngati Here. From here I knew and anticipated that our journey along this ridgeline would give us good vantage points to see our rohe.

4) Te Kahuwaka recalls Waimangemange.

As we drove from 3 to 4 Te Kahuwaka retells stories of when he was younger helping one of his uncles build a big red shed here. The shed in its current state had stood against the tests of time but was no longer in use. With his finger following the descending slope from where we stood, Te Kahuwaka referred to a stream by the name of Waimangemange. This name given its literal meaning may have referred to a grove or area where the mangemange bush would have grown. At this time, I do not know the full story or what significance the mangemange has. Te Torea also points out two maunga to the east by the name of Maunga Taniwha and Whakarongorua. At this time, it was quite hard to see Maungataniwha because of the misted weather, just a silhouette in the distance. On a clear day, this maunga can be easily spotted by the reception tower sitting atop. Te Torea also pointed out that Whakarongorua is easily to spot for its flattened summit as if something chopped it clean off. Here we discussed that the protrusion of various maunga in the skyline would have given our tupuna a fair idea where they were. Just like how a GPS device beams to 3 or more satellites to tell ones position our tupuna would have beamed their eyesight to various maunga to pin point their own position, one of many TGPS (traditional global positioning systems) our tupuna would have used. Both maunga were given names based on their ability to hear both the waves on the west coast and those on the east coast.

5) Te Huahua junction- Frog stomp, Haere Mia and Sound gardens the Kaitiaki of Rakautapu
At this junction Te Torea stopped and pointed to the West here we could see some more prominent maunga, Te Ramaroa, Panguru, Papata, Tarakeha. On our journey from 5 to 6 we passed 3 properties by the names of “Frog Stomp”, “Sound Gardens” and place we called “Haere Mia” after what was written on what we assumed was a welcome sign outside. I supposed that these properties were of the B&B or Therapeutic retreat type. The whole car started to giggle about “Haere Mia” for we assumed that they were really supposed to spell out “Haere Mai”. Te Kahuwaka and Te Torea added humour to the occasion highlighting that if we were to translate “Haere Mia” into English it would mean tell a whole different story inviting a visitor to “Go Mimi (urinate)”. We all cracked up laughing. On a more critical note these places were recent establishments whom no one in the car at the time knew who stayed there. I expected that while driving through our ancestral landscape there would be a common occurrence of saying “oh this Aunty/Uncle/Nanny/Papa stays here”. However, for this stretch of the journey we didn’t quite know who was there or not. In relations to the naming of places we could see that new abstract names were being added to our ancestral landscape even over some of the traditional names. It was also quite interesting that these properties were the closest things to our ancestral maunga, Rakautapu where I jokingly referred to these properties as the kaitiaki of Rakautapu who were the guardians of our maunga. We weren’t too sure if the property owners knew that they lived on a significant area, so we carried on giggling but really internalising the situation.

6 & 7) Rakautapu our ancestral maunga with a mohawk.

Before we stopped at point 6 roughly to the left of point 7 (on map) we began to drive along this cliff side not knowing that it was this very cliff side that was the Northeast facing side of Rakautapu maunga. It was quite dense bush in this area until we came to a clearing point (6) where we decided to stop and identify our maunga. There was a house at the step of the peak where Te Tirairaka mentioned a realisation of how close the house was to the maunga. We noticed that pine trees were planted on the summit, nobody was aware of this. I wasn’t too sure if this plantation was allowed or if there had been consultation with the hapū, but I did feel a bit saddened that our whanaunga weren’t aware of this especially being our ancestral maunga. Identifying the summit at first was quite challenging as Rakautapu is not the most projecting maunga. However, because of the protrusion on the pine trees on top, the peak was easier to see. In a non-disrespectful way, I made the remark that our maunga has a mohawk making it easier to spot. It was quite windy at this point, discussion about using our drone to take footage of our maunga was mentioned but on a more suitable day. From this vantage point we could see down into the catchments where our ancestral awa, Tapuwae begins.

8) Tarawa Kukupa /Tarawa Poaka

On our journey between point 7 and 8. Te Tirairaka pointed out that the land and catchments to our left were the lands from which our hapū farm corporation operated. Pointing to opposite ridgeling to the left of our position Te Tirairaka told us that our whanaunga who manages the farm lives there. Despite that’s what most farmers do (live on their own farms) it was good to hear that our hapū incorporation employs our own whanau to work their whenua. As we came up to this bend in the road, lined up along the roadside fence we 6 pig skins hung out to dry. This practice is not uncommon in rural areas however, it was quite interesting making a connection with the traditional place name of this specific spot, Tarawa Kukupa. Tarawa Kukupa refers to a place where our tupuna used to trap kukupa (NZ wood pigeon), Tarawa meaning trap and Kukupa meaning wood pigeon. It was really awesome to see that the same type of practices were still happening in the area but with a change in target species, well hopefully. Traditional name “Tarawa Kukupa” contemporary name “Tarawa Poaka”. There was also another point raised by Te Torea that in the past our whanau kāinga (houses) used to be named after the areas and perhaps when
we start to find out where these old places used to be we can then look at reviving this naming practice, this point came up partly from discussions about Frog Stomp and the other two places.

**Whangape Track ki Pukepoto**

9&10) To the end of the road and back.

From point 8 to 9 we travelled along this ridgeline and descended into a small valley. There was a little stream to our right. This area is owned by a Pākehā farmer who Te Kahuwaka used to shear sheep for. We come right to the end of the road that was blocked off by a private property sign here there were the old sheep fences Te Kahuwaka spoke of. Te Kahuwaka mentioned this one time he was confronted by the Pākehā farmer who told him not to go eeling in his stream, he didn’t listen until he went back to his Uncle with these big eels. His uncle told him to take those eels back for this stream was deep within the catchment a place where the eels spawn and the big momma eels live, these places are their nurseries. Te Kahuwaka mentioned that the old Pākehā whanau that live in Hokianga sometimes know the old korero of the land as well. He respected this farmer’s advice after this. I thought that this stream to our left flowed into our hapu catchment however, upon investigating later I found that this stream flow into Whangape Harbour instead.

At point 10 we stopped because there was this singular hill to the left sticking out like a sore thumb. We speculated at which maunga this might be. This was at a place called beer gate, after much speculation we thought maybe this was Te Wharangi, one of the pou maunga of our hapū boundary. However, after I got home I checked that this maunga had no name and that in fact Te Wharangi was hugging us on the right side of the road. It was quite hard to see the right side as there was bush being obscurer to our view.

11) Reservoir, Sheep Sheds and the perfect place for a honeymoon – Pukewharariki

After coming out of the valley we arrived at a place called the Paponga Block. As we drove up the drive way Te Tirairaka mentioned that they had recently built a small reservoir that would hopefully provide a source of water for the hapū incorporation’s cattle stock. They were testing it out to see if the banks would be stable or not. Here I thought whether there were any traditional place names that alluded to old springs or seeps which could also be developed into a water source. Continuing up to the sheep sheds Te Torea light-heartedly recommended that if I needed a spot for a honeymoon the shearsers quarters would be a perfect spot to do so. We then climbed up to this vantage point that could see the whole Tapuwae catchment, we could even see Rakautapu but from western side. According to the old survey maps this area was named Pukewharariki.

12) Old School house site.

As we turned off Rakautapu road we briefly stopped at an old school site that was brought by whanau from which they now reside in today and turned into a small papakāinga of three houses. Not far from this point as we continue Te Kahuwaka referred to an old house of his uncle’s that burnt down, we could still see the foundations there.

13) Te Tewha, Te Huahua.

We descended the ridgeline towards point 13 where we looked in the direction of Rakautapu. From this angle, it was a bit more difficult to see but, in the end, we found it. In jest, I mentioned that the reason why Rakautapu is so hard to spot is because it’s surrounding brothers and sisters were all the same height, perhaps a korero that could be told if crafted with the right knowledge. To our left was this wahi tapu known as Te Tewha, Te Torea mentioned that this area was where our tupappakau used to be hung before being taken to caves in traditional the “burial” process. This is a very sacred site.
14) Manuoha (Place of Abundance of Birds) – Puke Parahanga (Rubbish Dump Hill).

There was an ascent from point 13 to 14 where we reached a viewpoint just below a maunga called Tikataringa. Here we decided to have a look around where Te Torea was pointing out a few places that were below us. As we walked to the western side of the ridge what we saw next was quite disheartening for what we saw was an unofficial dumpsite where rubbish had been continuously dumped. We decided to sift through the rubbish to see if we could get an address of the person who dumped it. We didn’t find a name but what we did find were 4 Te Rarawa rūnanga election papers which told us that whoever they were, were probably our whanaunga for only kin of Te Rarawa iwi would have the right to receive and vote in such election. Torea and Tirairaka took photos and were going to contact the council of this sad discovery. It was sad to see this happening within our ancestral landscape, but it was like putting salt on an open wound knowing it was probably our whanaunga. The rubbish flowed down to a catchment traditionally known as Manuoha which would eventually make its poison into our awa, Tapuwae impacting the environments downstream. UPDATE:

15) Honeybees and another vantage of Maungataniwha and Tapuwae.

We stopped at this point because of its perfect view of Tapuwae Block below, Tapuwae River and Rakautapu. We discussed a scope of what specifics my research could focus on if I needed to provide detailed case studies of different site; and potential drone footage paths. We were thinking of a path from Rakautapu down Tapuwae and then out to the Harbour; highlighting sites on the way. There were some whanau bee hives here which was cool to see. We also talked about the potential of a Manuka honey industry.

16) Wa kai at Near Pukepoto

We carried on up the road from point 15 and turned right onto this dirt road where we parked up about 100m from the main road. This was a road that gave access to a pine forestry plantation. A fair proportion of our ancestral landscape is covered by pine plantations (create a map of land use). This place was called Pukepoto, it was a place we stopped for lunch. Cheese scone loaf, sandwiches, biscuits and cups of tea were set up out the back of the boot while we got out of the car to stretch our legs. There was talk about place called Kohatu Hapai that was not too far north from where we were and its potential for being quarried. Conversation directed towards the development of quarries in the past where ancestral burial sites and caves had been desecrated where highlighting that for hapū it would be crucial to map our ancestral landscape to assure this type of desecration does not happen again. From here we also stood and looked to the west, what we could see were the Warawara ngahere almost shrouding in due to its high stature.

17) Kōrau and Forestry story.

As we began to make our way back to the east Tirairaka and Te Torea emphasized the importance of having the ability to employ members of our hapū in any type of economic activities the incorporation has be it planting, cutting, farming or transporting produce from either the farms or forestry work. They talked of the time when the first tree was cut of the trees that were to be harvested. At this ceremony whanau gathered at the site to for fill spiritual protocols that are needed to insure a safe harvest and to protect the workers involved. Upskilling and training our hapū to fill all roles was an aspiration shared at this time. Another story popped up, a story of when Te Kahuwaka was young and working in the forests. Te Kahuwaka mentioned how his father always used to keep these jars full of this clear gel called kōrau close by their cooking fireplace at...
home. Te Kahuwaka was frequently asked to scrap the gel of the kōrau (Black fern tree) and store it in these jars. Not fully understanding the purpose of kōrau it was not until he and his whanaungā were working in the forests that the purpose of kōrau came into light. At the time nitro-glycerine was used to fracture large logs for cutting purposes. Te Kahuwaka witnessed a freak accident when one of his kin became engulfed in the explosive mixture. His father sent him to retrieve the kōrau gel and immediately apply it to the burning skin of his whanaunga. Long story short the kōrau gel saved the life of his whanaunga.

18) Te Huahua

We drove up Te Huahua valley for a look around as well. As we drove up to our right was the old convent school. When we got to the end of the road we tried to spot Rakautapu for Te Huahua is one of the main catchments that literally flow down from this maunga. From this view, we couldn’t see it.

19) Te Rangai Pa

Returning in the direction of Rangiora pa we drove up Wairupe and turned right up Taiwhakapiki; a sub-catchment of Wairupe. This road was a gravel road. We turned right to an even more narrow road arriving at a place called Te Rangai. Here stood a prominent hill covered in native bush. Te Torea said this place is a real tapu place where he has not gone before. Te Rangai Pa was the name of this hill and is one of the old pa of Ngai Tupoto/Ngati Here. From where we were, we couldn’t see much vantage points, but we could imagine the views from the pa and how it would have looked over Wairupe, over to Korokoro and up the Omanaia awa. Below this pa is a reservoir called Tihiputa.

20) Tuara o Tupoto.

After our stop at Te Rangai we carried on back to Taiwhakapiki road but instead of turning back towards Wairupe we turned right and met the end of the road. From here looking west again we could see Rakautapu. But it was not the pine trees we used to identify but rather a darkened ridge of native forest that stemmed from Tapuwae at Te Huahua. We said it looks like a backbone or a spine. It stood out in contrast with surrounding agricultural pastures. Te Torea spoke “Te Tuara o Ngai Tupoto” it was a name we had not conceptualised before so was this an act of traditional place naming what I witnessed. If so it was a real insightful experience being at the right vantage point when this moment happened, to actually see what was being said. This lead me to think “Te Tuara o Ngai Tupoto to the west flows Tapuwae awa, Te Tuara o Ngai Tupoto to the east flows Wairupe, these awa catchments are the two sources of mauri that breathes life into our rohe physically, spiritually and socially. Without the waters that flow from this catchment NgaiTupoto/Ngati Here ki Motukaraka will cease to exist”

Conclusion:

As I reflect on these experiences and this trip around our ancestral landscape I am very grateful for the time shared with these manukura; the stories, ideas, experiences and insights brought to my awareness during this time holds a strong resonance of love for our ancestral landscape I will strive to continue.