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Te Umutaoroa: A model for Patuheuheu hapū development

Introduction

Patuheuheu is a hapū located in Waiōhau in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. In 1886, following Patuheuheu's loss of land at Te Houhi - now known as part of Galatea, the Māori prophet, Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki left behind a prophecy of hope that promised the return and restoration of the land. With land comes prosperity, spiritual connection, health and wellbeing, and mana (whenua). This article will canvass Māori development from 1900 to 2025, and community development theory, to set the scene for an exploration of the relationship between prophecy and hapū development. This will provide the wider historical and theoretical context for the Patuheuheu hapū development model that follows.

According to Durie (2003), there have been four phases of Māori development since 1900 through to 2000, with a fifth stage from 2000 to 2025. Each Māori development stage emerged as a response to certain tensions and opportunities and builds on the advancement of the previous period (Durie, 2003).

The nineteenth century saw a massive drop in the Māori population, which paralleled the loss of Māori land; Māori owned 27 million hectares but by 1900 this fell to around 4.5 million hectares (Ahuriri-Driscoll, Foote, Hepi, Rogers-Koroheke, Taimoana & Broodkoorn, 2008; Durie, 2003). The first phase of Māori development occurred from the turn of the century to 1925 (Durie, 2003). During this period the Māori population had diminished to around 43,000; life expectancy for Māori was around 30 years, and mortality rates of Māori

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children were extremely high (Chile, 2007c; Durie, 2003). Chile (2007c) argues:

> Maori were exploited both by colonial government and settlers economically, culturally and politically through a system of policies that both discriminated against them and exploited and disenfranchised them. They were forcibly deprived of their land, resources and power base (p. 49).

Durie (2003) states that during this period the developmental goal fell somewhere between survival and recovery, while Chile (2007c) asserts that "...racial attitudes against Maori persisted, dominated by narrow-minded intolerant attitudes..." (p. 50). But even in the face of inexorable oppression, two strategies for Māori development emerged (Durie, 2003). One method was to adapt to Western cultural norms and the law, while at the same time retaining Māori language, culture and identity; the other approach also advocated adaption to a Western way of life, but with much more importance placed on Māori sovereignty, and less reliance on the government (Durie, 2003).

Distinguished Māori leaders such as Āpirana Ngata, Maui Pomare and Te Rangi Hīroa Peter Buck, who rose to prominence before 1925 and were key figures in the establishment of the Young Māori Party, believed that the solution to the issues facing Māori society was to develop a familiarity with Western culture and to work within the parameters of the Pākehā law; there was also unequivocal support for Māori language and culture (Durie, 2003). Even with a focus on Western democracy, education, modern health practices, and justice, these leaders believed that Māori identity, language, culture and values could work in harmony with Pākehā culture, language and values (Durie, 2003).

Conversely, there were other Māori leaders who did not believe in tandem Māori and Pākehā identities, but instead stressed the need for Māori sovereignty; these leaders alleged that attempting to amalgamate the cultures was a contributing

factor to the extraordinary population decline of Māori in the nineteenth century (Durie, 2003; Walker, 1982). Those leaders who believed in Māori sovereignty also believed in adapting to Western culture, but emphasised the centrality of Māori language and culture coupled with Māori autonomy and authority, even if it meant conflicts with the law (Durie, 2003). In fact, some Māori leaders, like the prophet Rua Kēnana supported the idea that Pākehā should be ousted from Aotearoa New Zealand (Durie, 2003; Webster, 1979). The government of the day supported the desires of the Young Māori Party and passed legislation that aligned Māori with mainstream New Zealand (Chile, 2007c; Durie, 2003). Māori worked within the frameworks the government put in place, thus achieving the dual aims of survival and recovery, but the cost of this development was an obligatory, paternalistic relationship with the government (Durie, 2003).

According to Durie (2003), the second phase of Māori development occurred between 1925 and 1950. In the mid-1920s it was believed that the improvement of Māori society should be based on land development (Durie, 2003). Āpirana Ngata played a pivotal role in developing and executing consolidation schemes to ensure that Māori made more economically viable use of their remaining lands (Chile, 2007c; Durie, 2003; Walker, 1982). The consolidation schemes allowed Māori farmers to compete with their Pākehā counterparts (Durie, 2003). However, Chile (2007c) states:

> Even the land development schemes were only partially successful because the much reduced Maori land ownership left most of Maori land marginal for farming, while the individualisation of land titles created small, scattered uneconomic blocks that even the consolidation attempts could not resolve (p. 50).

Additionally, the great depression and World War Two would further impede Māori development efforts (Durie, 2003; Eketone, 2013).

The great depression of the 1930s was particularly damaging for Māori, who already subsisted in poverty; as overseas markets crumbled, the Māori economy was unable to provide for the now increasing Māori population (Durie, 2003). Within a context of deprivation and displacement, a Māori prophet by the name of Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana emerged with ideas of a fair society that corresponded with Prime Minister Michael Savage's notion of a welfare state; thus, an agreement was forged between the Rātana Church and the Labour Party (Chile, 2007c; Durie, 2003; Walker, 1982). Through the Rātana-Labour alliance, Savage ensured that Māori would receive a level of welfare that would guarantee that at least basic needs were met; and in return, Rātana promised to fill the four Māori seats with candidates from the Rātana Church (which was achieved in 1943, three years after Savage's death) (Durie, 2003). Chile (2007c) affirms:

> A series of policy shifts and interventions under the Labour Government 1935-1949 enhanced Maori communities' social and economic development; moved towards including Maori into state welfare such as equal unemployment benefits, opportunities for housing finance, and investment in Maori health and education... (p. 50).

The Second World War was the second event that affected Māori development during this period. Ngata maintained that Māori would benefit from enlisting to serve King and country as it was believed that Māori would curry favour with the government and earn their citizenship (Durie, 2003). In return for this service, the government established a new Department of Māori Affairs and employed Māori managers, some of whom had served as officers in the Māori Battalion; the department took over administration of Māori lands, job training, welfare, housing, marae, the Māori Land Court, and Māori committees, which resulted in more Māori dependence on the department and the government (Durie, 2003). Durie (2003) states:

> In return for loyalty, and political assistance,
> Māori could count on the generosity of the State. It
> was a deal that softened the harshness of poverty
> but brought with it an unshakeable image of Māori
> as dependent – hewers of wood and tillers of soil –
> all too ready to taste the fruits of state benevolence
> (p. 90).

Durie (2003) contends that the third phase of Māori
development occurred between 1950 and 1975. After World War
Two it became apparent that Māori could no longer sustain
themselves economically in rural areas; thousands of Māori left
behind their tribal areas, language and culture, and moved into
urban areas in search of work, vocational training, supported
housing, and increased social mobility (Durie, 2003). Māori and
Pākehā lived together in close proximity, which generated some
tensions; at the same time however, new industries required low
paid, unskilled workers, and Māori keenly filled those positions
in their droves (Durie, 2003). A new urban class emerged who
were Māori, impoverished, lived in sub-standard housing, were
less likely to succeed in education, and more likely to be
involved in crime. Durie (2003) points out that:

> …urbanisation also meant diminished access
> to those institutions and skills which nurtured a
> positive identity so that being Māori was measured
> more by deficits in comparison to the Pākehā
> middle class than by any notion of a secure Māori
> identity (p. 91).

Durie (2003) maintains that the fourth phase of Māori
development emerged between 1975 and 2000. During this
period, Durie (2003) argues that "[u]rbanisation had not erased
the memories of lands at home: if anything the longing became
stronger and the recognition of alienation was clearer" (p. 91).
Whina Cooper's 1975 land march opened up a 25-year period
of Māori development that centred on the Treaty of Waitangi

(Durie, 2003). The Treaty became the subject of official legislation in the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975; under the act, the Waitangi Tribunal was established to deal with Māori claims surrounding the Crown's breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi from 1840 onward (Durie, 2003).

In the 70s and 1980s, increasing concerns arose around the socio-economic gaps between Māori 19and Pākehā; thus, a conference, called Hui Taumata, was convened in October 1984 by the Minister of Māori Affairs in an attempt to address these issues (Waitangi Tribunal, 1993). The aims of the Hui Taumata, which were underpinned by the Treaty of Waitangi, included social equity, cultural affirmation, and economic self-sufficiency (Durie, 2003). Essentially, government departments were required to report on how their work contributed to the closing of the socio-economic gap between Māori and Pākehā.

Durie (2003) argues that during this phase of Māori development, land and fisheries assets became central to contestations between Māori and the government; arguments also arose between iwi, hapū and urban Māori groups. As a result of being forced by the Waitangi Tribunal and the courts to accept the legitimacy of the Treaty of Waitangi, Durie (2003) insists that the government instituted unyielding control over the process of settling claims through direct negotiation; this was a process that demanded evidence of mandate, which generated additional rivalry between iwi, hapū and other Māori groups.

Free-market economic policies influenced the Māori economy and produced conflicting outcomes (Durie, 2003). On the one hand, Durie (2003) asserts that Māori unemployment rates indicated that they were shouldering the impacts of economic restructuring; simultaneously, Māori corporates and iwi organisations surfaced as key actors within the national commercial landscape. Durie (2003) argues:

> The dual effects of free-market policies – the creation of hardship for many and wealth for a few – created unease within Māori communities and, as the disparities between rich and poor, educated

and uneducated, and employed and unemployed grew, tension and fragmentation were evident within Māori society and within local Māori communities (p. 92).

Community development theory

Community can be described as a group of people who are linked by genealogy, physical location, shared experience, visions, values, hopes and dreams, and most importantly, a collective consciousness (Chile, 2007b). Collective consciousness is critical because:

> At the political level, community becomes the locale for conscientisation and action, understanding power, power relations and the patterns of distribution of power, and how these may be used to attain the goals of well-being for the individual and the community (Chile, 2007b, pp. 22-23).

Marxism and socialism have informed community development theory: "Marxism and socialism situate community development practice within an historical understanding of power and political struggles which are based on an analysis of class" (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2000, p. 19). Critical theory, which analyses the tensions between the powerful and powerless, was developed out of Marxist theory and is part of an essential tool kit for community development practice; indeed, the conflicts between those with power and those without, must be understood in order to bring about change (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2000). Describing critical theory, Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) argue that "...the challenging and questioning of power, makes critical theory an attractive theory for those who feel powerless in society" (pp. 21-22) because "[t]he goal of critical theory is to bring about transformative change" (p. 22). This explanation of critical

theory is in line with Horkheimer's (1982) definition that critical theory is theory that works toward freedom for the oppressed.

Chile (2007a) argues that it is difficult to define community development because it is moulded for the needs of specific communities. However, in the interests of providing a definition that relates to community development as both an academic discipline and professional practice, Chile, Munford and Shannon (2006) describe community development thus:

> Community development as an academic discipline is concerned with the critical examination of how the forces of structural change, economic integration, institutional development and renewal impact on the capacity of individuals, groups and communities for self-determination. As an area of professional practice community development intervenes through distributive strategies to enhance social justice and economic equity between groups and communities locally, nationally and internationally. These are achieved through capacity development strategies which seek to increase the skills and capabilities of people to act on their own behalf to transform their communities through participation in economic, socio-political and institutional developments (p. 400).

To bring about transformation through community development, the community must think differently and envision a positive future. Describing community development as an alternative visualisation of reality, Ife (1995) contends:

> Community development represents a vision of how things might be organised differently so that genuine ecological sustainability and social justice, which seem unachievable at global or

national levels, can be realised in the experience of human community (p. xi).

Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) support the view that community development requires a positive vision of the future, in which social justice and equality are possible. Indeed, they state that community development is a way of conceptualising the world:

> We view community development not just as an activity but also as a process and a way of perceiving the world. What this means is that community development is not just a 'job' or a 'profession' but rather a 'mindset' that characterises a particular perspective on the world (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2000, p. 6).

Reflecting upon community development in Aotearoa New Zealand, Himiona states that "[i]t is a kaupapa or philosophy that puts communities first, and that fosters the individual within his or her community. It is a kaupapa that says that communities are best placed to identify their own opportunities" (cited in Aimers & Walker, 2013, p. 14).

Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) maintain that a crucial part of community development is to reject the notion of top down approaches, to work beside communities to identity relationships of power and to determine why a community may be experiencing certain issues, such as marginalisation as a result of decision-making processes. This makes community development an explicitly political affair:

> The political dimension emphasises that community development cannot be understood simply in the context of individual pathology, but in a holistic approach that seeks to address structural inequality, enhance the capacity of individuals, groups and communities to operate in the political arena through conscientisation,

organising, and social and political actions (Chile, 2007c, pp. 66-67).

Exposing and understanding power relationships through consciousness-raising activities is, according to Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000), critical to community development: "A key element of understanding the nature of power relations is exploring who benefits from the existence of these, who is disadvantaged by these, how they are maintained and how they can be transformed" (p. 7). When communities become conscious and critically aware of their oppression, they can then design strategies to engage in activities that generate positive transformation. Regarding transformation, Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) argue:

> Transformative action and change occurs in a conflict or crisis situation where deep suffering has been experienced by its members. As people become aware of their situation and realise that it could be different they are likely to want to change it. Change comes about by individuals organising themselves into groups and working collectively to bring about change. Transformation can only occur if oppression is perceived as such by those who are in oppressive situations (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, p. 22).

The principal purpose of community development is "...the enhancement of individual and community well-being" (Chile, 2007b, p. 21). Wellbeing is defined by Chambers (1997) as the experience of a reasonable quality of life and includes, Chile (2007b) avows, basic human needs such as shelter, food, clothing and an income. Furthermore, Chile (2007b) stresses that holistic wellbeing also includes "...security and freedom from fear, the experience of fun, love, good relations with other people, and a network of friendships" as well as "...having peace of mind, adequate information and resources to make informed choices, and to be an active and effective member of one's

community" (p. 21). Chile (2007b) claims that "…good community development practice focuses on values and principles for the empowerment of individuals and communities to work towards attaining what they consider to be their well-being" (p. 23).

Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) identify eight key principles of community development, which are relevant to this research:

Treaty of Waitangi: An understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi highlights the structural inequalities present in Aotearoa New Zealand which oppress many Māori groups; embedded within the Treaty of Waitangi, however, is the potential for improved and more equal relationships between Māori and Pākehā, which can be achieved through honouring the treaty.

Locating ourselves: This is about contextualising one's position (such as socio-economic, cultural, and educational) in relation to structural and systemic factors and how this relates to the Treaty partnership between Māori and Pākehā.

Power: The notion of power is a key community development principle, because it is through understanding power relations that those who are marginalised and powerless can empower themselves to challenge and positively change those relationships in order to redistribute power within the community.

Social change: According to Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000): "Community development is about understanding how oppressive structures can be challenged and transformed" (p. 14). Once positive change has been achieved within a community, it is critical to not only maintain the change within the community, but to extend that change to other groups and communities, thereby creating wider social change.

Vision: It is imperative to develop a guiding vision around what a more just society might look like in the future. Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) state: "Building a vision is closely related to bringing about social change in that vision guides the [community] worker in determining what constitutes positive change for communities" (p. 14).

Working collectively: "Working collectively forms the essence of community development practice" (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2000, p. 15). This principle is centred on bringing about positive change for entire communities and society, not just for the privileged few. This can be accomplished through reflective collaboration between individuals, groups and communities.

Self-determination: "Self-determination involves walking alongside individuals in order to understand their world and to also understand why they cannot be self-determining, why their dignity and diversity is minimised and why they do not have real choices in their lives" (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2000, p. 15). The term tino rangatiratanga describes self-determination for Māori. In further describing tino rangatiratanga, Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) cite Durie's (1995) three principles: Ngā matatini Māori – acknowledges that Māori are located within many diverse realities; Whakakotahi – the principle of Māori unity; and mana motuhake - the principle of control and autonomy which signifies that Māori will not allow others to make decisions for them.

Action-reflection: A key part of community development is reflection on action to determine what has worked and what has not worked in order to develop improved strategies for change.

For Patuheuheu, community development is about improving the socio-economic conditions of members of the Patuheuheu hapū, particularly those located within the community of Waiōhau. Therefore, community development within the Patuheuheu context is about the advancement of the

whānau and community located at Waiōhau. By adapting community development strategies to suit Patuheuheu, it could be argued that hapū development, therefore, is about working toward advancing Patuheuheu by improving the socio-economic conditions of the hapū. Te Umutaoroa is a central discourse for Patuheuheu and so links together prophecy and hapū development.

Prophecy and hapū development

Prophecy is about enunciating the potential located in the future; it is about naming, claiming and expanding imminent possibilities. Māori prophecy is a legitimate template for Māori development because both prophecy and development are future orientated. In the nineteenth century, a number of Māori prophets rose up to resist colonisation and land loss, and to offer their people leadership, direction, and a sense of hope for a better future.

Mahuika (2010) argues that the concept of walking backwards into the future is a common one for Māori and other Polynesian peoples. According to Roberts (2005): "It is often said that Māori are a people who "walk backwards into the future," an aphorism which highlights the importance of seeking to understand the present and make informed decisions about the future through reference to the past" (p. 8). Additionally, Jacobs and Falconer (2004) maintain:

> 'Ka mua; ka muri' is a whakataukī, a saying, with many variations and interpretations but the meaning used here is 'walking backwards into the future'. The future lies behind us because it is unknown and unseeable. It is the past that is visible; it lies in front of us and informs the path we take (p. 1).

From the perspective of a Māori world view, time is cyclical and therefore non-linear. According to Ka'ai and Higgins (2004):

> Māori have a particular concept of time that differs from that of Pākehā. Māori describe the past as ngā rā o mua, meaning 'the days before'. By contrast, the future is described as ngā rā kei muri, meaning 'the days after'. This reflects a world-view where Māori 'move into the future with their eyes on the past'. This attitude looks to the past as a guide for the present and future (p. 21).

This statement is further refined by Ka'ai-Mahuta (2010) who states:

> The Māori word for the 'past' or 'before' is mua, but it is also the word for 'front'. The Māori word for 'future' or 'time to come' is muri, which is also the word for 'behind'. Therefore, time 'past' is the time that came 'before', and 'future' time is the time that came 'after'. According to a Māori world-view, the past lies before us (p. 52).

Binney (2001) argues that for Māori the past is viewed as being 'in front', and that Māori traditions and narratives, rather than being stagnant, are active and cyclical, with the potential to be interpreted for contemporary contexts. Freire (2001) claims that history is something that is created as human beings act upon the world to change reality. Therefore, it is imperative that Māori, in spite of a history of colonisation and land loss, acknowledge history and act upon the world to change present reality, and create a positively transformed future.

The prophecy of Te Umutaoroa

Te Umutaoroa is a prophetic, utopian discourse which promised Patuheuheu the return of their lost lands and resources and, according to some narratives, the discovery or generation of other resources like diamonds, gold, oil and minerals (Binney, 2001). Healer Rita Tupe recalls some of the things her father,

Hieke Tupe (considered to be an expert on Te Umutaoroa), said about Te Umutaoroa:

> Our father Hieke talked about how Te Kooti was travelling around different parts of Aotearoa, and he came to this area [Te Houhi], but he stopped at Te Arawa first. There he warned the Te Arawa people and told them to move to higher ground because the eruption of Tarawera was going to happen. But I suppose because they didn't believe in a prophet, or a matakite, they ignored his vision. Te Kooti left Te Arawa and carried on this way over to Te Houhi.
>
> When Te Kooti arrived at Te Houhi he also asked our people to move to higher ground for protection; and so they did move to higher ground. At that time it was Ngāti Haka, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa –– those were the four hapū which stayed there together.
>
> Te Kooti rested by his horse and cart at Te Houhi. While Te Kooti rested, he had a dream about this umu which we now know to be Te Umutaoroa; and he talked about these mauri that were left there. He said "Tao ake nei, tao ake nei, ka haramai taku whanaunga ki te hiki ki Te Umutaoroa" [that his relative will come to uplift the slow-cooking earth oven] (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

According to both Hieke Tupe (Binney, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2010; Doherty, 1995) and Robert (Boy) Biddle (Binney, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2010) Te Kooti had his vision in 1886 and named the land on which this event took place, Te Umutaoroa. Robert Biddle states:

> Up where the Aniwhenua dam is, now, it used to be dry land before… Te Kooti was there, he slept at this particular pā [Te Houhi], and where he did

sleep, he said to them in the morning, 'I had a dream last night: the valley of the Rangitaiki here was just dense fog...'. He said, 'I couldn't see through this fog, so the place where I slept, it will be known as Te Umutaoroa'. That's a hangi - it would be perpetually in that form until this person came and uncovered it (Binney, 2009, p. 494).

Tūhoe scholar, Wharehuia Milroy corroborates the existence of Te Umutaoroa in the following way:

Te Umutaoroa was at Te Houhi; it was a place where Te Kooti visited and while he was at this place there was a lot of fog covering the area at that time. There, at that place, Te Kooti placed eight mauri: mauri atua, mauri whenua, mauri tangata, mauri whakapono, mauri whakaora i ngā iwi, mauri hōhonu, mauri arai atu i ngā pakanga, mauri whakahoki i ngā iwi. One of the statements that Te Kooti made was about Harry Burt finding only "rotting potatoes" at Te Umutaoroa; that the money he received in exchange for on-selling Te Houhi would be like "a pit of rotting potatoes". There was another prediction: "tao noa, tao noa, tērā ka tae mai te tamaiti māna e huki". This means that there is this umu still "operating" in its cooking state. Now whoever the tamaiti is, I don't know, but that person must appear to make Te Kooti's prediction come true; someone has to come out at some time or other, to prove Te Kooti's prediction right (W. Milroy, personal communication, 6 July, 2012).

In this way, Te Umutaoroa is both a commentary on the reality of land loss at Te Houhi, and a hapu-based prophecy that embodied Patuheuheu's hope for things to come.

As in other parts of the Pacific, Māori in Aotearoa traditionally cooked food using an umu, or earth oven. A pit is

dug in the earth, in which a fire is burned for a number of hours to heat stones. Once these stones are hot, food in woven baskets is placed on top, covered in leaves and then soil. After the required cooking time, the soil and leaves are removed and the food is ready to be served. Te Umutaoroa refers to this process of cooking in a metaphorical way and, as the name suggests, this particular umu requires a long cooking time. Te Umutaoroa is something that is going to take a long time to unravel (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011). According to Rita Tupe:

> Te Umutaoroa is an umu, and as we know, an umu is a cooking pit, where food is cooked underground; it is a hāngi. It is made up like a hāngi; you dig a hole and you burn a fire and heat up stones. 'Tao roa' means 'long cooking.' The hāngi is still cooking; it's an umu that still hasn't completely cooked yet (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Within this hāngi pit it is said that Te Kooti placed eight mauri stones to be uncovered by a future leader, his child or son, to restore all that the people of Te Houhi had lost (Binney, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2010; Doherty, 1995). Hieke Tupe gave the following meanings of the mauri of Te Umutaoroa:

> te mauri atua: the essence of spirituality; the belief in God
> te mauri whenua: the life force of the land
> te mauri tangata: the life force of the people
> te mauri whakapono: the power of belief, or faith
> te mauri whakaora i nga iwi: the power to heal the people
> te mauri hohonu: the mauri [life force] of hidden wealth – minerals, gold, diamonds and oil (perhaps), which lie underground
> te mauri arai atu i nga pakanga: the power to return war from this land to other countries

te mauri whakahoki i nga iwi: the power to return
people to their land (Binney, 2001, p. 158).

When Patuheuheu lost their land at Te Houhi, they were
forced to relocate to Waiōhau. Waiōhau has been the home-base
for Patuheuheu from the late nineteenth century to today. The
following section will present and explain a potential model for
Patuheuheu hapū development based on Te Umutaoroa and will
reference to the modern-day Waiōhau community context.

The Patuheuheu hapū development model
Te Umutaoroa can be viewed as a prophetic strategy that
Patuheuheu uses to neutralise some of the psycho-historical
trauma of the past and to inform the future. Regarding the use
of Te Umutaoroa in hapū development, Bruce F. Maki contends:

> Yes Te Umutaoroa will play a role in hapū
> development at Waiōhau. Well the time is coming,
> because Te Kooti said in prophecy that these
> things, "ngā rawa katoa o te whenua [the resources
> of the land]" will be coming to us. Te Kooti talked
> about ngā rawa... It's contained within ngā mauri
> e waru [the eight life potentials] (B. F. Maki,
> personal communication, 18 October, 2011).

Te Umutaoroa is a narrative that can be used in multiple
contexts. This research proposes that Te Umutaoroa can be
used as the basis for a hapū development model that includes,
but is not limited to, governance; Indigenous self-
determination; health and wellbeing; sustainable resource
development and management; environmental management;
housing; critical education; and research. These aspects of Te
Umutaoroa, which have been extrapolated and interpreted from
ngā mauri e waru, are but a meagre portion of the treasure
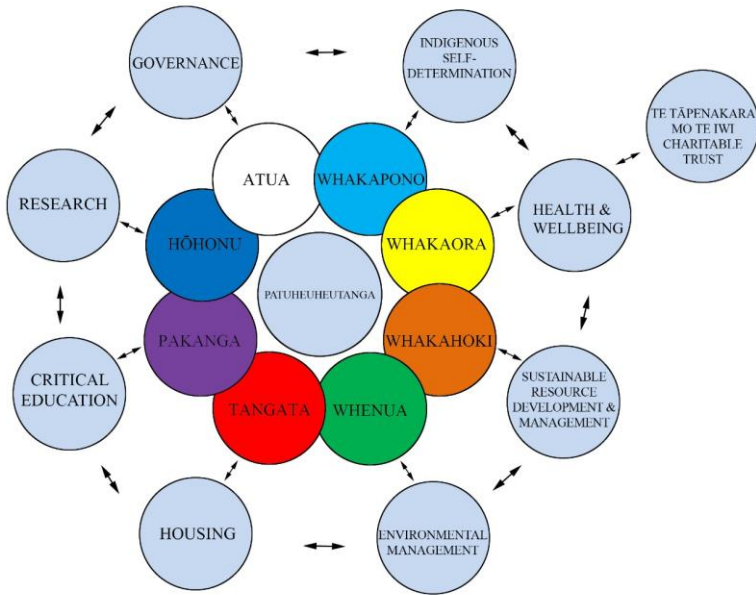contained within Te Kooti's umu.

Figure 1: Patuheuheu hapū development model

Explanation of the Patuheuheu hapū development model

The prophecy of Te Umutaoroa was given to the people who lived at Te Houhi – Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare – when the land was lost as a result of Harry Burt's fraudulent acts in the native land court. Patuheuheutanga is central to this model because the writer is of Patuheuheu descent and has developed this model for the benefit of Patuheuheu hapū, as a starting point for further discussion, and with the view that it might be used as a template for other groups. Although the researcher is also of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare lineage, this research concentrates on the advancement of a model for Patuheuheu hapū development; but it is hoped that other researchers will develop other models based on Te Umutaoroa or other local prophecies, histories and narratives.

Within the model, the mauri of Te Umutaoroa overlap one another; this is a visual effect that demonstrates the way in which the mauri dimensions intersect, interact and inform one another. The eight mauri are presented in the seven colours of the rainbow (and white to make an eighth). The rainbow was a significant symbol for Te Kooti and the Ringatū (Binney & Chaplin, 1996). Similarly, the hapū development aspects of the model materialise out of the mauri and interact with one another. Patuheuheutanga – Patuheuheu culture, customs, values and beliefs – is featured at the centre of the model and is the anchor point of Patuheuheu hapū development.

When thinking about Patuheuheu hapū development, it is important to understand mauri. Mauri is an important concept that Te Kooti used to describe the hidden potential located within the eight stones he saw in his vision of Te Umutaoroa. Marsden (in Royal, 2003) decribes mauri as:

> ...the life-force which generates, regenerates and upholds creation. It is the bonding element that knits all the diverse elements within the Universal 'Procession' giving creation its unity in diversity. It is the bonding element that holds the fabric of the universe together (p. 44).

Pere (1991) defines mauri as life principle, thymos or psyche and asserts:

> It is a very important concept and affects our everyday lives, and living. Each individual has a mauri that remains throughout his or her existence. All living things, lakes, rivers, the sea, the bush and buildings have a mauri that should be appreciated and respected. It helps one to relate and care for everyone and everything across the universe (p. 12)

Therefore, taking care of mauri, in terms of caring for and relating to everything and everyone, is an essential part of

Patuheuheu hapū development, because in caring for and respecting the mauri of other people, animals, plants, waterways, places and objects, the mauri of Patuheuheu hapū maintains balance and wellness. Pere (1991) opines:

> Mauri is an in depth term and is one that can pertain to an individual's psyche alongside other people, or it can also pertain to a talisman, the physical symbol of the hidden principle that protects vitality... (p. 12).

The mauri stones of Te Umutaoroa are talismans of protection that conceal and safeguard the hidden potential yet to be revealed in the future. Durie (2003) asserts: "The mauri, the life force, spirals outwards seeking to establish communication with higher levels of organisation..." (p.88). Likewise, the mauri of Te Umutaoroa spiral outwards, influencing Patuheuheu hapū in various ways, including the outcomes of this research. The uncovering of these eight stones guarantees for the people of Te Houhi spiritual and physical renewal; regeneration; reuniting of people and land; and economic security (Binney, 2001), and so is critical to hapū development generally, and to Patuheuheu wellbeing specifically. Te Kooti was able to convert the tragic story of Te Houhi's land loss into a quest for a new future to be uncovered by revealing the mauri contained within the symbolic and mystical cooking pit of Te Umutaoroa.

Patuheuheutanga
Patuheuheutanga is the epistemological centre from which all other aspects of the model arise. Patuheuheutanga embodies the culture, customs and beliefs of Patuheuheu, and is crucial to the development of the hapū. The centrality of Patuheuheutanga within this model reflects the fact that the researcher's Patuheuheu perspective is fundamental to this particular interpretation of Te Kooti's prophecy. Te Kooti's gifting of Te Umutaoroa provides a framework on which to hang

Patuheuheu's developmental aspirations, hopes, dreams and visions for the future. This framework offers new understandings of Te Kooti's eight mauri. In broadening the meanings of these mauri and relating them to other systems of knowledge, this framework brings Te Kooti's prophecy into the context of the twenty-first century.

Mauri atua – governance

Mana is derived from atua. Māori trace their whakapapa to atua, who are regarded as ancestors with ongoing influence (Moorfield, 2011). Lewis, Willing and Mullan (1995) describe the term atua as meaning "...that which is beyond, strange, out of the world" (p. 21). Some of these atua, such as Tangaroa, atua of the sea, or Tāne-mahuta, atua of the forest, have dominion over certain parts of the environment. Belief in atua allows Māori to explain and perceive the world around them (Moorfield, 2011) and their place within it. In a post-Christian context, the word atua or rather Atua, also refers to the Christian God or in the Ringatū case, Īhowa, the Māori version of Jehovah – understood in the nineteenth century to be the Hebrew name for God. Williams (2004) states: "Atua is often translated as 'gods' but it is rather more helpful to remember that present generations are linked to them by whakapapa and therefore to think of them as 'ancestors of ongoing influence'"(p. 50). Furthermore, Moorfield (2011) asserts that the Christian use of the word atua is a misconception of the original meaning of the term. However, this usage is now common in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Te Kooti, like all of the Māori prophets, re-articulated, re-orientated and intermingled Judeo-Christian beliefs with Māori tradition, creating a uniquely Indigenous, syncretic theology. The blended theologies of the Māori prophets did not negate either belief system, but allowed both to exist, albeit in a new form. The researcher grew up within a context where Ringatū, Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican, and traditional Māori concepts were mixed together. The researcher heard stories about how kaumātua would karakia to the Judeo-Christian

God, and then, if that did not bear fruit, would turn their attention to the Māori atua, or vice versa; both belief systems were used without any conflicts, which is a typical feature of syncretic theologies. When this research states that Māori inherit mana from atua, it is generally referring to the definition of atua as ancestors of continuing influence from which Māori descend through whakapapa.

A brief discussion of Māori creation theory is required in order to preface a conversation regarding the principle of mauri atua as a platform for governance. Although the many and varied Māori creation narratives are unique to their respective iwi and hapū, there are some common threads that will be canvassed here to show the links between the creation of the universe and the mana derived from atua. The Māori creation story begins with Te Kore. However, in some traditions the creation process, which ultimately starts with Te Kore, is initiated by Io, the Supreme Creator who has many names.[1] The term Te Kore is often compared with the biblical notion of the void, the nothingness. However, Mikaere (2011) argues that far from being empty, Te Kore is actually a state of endless potential. According to Marsden:

> Te Korekore is the realm between non-being and being: that is, the realm of potential being. This is the realm of primal, elemental energy or latent being. It is here that the seed-stuff of the

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[1]   Io refers to a supreme being. The concept of a single celestial parent is contested by Mikaere (2011) who argues that the notion of Io is a post-Christian development (see Mikaere, 2011, pp. 233-237, 241-246, 249; see also Cox, 2014 and his article entitled: *The debate over Io as the pre-Christian Māori Supreme Being*). However, Marsden (in Royal, 2003), Shirres (1997), and Schrempp (1992) maintain that Io was an *atua* for some *hapū* and *iwi*, before Pākehā contact. Furthermore, Moorfield (2011) insists that some *hapū* and *iwi* have an Io tradition that may be a response to Christianity. However, Moorfield (2011) also argues that references to an Io belief occurs in a number of traditions from the Polynesian islands, including Hawai'i, the Society Islands and the Cook Islands, suggesting a more ancient tradition. Binney (1995) contends that Io may have travelled with Māori from the wider Pacific.

> universe and all created things gestate. It is the
> womb from which all things proceed. Thus the
> Māori is thinking of continuous creation employed
> in two allegorical figures: that of plant growth and
> that of gestation in the womb (Royal, 2003, p.20).

Emanating from the cosmic incubator of Te Kore emerged
Te Pō; and out of the numerous developmental stages of Te Pō
came the primordial parents, Papa-tū-ā-nuku and Rangi-nui
who, while incessantly clasped to one another, produced a
number of progeny (Marsden in Royal, 2003; Mikaere, 2011;
Reilly, 2004). The offspring of these ancient parents grew
dissatisfied with the darkness that resulted from their parent's
unending embrace, and so one of the children, Tāne-nui-a-
Rangi, pushed Ranginui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku apart, which
moved the universe into a new stage, Te Ao Mārama (Mikaere,
2011; Reilly, 2004). Within Te Ao Mārama, human life was
created through the materialisation of human form, and
through sexual intercourse. Tāne-nui-a-Rangi formed the first
woman, Hine-ahu-one, and procreated with her. Thus, human
life is imbued with mana from the atua realm, not only because
the first woman was created by Tāne-nui-a-rangi, but because
he reproduced with her; and so there are two levels of creativity
present in the narrative. Through whakapapa, Patuheuheu, like
all Māori, descend from ancestors, who descend from atua,
where mana is derived.

The notion that Māori inherit mana from atua, giving them
the right to govern themselves, is important here because it
negates the legitimacy of Pākehā superiority in terms of
governance. Frechette (1999) states that "[g]overnance is the
process through which... institutions, businesses and citizens'
groups articulate their interest, exercise their rights and
obligations and mediate their differences" (p. 25). For Penehira,
Cram and Pipi (2003), governance is essentially about
"...influence, decision-making and accountability" (p. 8). Far
from being a purely modern concept, Foddler, Davis-Ngatai and
Joseph (2014) argue that "[g]overnance... is as old as humanity

and is reflective of multiple societies and cultures across the world" (p. 5). For Māori in particular:

> …governance began even before the first waka arrived in Aotearoa in the 1300s. While time and technologies have changed, traditional Māori governance based on tikanga and mātauranga Māori still provide the framework of a Māori worldview that establishes the values for Māori interactions with Māori, all New Zealanders and even globally (Foddler et al., 2014, p. 179).

For governance to be effective, it must be culturally appropriate (Cornell & Kalt, 1998), and grounded in the epistemology of the tribe, iwi, clan, hapū or community. For Patuheuheu, hapū-derived, hapū-centric governance is essential not only to self-determining hapū development, but also to healing the wounds of colonisation. Penehira et al. (2003) assert: "Self-governance is also a tool of healing for indigenous peoples; in other words, self-governance is an important step for many in being able to move forward from the position of being 'colonized'" (p. 12).

Penehira et al. (2003) opine that through consultation with Indigenous knowledge systems "...governance models can be established to take people into the future, to help heal the past, and to reconnect governing processes with indigenous values, beliefs and aspirations". Indeed, as Cornell and Kalt (1998) note, referring to the findings of the Harvard project on American Indian economic development:

> At the tribal level, the lesson is that those tribes that build governing institutions capable of the effective exercise of sovereignty are the ones that are most likely to achieve long-term, self-determined economic prosperity. They are the ones who will most effectively shape their own futures, instead of having those futures shaped by others.

> For tribes, nation-building is the only game in town (p. 33).

The idea that successful governance models for Indigenous people are located within Indigenous knowledge systems is important for Indigenous development. Te Umutaoroa emerged out of Patuheuheu history through the medium of prophetic utterance, which makes Te Kooti's insight critical for Patuheuheu governance and development. While it can be argued that an interpretation of Te Kooti's prophecy has the potential to inform a new Patuheuheu governance model, the very notion of Indigenous governance in a post/neo-colonial context, can itself be considered the fulfilment of prophecy. Speaking about Aboriginal governance in relation to the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, Bradley Young (cited in Penehira et al., 2003) states:

> Aboriginal governance is the fulfilment of many prophecies which many elders from many different nations share. ...Aboriginal People, will increasingly vacate the old dysfunctional colonial institutions in sway now, replacing them with renewed indigenous governance systems which will revolutionize and save the tired, increasingly ignored, and decaying 'modern' western democratic models of government... (p. 9).

The following statement from Durie (2011) sums up the governance aspirations of Māori: "…Māori have the knowledge, skills and foresight to create a future where younger generations, and generations yet to come can prosper in the world, and at the same time live as Māori" (p. 8). Adapting Durie's words one could assert: Patuheuheu have the knowledge, skills and foresight to create a future where younger generations, and generations yet to come can prosper in the world, and at the same time live as Patuheuheu.

Current governance situation in Waiōhau

Within the Waiōhau community there are presently three hapū governance organisations: Waiōhau C4 Papakainga No 1 Patuheuheu Marae Trust; the Waiōhau Lands Trust; and the Waiōhau Marae Committee.

The Waiōhau C4 Papakainga No 1 Patuheuheu Marae Trust is the overarching entity in Waiōhau and governs the papa kāinga land. The purpose of the trust is to administer the land contained with the marae reservation, which includes the marae complex, the land on which the Waiōhau Rugby Club stands and the urupā. The trust is responsible to the beneficiaries. The Waiōhau Lands Trust is an Ahu Whenua trust that was set up to look after the papa kāinga land and the farm lease land between Waiōhau Rugby Club and the urupā. The Waiōhau Marae Committee is responsible for the day-to-day operations of the marae, which includes marae policies concerning issues such as hireage and bookings; and managing events such as tangihanga, weddings, birthdays, wānanga, hui, and other social and cultural events. The Waiōhau Marae Committee is also the Civil Defence contact for the Whakatāne District Council.

Potential development

While designing a new governance structure is beyond the scope of this research, the following are governance principles based on the eight mauri of Te Umutaoroa, which might be beneficial for those who transform things in the future.

Mauri atua: Maintain wairuatanga or the spiritual dimension by acknowledging through karakia and conduct that the mana to govern comes from atua.

Mauri whakapono: Invest in non-deficit and self-determining belief in the potential of Patuheuheu hapū development and transformation for the benefit of future generations.

Mauri whakaora: Contribute to social, cultural, spiritual and psychological healing for Patuheuheu hapū as a means of recovery from psycho-historical trauma.

Mauri whakahoki: Contributes to a programme of restoration for Patuheuheu hapū in terms of the whenua and resources that were taken away in the nineteenth century, and seeks to sustainably develop and manage the remaining resources (and resources yet to be acquired) for the benefit of Patuheuheu hapū.

Mauri whenua: Nurtures the whakapapa connection to Papa-tū-ā-nuku by ensuring that all practices, policies and governance processes have a focus on not only protecting the whenua but enhancing and nourishing the whenua to encourage Tāne-nui-a-Rangi's (atua of the forest) children to thrive and to bring prosperity back to the land.

Mauri tangata: Acknowledge and enhance the whakapapa connections to one another and to the wider iwi context by demonstrating reciprocity, generosity and matemate-ā-one – a term signifying an intense connection of whānau, hapū and iwi to the whenua and to each other.

Mauri pakanga: Engages in conscientisation, critical reflection and critical education to ensure that colonial power structures and oppression are not reproduced within Patuheuheu hapū.

Mauri hōhonu: Engages in critical research and development in order to ensure that Patuheuheu hapū are informed and 'up with the play' regarding the latest research and development trends.

Mauri whakapono – self-determination

Whakapono is a word that means to have faith or believe in something (Moorfield, 2011). Belief informs actions and actions create transformation, and so whakapono is an essential part

of hapū transformation; it is the access-point of change. Therefore, the people's belief in their ability to be self-determining and to determine their own future is critical to hapū development. Durie (1998) states: "Māori self-determination is about the advancement of Māori people, as Māori, and the protection of the environment for future generations" (p. 4). Within the context of self-determination, Durie (1998) argues that Māori advancement incorporates three essential components:

> First, it signifies a commitment to strengthening economic standing, social well-being, and cultural identity, both individually and collectively. Second, it touches on the dimension of power and control…at individual and group levels. Māori advancement is about the better self-management of natural resources, greater productivity of Māori land, the active promotion by Māori of good health, a sound education, enhanced usage of Māori language, and decision-making that reflects Māori realities and aspirations. Third, advancement is also about change. Cultural fossilisation is not consistent with the spirit of development; and even though traditional values and knowledge have important lessons for today and offer some clues for the future, Māori self-determination is not about living in the past (p. 4).

Mana from atua gives Patuheuheu the undoubted right to self-determination. This right is supported by article three of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008), which states: "Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (p. 4). Therefore, the belief that a hapū has the power to be self-determining and self-governing is a key factor in hapū development, as a form of Indigenous development, which is supported by the United Nations.

Current self-determination situation in Waiōhau

The Te Umutaoroa political movement that emerged in 2008 was a result of the dissatisfaction experienced by Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka and other Tūhoe hapū in relation to the Tūhoe settlement process. The Te Umutaoroa political movement demanded that hapū have their own autonomy in determining the conditions of Treaty of Waitangi settlements, rather than having a large iwi organisation take away that autonomy. Indeed, this movement was supported by the notion that, historically, hapū always had autonomy over their own affairs. However, Higgins (n.d.) argues that "...the systems created around settlement often oppose traditional hapū and iwi governing structures" (n.p.). She also claims that the Crown creates processes that repeatedly destabilise iwi and hapū relationships: "These legal structures divide iwi rather than bring them together. They have created a combat between economic and cultural capital" (Higgins, n.d., n.p.). From the perspective of Te Umutaoroa, there has been a complete disregard for the traditional autonomy of hapū over their affairs and that this is a continuing source of conflict and hurt. Te Umutaoroa has continued to fight for the rights of associated hapū through protest and court proceedings, but a solution to these issues is yet to be found.

Potential development

Mana can be defined as authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma (Moorfield, 2011). Mana is also understood to be a supernatural force within a person or people that is imparted, through descent, from atua (Moorfield, 2011). The word motuhake means to be separate, special, distinct (Moorfield, 2011). Therefore mana motuhake can be explained as autonomy or mana through self-determination and control over one's own destiny (Moorfield, 2011). Consistent with these definitions of mana motuhake, Patrick McGarvey opines:

To me mana motuhake is being in control of
your own destiny, being in control of your own
circumstances, being in control of your ability to
live your life. Mana motuhake is maintaining …
your identity, your customs, your tikanga, your
language, survival… of all those ideals (cited in
Williams, 2010, p. 18).

Durie (1998) maintains that mana motuhake "…embodies a
link with customary Māori systems of authority, especially in
the face of colonising forces" (p. 220). Speaking about the Tūhoe
understanding of mana motuhake, Higgins (n.d.) argues that
"Mana Motuhake is an ideology deeply ingrained into our
identity and our lives" (n.p.).

Mana is inextricably connected to tapu (Higgins, 2004;
Moorfield, 2011; Shirres, 1997). Shirres (1997) explains that
tapu is "…the potentiality for power…" while mana is "…the
actual power, the power itself" (p. 53). Both mana and tapu are
linked to the atua, the land and to people. Higgins (2004)
describes four types of mana: mana atua – the power of atua;
mana whenua – power of the land; mana tangata – power of the
people; and mana motuhake – the separate or distinct mana.
The ways in which these four types of mana interact can be
understood in Higgin's Ngā mana Māori diagram.

Figure 2: Ngā mana Māori

Mana Atua

Mana Motuhake

Mana Whenua   *Mana Tangata*
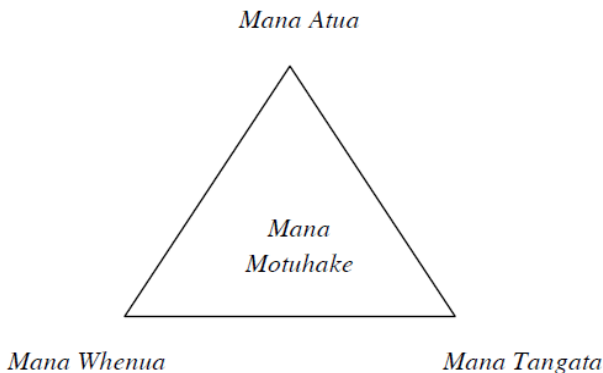
(Higgins, 2004, p. 48).

Higgins (2004) explains the four types of mana and how they interact in the following way:

> Mana Atua relates to the source of all mana from the gods through the ancestors to the present generations. This type of mana provides the basis of all whakapapa, which is an important aspect of the Māori worldview. Mana Whenua provides people with a land base to exercise their mana over. The whenua is an important element of the Māori psyche in terms of their identity, their mana motuhake…. Mana Tangata is the social interactions of the people with others. This is displayed in numerous customary concepts such as manaaki, whanaungatanga, and aroha. These three types of mana connect to allow a collective group such as whānau, hapū and iwi to maintain their mana motuhake from other such collectives (p. 49).

Higgins (2004) argues that the triangulation of mana atua, mana whenua and mana tangata provides a space where

whānau, hapū and iwi are able to practise and maintain their mana motuhake. All three forms of mana are required to operationalise mana motuhake. For example, in relation to Patuheuheu's lost lands at Te Houhi, Patuheuheu have mana atua and mana tangata but they do not, according to Higgins' (2004) definition, have mana whenua at Te Houhi because they no longer live on the whenua. Without mana whenua at Te Houhi, it is impossible for Patuheuheu to practice mana motuhake at that particular site because it is privately owned by farmers.

Wharehuia Milroy defines mana motuhake as Tūhoe's right to "…set up processes, [and] structures which will provide benefit [to the people] … [and] [t]o establish ways and means in which our people can work for the benefit of Tūhoe rather than for the benefit of others (cited in Williams, 2010, p. 30). Expanding upon Milroy's argument for Tūhoe's mana motuhake, it can be argued that Patuheuheu, as a hapū of Tūhoe, has the right to set up processes and structures in order to provide and establish ways and means to work for the benefit of Patuheuheu.

Te Umutaoroa is a prophecy about restoration and reconnection that "…continues to operate as a framework in the search for justice" (Binney, 2010, p. 365). Te Umutaoroa "…is a quest set by Te Kooti over a hundred years ago: to open the hāngi in a future time and under a new spiritual leadership" (Binney, 2010, p. 365). As part of its promises, Te Umutaoroa's objective is "…to restore the people's land, together with their autonomy" (Binney, 2010, p. 365). Therefore, with Te Umutaoroa as a framework for Patuheuheu hapū development, the potential is that one day Patuheuheu will have mana motuhake over its own affairs as a hapū within the Tūhoe confederation and that all hapū within Tūhoe will have their own mana motuhake as they had in traditional times.

Mauri whakaora – health and wellbeing
The word whakaora refers to healing and the restoration of health (Moorfield, 2011). The model shows the Te Tāpenakara

case study emerging out of mauri whakaora. The healers who work at and manage Te Tāpenakara operate from a holistic world view that is based on the principles of Te Umutaoroa; at the same time, their three-pronged model of aroha, tika and pono is used as a tool to measure the extent of the healer's integrity and intentions in their healing practice. The purpose of Te Tāpenakara is to promote the health and wellbeing of all people through various healing techniques and methods. While Te Umutaoroa forms the foundation of their healing practice, they also draw on or use other models and frameworks if they are beneficial to their work. Likewise, within the Te Umutaoroa model presented here, the researcher draws upon other models and frameworks with which to conceptualise the potential of the Te Umutaoroa model; the limits of which are endless.

Durie (1994) developed a model that is relevant to the mauri whakaora dimension, called whare tapa whā or four-sided house. This model, being a whare with four sides, is simple to conceptualise and refers to the four interacting aspects of a Māori person, which are essential to health and wellbeing. These are taha wairua – the spiritual; taha hinengaro – the mental; taha tinana – the physical; and taha whānau – the extended family (Durie, 1994).

The wairua can be described as 'spirit', while the word wairua itself means 'two waters' (Pere, 1991). Pere (1991) explains that wairua possess both positive and negative elements, affirming, as an example, that water can both provide and enhance life or take it away; here, balance is key. According to Durie (1994), taha wairua is about faith in and communion with unseen and unspoken energies. This correlates with Pere's (1991) argument that "[t]he physical realm is immersed and integrated with the spiritual realm. A powerful belief in spirituality governs and influences the way one interacts with other people, and relates to her or his environment" (p. 16). Taha wairua is commonly thought to be the most important aspect of Māori health because, if the wairua is not taken care of, a person is disposed to illness and misfortune (Durie, 1994). Durie (1994) maintains:

A spiritual dimension encompasses religious beliefs and practices but is not synonymous with regular churchgoing or strong adherence to a particular denomination. Belief in God is one reflection of wairua, but it is also evident in relationships with the environment (p. 70).

Regarding the maintenance of spirituality, Pere (1991) states: "The natural place of worship/communion with Io Matua is Papatuanuku – Mother Earth [,] where one can relate to the hills, spaces of water, the heavens, everything that is part of us" (p. 16).

Taha hinengaro is about mental function, cognition, the mind, the "…expression of thoughts and feelings", recognising that the body and mind are indivisible (Durie, 1994, p. 70). Hinengaro is described by Pere (1991) as "…female who is both known and hidden – the mind" (p. 32). According to Pere (1991):

Hine (female) is the conscious part of the mind and ngaro (hidden) is the subconscious. Hinengaro refers to the mental, intuitive and 'feeling', seat of the emotions. Thinking, knowing, perceiving, remembering, recognising, feeling, abstracting, generalising, sensing, responding and reacting are all processes of the Hinengaro – the mind (Pere, 1991, p. 32)

Like all things in the Māori universe, Māori thinking is couched within an all-encompassing framework that integrates the physical, mental and spiritual. Durie (1994) affirms:

Māori thinking can be described as holistic. Understanding occurs less by division into smaller and smaller parts, the analytical approach, than by synthesis into wider contextual systems so that any recognition of similarities is based on comparisons at a higher level of organization (p. 70).

In the same way Māori health and wellbeing is dependent on the achievement of harmony with the outward environment (Durie, 1994). In fact, Durie (1994) describes the links a Māori person has with the environment using specific Māori words in the following way:

> There are several words and expressions which bind the individual to the outside world. Whenua, for example, can mean both placenta and the land, rae is either the forehead or a land promontory, iwi refers equally to a bone (kō iwi) or to a nation of people, while hapū can denote pregnancy and a section of a larger tribe. The word for birth is whānau, the same term used to describe a family, and wairua, spirituality, can also be used to refer to an insect, just as kāpō can mean blind or a species of eel. Whakapo is to darken (as in approaching night) and, as well, to grieve, waimate is a hereditary disease but also polluted water, kauae can be the jawbone or a major supporting beam in a building, and tāhuhu refers both to the vertebral column and the ridge pole of a meeting-house (p. 71).

Taha tinana or physical health is about physical growth and development and acknowledges that good health is essential for optimum development (Durie, 1994). Referring to physical development from conception through to birth, Pere (1991) maintains:

> A mother nurtures, cherishes and blesses her child through the sacred waters of her womb. Approximately nine months after the sacred seed from the male partner unites with the sacred river of life from the female parent a child is born of water. Every person is sacred and requires a set of

disciplines to ensure that the sacred nurturing continues (p. 24).

Regarding the nurturing that comes from diet and the elements of the natural world, Pere (1991) states that there has been a renaissance of traditional Māori foods and medicines that has been well received by health-conscious communities. Through the use of kai and rongoā, the aim of each Māori person is to "…find an appropriate health package that can cater for his or her individual needs. Each person is a universe and needs to have dominion over herself or himself" (Pere, 1991, p. 24). The nurturing and development of the tinana is crucial to the protection of the spiritual essence that is inseparable from hinengaro, wairua and whānau (Durie, 1994).

The fourth and final part of Durie's (1994) whare tapa whā model is taha whānau, which is about recognising the significance of the extended family to health and wellbeing. The whānau is the primary support structure within Māori society and provides whānau members with the necessities of life, physically, emotionally, culturally (Durie, 1994) and spiritually. Describing whanaungatanga (whānau relationships) as "Kinship ties – Extended family across the universe", Pere (1991) states: "Whanaungatanga is based on ancestral, historical, traditional and spiritual ties. It forms that strong bond that influences the way one lives and reacts to his/her kinship groups, people generally, the world, the universe" (p. 26).

Māori receive their identity from the whānau context, which outweighs personal qualifications or achievements; as whānau members, there are obligations to the whānau, hapū and iwi that must be considered (Durie, 1994). Referring to the extended whānau in terms of the wider hapū and iwi contexts, Pere (1991) asserts:

> The kinship network as far the extended family (tribal group in this context) is concerned, is one that gives a feeling of belonging, value and security. Knowing ones genealogical ties is

important to the Maori who identifies with his/her
own heritage (p. 26).

Current Māori health situation

Before contact with Pākehā, Māori were a muscular, tall,
healthy and robust people whose life expectancy rates rivalled
those of Europeans in Spain and France (Lange, 1999) and
exceeded those of the British (Pool, 1991). Initially Māori had no
immunity against European diseases, which significantly
impacted on mortality rates. In 1769 the Māori population was
around 100,000, but decreased by between 10% to 30% by
1840, mostly due to Pākehā diseases (Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991).
Māori suffered further negative effects between 1840 and 1901
because of intensified exposure to European diseases, which
had the dual effect of increasing death rates and decreasing
birth rates (Dow, 1999; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991). A large
number of Māori children during this period died in their first
year of life from diseases such as pneumonia and other
respiratory health issues; while older children and adults
suffered with typhoid fever, tuberculosis, viral diseases and
other chronic illnesses (Dow, 1999; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991).
Socio-economic changes resulting from land wars, extensive
land confiscations, and land loss through the machinations of
the Native Land Court also contributed greatly to poor health
outcomes for Māori (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Pool,
1991). Lange (1999) asserts that during this period Māori made
changes to their housing, sanitation, water supply and diet that
also had some negative effects on Māori health. From 1840 to
1891 the Māori population declined by around half and
continued to decrease (Lange, 1999).

Traditional Māori rongoā and healing practices continued to
be used and were often blended by Māori with Western
treatments (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991).

However, some Māori avoided Pākehā doctors and hospitals altogether (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991).[2]

Māori activists who had been educated at Te Aute College in Hawke's Bay advocated for improved health outcomes for Māori; these activists operated through the Te Aute College Students Association (later known as the Young Māori Party), which was directed by Āpirana Ngata and others, and supported by prominent leaders and chiefs (Lange, 1999). In 1900, the Public Health Department, with a Māori component, was established; Dr Māui Pōmare inspected Māori communities, offering advice to leadership as to how to improve conditions; and for some of the time he had the assistance of Dr Te Rangi Hīroa (Peter Buck) (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991). The twentieth century saw the Māori population increase significantly, which was aided by a heightened resistance to diseases and by a dynamic health campaign organised by Māori and the government; but despite improved resistance to infections and a decreased death rate, poverty continued to affect Māori health (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991).

Traditional Māori health and healing practices remained common in Māori settlements. In some areas Māori did not trust Pākehā intentions or practices. That was particularly true of iwi located in Te Urewera, Taranaki and Waikato, who had suffered extensively at the hands of the government in the nineteenth century (Lange, 1999). Rua Kēnana, prophet, tohunga and founder of the Iharaira movement, had devised his own methods for improving health, separately from government driven schemes. In 1906 the police were instructed to watch Rua's activities; in 1907, the Tohunga Suppression Act, which was directed at Rua, was passed, supported by a number of Māori politicians and leaders (Binney, Chaplin & Wallace, 1979; Davidson, 2004; Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Webster, 1979).

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[2] Hospitals had initially been set up by missionaries to treat Māori, but became dominated by Pākehā (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991).

Although the Māori population increased substantially from the 1920s to the 1940s, Māori health remained well behind that of Pākehā, with Māori experiencing diseases such as typhoid fever a rate of 40 times the Pākehā rate; while Māori mortality rates were four times that of Pākehā (Lange, 1999). In 1939, hospital treatment was made free, which meant that more Māori could access hospital services when needed (Lange, 1999). In the 1950s Māori deaths from diseases such as typhoid fever and tuberculosis started to decline (Lange, 1999). However, Māori experienced higher rates of diabetes, heart disease, stroke and cancer, and by 1960 the Māori death rate was twice that of Pākehā (Lange, 1999). The 1980s saw Māori initiate their own health programmes, which in some cases involved traditional rongoā (Lange, 1999). By 2001, Māori life expectancy was eight years less than Pākehā, and Māori also lagged behind significantly with regard to employment, education, income, housing and in all factors contributing to health and wellbeing (Lange, 1999).

Māori continue to face challenges to their health and wellbeing. One in five Māori children and two in five Māori are obese, which is well above the national average; and two in five Māori adults smoke (Ministry of Health, 2013). Health conditions such as diabetes, stroke, heart disease, high blood pressure, arthritis and chronic pain are experienced at higher rates by Māori than by Pākehā; and one in five Māori adults and children suffer from asthma (Ministry of Health, 2013). Māori health needs are often not met: in 2013 it was reported that 23% of Māori adults and 8% of Māori children could not afford to see a doctor in the last 12 months; while 18% of Māori adults, and 12% of Māori children could not afford to pay for an item of prescribed medicine in the past 12 months (Ministry of Health, 2013). Māori are more likely than others to have had a tooth extracted in the last 12 months because of poor oral health, and 73% of Māori adults visit a dental health care worker only in the presence of oral health problems, not for routine check-ups (Ministry of Health, 2013).

General Māori health statistics are an indication of what is probably happening at the Tūhoe iwi and Patuheuheu hapū

levels. For the Patuheuheu case in particular, the work of the Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust is contributing towards improving health outcomes for Patuheuheu and other hapū, iwi and individuals who come into their service. However, it is evident that more needs to be done in this area, which requires more services and increased funding.

Potential development

Te Tāpenakara (the 'Tabernacle') is featured in the model as emerging out of mauri whakaora. Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust was established in Waiōhau in 1990 to support whānau who needed the following services: Taha wairua; mirimiri; lomilomi;[3] rongoā; whakawātea; kōrero; and health and wellbeing training (Tupe, 2012). Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust is a community-based whare oranga or healing clinic located in Waiōhau, in the eastern Bay of Plenty (Tupe, 2012).

Te Tāpenakara's vision is to work towards "[a] people filled with strength, vitality and happiness, enjoying a green landscape abundant with the gifts of healing"; and their mission is to "...provide healing to all people" (Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi, 2011, p. 5). The values of the organisation are the mauri of Te Umutaoroa, which have been defined by Te Tāpenakara as follows:

> Mauri atua: Remaining focused on the highest intention of all our work as laid down by our tipuna
>
> Mauri whenua: The foundation upon which all can stand resolute

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[3]   Lomilomi is a Hawaiian word which means to squeeze or knead and in this context refers to massage (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). The Māori equivalent, romiromi means to squeeze, rub gently or massage (Moorfield, 2011).

Mauri tangata: The individual demonstrates the eight cultural imperatives of tapu, tikanga, mana, Mauri, whakapapa, wairua, te reo, and whenua

Mauri whakapono: Unshakeable belief in the ability of the whānau to achieve well-being

Mauri whakaora: Healing all people is held paramount

Mauri whakahoki i ngā iwi kē: Returning people to their beginnings

Mauri hōhonu: To understand the sacredness of the tangata, and that we tread softly upon sacred ground

Mauri pakanga: Awareness that conflict is an opportunity for change, learning and new pathways (Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi, 2011, p. 6).[4]

The principles of Te Umutaoroa have been shaped to best suit the purpose and goals of the organisation in terms of providing a health and wellbeing service. Te Tāpenakara service delivery is based on the Kawakawa model, which is built around the mauri of Te Umutaoroa. Tipene Tihema-Biddle explains:

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[4]   The word pakanga refers to war and conflict (Moorfield, 2011). In spite of the nineteenth century context of colonisation, war and land loss out of which te mauri pakanga emerged, it is not about war in contemporary times. Maudy Tupe emphasises the significance of te mauri pakanga in the following way: Te mauri pakanga is not about violence or war in the sense that we might assume, given the war and land loss that happened to our people in the colonial past. Today, it is actually about conflict resolution, about resetting the balance when someone has trampled on one's mana and mauri (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Te Kooti spoke about mauri atua, mauri tangata, mauri whenua, mauri whakapono, mauri whakahoki, mauri hōhonu, and mauri pakanga. Within those eight dimensions of Te Umutaoroa, through the combination of the powers of those eight mauri, when all of those forces align and reach a certain balance, then it will be time for the land, for the world to regenerate in a different and new manner. The mysteries of the eight mauri will be unravelled and given to the world, to establish peace on earth. This was an important prophecy for the people of Te Houhi i tērā wā [during that time] and it is still important for us today. Throughout the generations we have interpreted the prophecy and adapted it and used it in ways that makes sense to us in this generation, reflecting always on the teachings of our ancestors (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

Giving her explanation of the Kawakawa model, Rita Tupe states:

We have designed a model for assessing our tūroro which contains the eight mauri of Te Umutaoroa. Te Umutaoroa is used as the basis for our assessment model and it is also embedded in our strategic plan. This came about because we wanted to be able to use our very own model in our practice. Although there are models out there that are useful, such as Mason Durie's whare tapawhā model, we wanted to ensure that our model was relevant to us here. We thought, "Why should we go outside of this community to look for models when we have our own kōrero here?" So we all sat here and thought about putting together a model; we thought about the use of the Kawakawa leaf and the umu. With the Kawakawa there is a healing part and there is a part which draws out the mate – to allow the healing part of the Kawakawa leaf to do its

work. So when we work on a person's tinana we use the four sides of the leaf; and different colours come up.

There is a spiritual part and a physical part to the Kawakawa leaf, which relates to the tinana and the wairua. If you look at the Kawakawa leaf there are eight parts to it, which can correspond with the eight mauri of Te Umutaoroa. We visualised the relationships between the eight mauri of Te Umutaoroa, the eight parts of the Kawakawa leaf and how these correspond with the eight chakras of the tinana; even some of our atua Māori correspond with the functions of the eight mauri. Aligning these relationships and connections will advance the healing process; so if all of our eight chakras are clear and aligned, then the tinana is good. These are the origins of the model and strategic plan based on Te Umutaoroa (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Figure 3: Kawakawa service delivery model
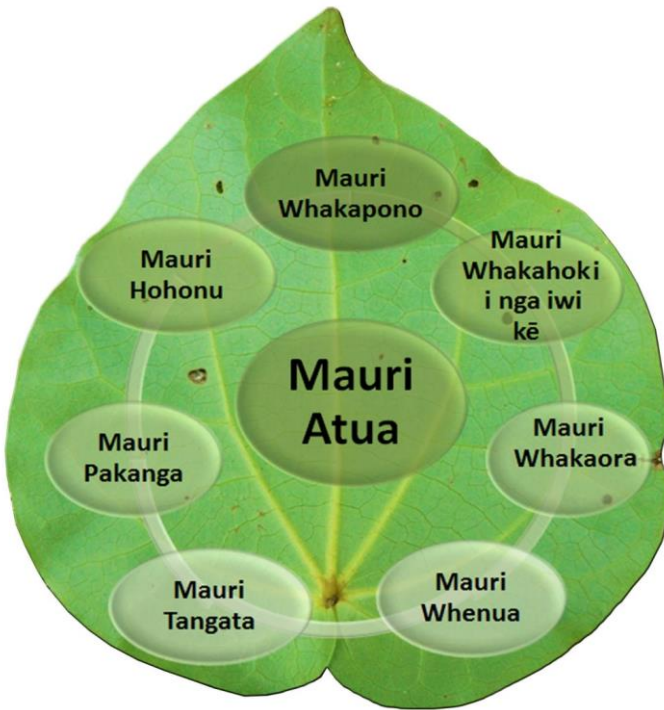
(Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi, 2011, p. 7)

The values of Te Umutaoroa within the Kawakawa Model are explained further by Tipene Tihema-Biddle, who states:

Within Te Tāpenakara, we have to ensure that our mahi is tika and pono. Te mauri atua is focussed on the highest intention of all our work because it is handed down from our ancestors. As part of our practice, te mauri atua ensures that the mahi that te Atua puts on us is carried out within the bonds of tika, pono and aroha, constantly acknowledging a greater source. Ko te mauri atua tērā [that is te mauri atua].

Te mauri whakapono, is the unshakeable belief in the ability of whānau to achieve wellbeing. So those who we come in contact with, those who come for rongoā, those who come for a mamae shoulder. The fact is that clients don't come to us to be healed – it's a misconception that one goes to a healer to be healed. In fact, it is healers who teach people the necessary tools to heal themselves, to be the healers of their own bodies. We as healers, therefore, believe in you and your ability to heal your own body; your own wellbeing is completely about you and we are only there to help you to gain the tools and knowledge necessary to heal yourself.

Te mauri tangata is about the individual demonstrating the eight cultural imperatives inherent within the mauri of Te Umutaoroa. These may include such things as: tikanga, mana, mauri, whakapapa, whenua, te reo Māori, wairua. There are many different interpretations that link up to the eight mauri. For us mauri ora is found when one looks within oneself and becomes the ultimate healer of one's own body.

Te mauri pakanga is about the realisation that conflict is an opportunity for change; it is about conflict resolution, and is quite different from the meaning of pakanga, especially in the nineteenth century context. So for us, conflict is always an opportunity for us to grow and learn.

Te mauri whakaora is about realising that the healing of all living things is paramount - the intent of what we do as healers is bound up in tika, pono and aroha.

Te mauri whenua is the foundation upon which we all stand resolute. The concept of wānanga is relevant here too because of the whakaaro around how I come, and you come, and we all have something to share, together, as one, learning together in the process. We come together to wānanga on neutral ground, here, all on the same level; and we all have knowledge to share with one another. So mauri whenua is about that foundation – a place to stand.

Te mauri whakahoki is about returning people to their beginnings. For many of the clients we have worked with,

particularly from urban settings, returning them to their beginnings may not always seem to be an ideal place to return – especially if trauma has been involved. And so working through the process of returning someone to their beginnings is a something which must be treated with respect and kindness.

Te mauri hōhonu is about understanding the sacredness of people and acknowledging that we must tread cautiously on whatever ground we find ourselves upon in whatever context we are engaged in; be it in a wānanga setting; or in a one on one situation with a client; or in someone's personal environment. It's about treating people with respect (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

Te Tāpenakara uses all eight mauri in its healing practices, which are unique and fulfil the three principles of traditional healing alluded to by Durie (2001): cultural integrity; medical pluralism; and self-determination. It could be argued that the Te Tāpenakara model requires further research, development and funding in order for it to reach its full potential, which could be further realised if Patuheuheu hapū had mana motuhake over their affairs and Treaty settlement. However, because this is not the case (at the moment), Patuheuheu will need to find other avenues and funding streams in order to fund further research and development into health and wellbeing for Patuheuheu and with regard to other social issues such as housing, employment, youth services, kaumātua services and other community- and hapū-based services.

Mauri whakahoki – sustainable resource development and management

Resources derived from the environment are essential to life, but more importantly, sustainable development of these resources is critical to the lives of Patuheuheu hapū because sustainable development ensures that these resources will continue to give life to future generations. Elliot (2006) claims

that "…sustainable development refers to maintaining development over time" (p. 9). Thus, sustainable development is about managing environmental resources in ways that guarantee that the resource will essentially be available forever. Rogers, Jalal and Boyd (2008) state that "[s]ustainability is the term chosen to bridge the gulf between development and environment" (p. 22). The World Commission on Environment and Development (1986) defines sustainable development as that which "…meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (n.p.).

Marsden and Henare (1992) argue that sustainable management and development of environmental resources "…includes the protection of the community's enjoyment of… natural and physical resources" (p. 1). Sustainable management and development of natural resources is inescapably linked to the concept of kaitiakitanga, which is about "…traditional Maori 'guardianship' over such resources as native forests and kaimoana" (Marsden & Henare, 1992, p. 1). According to Whangapirata, Awatere and Nikora (2003):

> The natural environment is an important component of Maori society. Maori maintain a continuing relationship with the land, environment, people and with related spiritual and cosmological entities. Land, mountains, valleys, rocks, water and sea ways are viewed as not only resources, but more importantly, as the primary sources of collective identity (p.1).

When Māori think about the environment, the mauri inherent in all things animate and inanimate is considered in addition to whakapapa connections. It is about the realisation that everything within the Māori universe is connected. As Mikaere (2011) argues:

> With this knowledge of interconnection comes an acute awareness of interdependence, and of the fact

that what affects one will ultimately affect all. This in turn impresses upon humans the need to fulfil our role on the planet in a responsible and thoughtful manner. The wider implications of every decision should be explored. The long-term effects of our actions must be considered. A lack of vigilance in this regard could have dire consequences for our non-human relations, for ourselves and for the generations to come (p. 331).

For Tūhoe, the environment is part of a genealogical matrix within which Tūhoe are located. Mataamua and Temara (2010) contend that "...Tūhoe trace their origins to the ancient union between Te Maunga (the mountain) and Hinepūkohurangi (the mist maiden)" (p. 97). Indeed, "...Tūhoe believe they are the direct descendants of their environment. The mountains and rivers are their ancestors and the forest inhabitants their kin" (Mataamua & Temara, 2010, p. 97). Within this matrix "...all manners of tree, plant, rock, fish, eel stream, pool, lake, bird, rodent, insect and environmental force, have a genealogy and are related either directly or indirectly to the people" (Mataamua & Temara 2010, p. 98).

Mataamua and Temara (2010) opine that "[f]or centuries Tūhoe have maintained a constant relationship with their environment, a bond that connects people to the hills, the rivers, the trees and to all that surrounds them" (Mataamua & Temara, 2010, p. 99). Likewise, as a hapū of Tūhoe, Patuheuheu considers its whakapapa connections to the environment. A very relevant example of this is the way that rongoā is collected. In order to maintain the balance of the mauri between the people who enter the ngahere to gather rongoā and the ngahere itself along with all of the entities that dwell therein, ritual incantations and acknowledgement must always be performed. As Mataamua and Temara (2010) state: "No physical task was undertaken without consulting the appropriate deity and reaffirming the relationship with the environment" (p. 99). Sharing her experience of going into the ngahere to collect rongoā, local healer, Rita Tupe insists:

> When I go to the ngahere, what am I supposed to do first? Should I go into the ngahere and rape and desecrate the treasures therein? To maintain the balance of things, ka timata wā tātou mahi i roto i ngā karakia [we begin our rongoā-gathering within a context of thanksgiving] (R. Tupe, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

Because the mauri of individuals and the mauri of all animate and inanimate objects moves outwards to connect with higher levels of organisation (Durie, 2001), in addition to offering invocations of thanksgiving to the spiritual guardians of the forest, Rita points out that one's intentions are also important when gathering rongoā:

> When collecting rongoā in the ngahere, our father Hieke taught us to make sure we are prepared spiritually and emotionally. We must ask ourselves: what are our intentions? Is my intention to go to the ngahere, collect the rongoā, bring it home to cook and prepare, and then sell it? Or, is my intention to help someone else who is sick and needs the rongoā? We must go to the ngahere with the proper whakaaro – whakaaro pai ki ngā tāngata katoa [good intentions toward all people] (R. Tupe, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

Sustainable resource development for Patuheuheu requires the asking of the kinds of questions posed by Rita, acknowledging the impacts of individuals and groups on the environment in both seen and unseen ways. Crengle (1993), James (1993) and Tomas (1994) contend that whānau, hapū and iwi members are kaitiaki of their environment for present and future generations. Therefore, Patuheuheu, as Indigenous people, are the keepers of their environment and as such should not only be consulted about changes but should be in charge of them. According to Bruyere:

> Indigenous peoples are the base of what I guess could be called the environmental security system. We are the gate-keepers of success or failure to husband our resources. For many of us, however, the last few centuries have meant a major loss of control over our lands and waters. We are still the first to know about changes in the environment, but we are now the last to be asked or consulted (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1986, n.p.).

Current sustainable resource development and management situation in Waiōhau

Most land in Waiōhau is currently leased to, mostly Pākehā, dairy farmers who live outside Waiōhau. Previously these had been long-term leases. More recently however, land owners and land trusts have developed strategies that will encourage self-development and self-management of their lands. An example of this is that some of the lands are leased out on a yearly basis, as opposed to leases of 15 to 25 years. Landowners and trusts are taking more responsibility with regard to the environmental effects that dairying has on land and waterways.

The harvesting of forests within the rohe has been completed by contractors within the last two years in some areas and is ongoing in others. After growing for 35 years, trees were felled and transported to the port of Tauranga, in the Western Bay of Plenty, for export. Approximately 12 Waiōhau locals were employed by contractors. These lands have now been replanted and will be harvested in 35 years time. Land use in Waiōhau includes sheep farming, beef farming, beekeeping, maize cropping and other plant cropping.

The concept of a super farm (dairying) in Waiōhau is being researched by the Ministry of Primary Industries, landowners, and land trusts in Waiōhau. A feasibility study has been completed. Much planning and resources have been invested in this initiative. However, further research and development will

be required to enable landowners and land trusts to make informed decisions that will benefit the stakeholders.

Potential development

Sustainable resource development is about creating opportunities to harness and grow natural resources in ways that are aligned with Patuheuheu values, and which contribute to the asset base and income level of Patuheuheu hapū. Potential ventures which may contribute to Patuheuheu aspirations include the development of rongoā products for distribution; planting, harvesting and processing lavender and ginseng; beekeeping and honey production; bottling of spring water; superfarm potential; geothermal potential; forestry potential on whānau lands as well as other plant crops (this may include the revitalisation of vintage fruit tree varieties for example); organic/free-range farming; watercress farming; koura, tuna and trout farming, processing and distribution; and large-scale solar and wind energy harvesting.

Mauri whenua – environmental management

Over a millennium in Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori developed their own resource management system based on whakapapa relationships to the environment (Manatu Maori, 1991). This means that Māori address the concept of environmental sustainability through their experience of these relationships (de Freitas & Perry, 2012). The objective of the Māori resource management system is to ensure that there is a balance of the mauri of all living things in relation to the resources (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1993) because, "[i]n the traditional Maori view, everything in the natural world possesses mauri (the physical life force) which is protected by kaitiaki (spiritual guardian) or atua (deity)" (Manatu Maori, 1991, p. 2). Forming part of this management system are practices connected to cultural concepts such as "...tapu, rahui, whakanoa and a whole range of tikanga specific to particular resources such as

harakeke (flax), tuna (eels), ika (fish), waimaori (water) and whenua (land)" (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1993, p. 6).

Whenua means placenta, land, ground, country, and is central to Māori identity and wellbeing (Pere, 1991). Whenua is essentially about life. According to Pere (1991): "The placenta embracing and cherishing the child in the womb, is also called whenua. The land which is also called whenua offers one the same feeling of the warmth, security, nourishment and sustenance, a feeling of belonging" (p. 22). For Māori, the concept of whenua as land and the concept of whenua as placenta are inseparable and indubitably convey the fundamental connections of Māori to the environment. The Māori world view reflects the whakapapa relationships of humans and all living things to the primordial parents, Papa-tū-ā-nuku and Rangi-nui, and to each other; everything is connected. Indeed "... the sense of interrelatedness between people and nature creates a sense of belonging to nature, rather than being ascendant to it, as humans are born from "mother earth" and return to her on their death" (Manatu Maori, 1991, p. 2). Therefore "[r]espect for and appreciation of the natural environment should be encouraged and fostered...[because] Maori tradition emphasises the need to live as closely as possible with nature, to learn about it, to understand it" (Pere, 1991, p. 22).

Māori are organised into three levels – whānau, hapū and iwi – which hold mana whenua over land which they have continuously occupied; those who maintain mana whenua over a particular place are known as tangata whenua (Manatu Maori, 1991). The relationships of tangata whenua to the whenua "...extend to the past of their ancestors, and to the future. It is from these links that rights over the land are derived" (Manatu Maori, 1991, p. 3). The concept and principle of kaitiakitanga is critical to the relationship that tangata whenua have with whenua. Kaitiakitanga can be described as a "...Māori environmental management system developed to protect the mauri (life principle) of taonga (valued resources) for sustainable use and management of natural resources" (de Freitas & Perry, 2012, p. 20). The root word of kaitiakitanga is

tiaki, which is to guard, keep, protect, or conserve, and in the context of environmental resource development includes guardianship; wise management; and resource indicators – these are when the resources themselves, for example the fish in the river, signify the condition of their own mauri (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1993, p. 6). Embedded within the notion of kaitiakitanga:

> …is the understanding that members of the present generation have a responsibility, passed to them by preceeding generations, to care for their natural environment. Kaitiakitanga carries with it an obligation not only to care for the natural world, but also for each generation, by ensuring that a viable livelihood is passed on (Manatu Maori, 1991, pp. 3-4).

The Māori system of managing natural resources "…recognises the need to balance human need with the survival of a species or resource (the protection of its mauri)" (Manatu Maori, 1991, p. 3). Within the Māori world, natural resources are managed using cultural concepts such as tapu and rāhui (Manatu Maori, 1991). The concept of tapu "…implies a prohibition which, if violated would have calamitous consequences… (Manatu Maori, 1991, p. 3). Tapu may be placed over a particular site in order to restrict access to that place and prevent people from gathering food there or disturbing that location in any way; this could, for example, be a burial site, or a place where an ancient battle occurred (Moorfield, 2011). The concept of rāhui "…is a temporary form of prohibition used to preserve birds, fish, or any natural product" (Manatu Maori, 1991, p. 3). The mana to exercise tapu and mana is assigned to Māori by atua, through whakapapa; and the act of exercising mana is known as rangatiratanga (Manatu Maori, 1991).

The Resource Management Act 1991 provides statutory recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi in relation to environmental management and acknowledges the imperative

Māori cultural concepts of kaitiakitanga and tino rangatiratanga (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1993). "The goal of environmental management is the maintenance of mauri through the exercise of kaitiakitanga" (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1993, p. 6). The intention of the Act is to recognise and protect ancestral lands, waters, historical sites, wāhi tapu and other taonga while accepting iwi- and hapū-derived resource management plans – a policy document articulating the significant issues for iwi and hapū in relation to the management of natural and physical resources (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1993). Thus, the Act insists that "...all resource managers and developers consult Maori people and take into account Maori spiritual and cultural values, including the principle of kaitiakitanga – an ethic of stewardship" (Horsley, 1995, p. 360).

Current environmental management situation in Waiōhau
Landowners and land trusts have identified the need to not only consider environmental concerns but also to embrace a holistic approach to land management more closely aligned with traditional Māori values and whakapapa connections to Papa-tū-ā-nuku. An example of this is where landowners and land trusts ensure that the leasee, most often a Pākehā dairy farmer, complies with lease conditions based on environmental enhancement. Some of these conditions may include riparian planting to prevent erosion and to encourage aquatic life; improved fencing to prevent stock-generated contamination to the waterways; weed control; and appropriate stock-to-land ratios.

Research and development is ongoing around the future revitalisation, reinstatement and protection of the tuna or eel (long-finned[5] and short-finned[6]) which have been adversely affected by hydro-electric dams. The Rangitaiki River, which flows through Waiōhau, is the 'life-blood' of Patuheuheu. Three

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[5] *Anguilla dieffenbachii.*
[6] *Anguilla australis.*

dams have been built on the Rangitaiki River: Wheao; Aniwhenua (Aniwaniwa); and Matahina (Waiōhau is located between the Aniwhenua and Matahina dams). A process of 'trap and transfer' is in place in order to assist the life-cycle of tuna, with a particular focus on helping the endangered long-finned tuna. The 'trap and transfer' process involves trapping adult tuna and transporting them beyond the dams so that they can access the sea and travel to their breeding grounds. This process also involves trapping elvers at the bottom of all three dams and transferring them into waterways above the dam. This process is essential because the long-finned tuna breeds only once in its lifetime. Long-finned tuna swim thousands of kilometres to the warmer waters of the Pacific, where they spawn and die. The eggs return to Aotearoa New Zealand on the currents of the Pacific Ocean, where they hatch and the elvers make their way upstream.

Potential development

everything within the Māori universe is interconnected. Therefore human actions have both positive and negative impacts on the environment. Māori are descended from the primordial parents, Papa-tū-ā-nuku and Rangi-nui, and so have a duty to be kaitiaki of, and live in harmony with, the environment. As kaitiaki of their environment, Patuheuheu have a responsibility to ensure that all aspects of the whenua, awa, and ngahere are maintained and developed in ways that enhance the relationship of Patuheuheu to Papa-tū-ā-nuku. This responsibility includes protecting wāhi tapu; protecting and revitalising native plant and animal species in the ngahere and awa; working to improve the water quality of the awa, so that aquatic life can thrive in balance; and pest control and elimination.

Mauri tangata – housing

Housing is an essential part of hapū development because it is about ensuring that the basic human need of shelter is provided

for. In traditional times Māori lived in familial groupings within kāinga or pā that included rectangular wharepuni, constructed of timber and organic materials, and other buildings such as wharenui, kāuta and pātaka (Schrader, 2005). According to Pere (1991):

> The traditional Maori Kainga can relate to an unfortified residence consisting of one or more homes that were seen to have open fires for cooking and warmth. It was the family place where each person learnt an important part of their scope of work. Children had to learn about some of the restrictions and boundaries that existed for them. Much of their learning took place through involvement and participation either at work or sitting around the fire (Pere, 1991, p. 18)

After contact with Pākehā, some Māori started to build European-style houses. However, most Māori continued to reside in their traditional dwellings, sometimes blending in aspects of Pākehā building style, such as higher roofs or glass windows (Schrader, 2005). From the late 1800s there were concerns about the spread of Pākehā diseases through overcrowding, contaminated water, poor sanitation and ineffectual housing, and so inspectors were assigned; houses were demolished and replaced with European-style houses – some of these houses were built through government housing schemes (Schrader, 2005).

Following the First World War, Māori started to move from their rural homes into the cities; and after the Second World War, even more Māori, particularly young Māori, migrated into the cities (Schrader, 2005). However, Māori experienced issues in terms of their ability to rent good housing, because Pākehā landlords generally did not want Māori as tenants; to solve this issue, hostels and boarding houses were set up for young Māori (Schrader, 2005). From 1944, state houses specifically for Māori were set up; these homes were not intended to suit a Māori lifestyle because they could not accommodate extended family

(Schrader, 2005). Furthermore, home ownership for Māori was less likely due to higher unemployment rates, larger families and lower incomes (Schrader, 2005; Waldegrave, King, Walker and Fitzgerald, 2006). According to Waldegrave et al. (2006):

> Barriers to achieving home ownership for Māori include: high and rising housing costs and the difficulty of obtaining finance; lack of knowledge about homeownership; difficulty of accessing services and information; low motivation; discrimination; high bureaucratic costs in both urban and rural environments; and high development costs especially in rural areas (p. 11).

In the late twentieth century new housing schemes emerged that aimed to increase the rates of Māori home ownership. Māori were more involved in these schemes and had a greater capacity to try to solve housing issues for themselves (Schrader, 2005, 2013). Some schemes allowed Māori to take out low-interest loans to build homes on multiple-title Māori land; other schemes included partnerships between Māori trusts and the state (Schrader, 2005, 2013). Schrader (2013) points out a number of more recent housing schemes targeted at Māori:

> The Rural Housing Programme began in 2001 to renovate and replace housing. Between 2001/02 and 2010/11 nearly $140 million was spent on the scheme and 2,900 houses repaired.
> Community Owned Rural Rental Housing Loans ran between 2002 and 2008 and provided $6.6 million in low-interest loans to Māori trusts to build rental housing. Units were then leased back to Housing New Zealand for 10 years.
> Special Housing Action Zones began in 2000 and continued in 2013. It partnered government housing agencies and charitable trusts with Māori communities to build new housing and has been

among the most successful Māori housing interventions.

Some urban Māori received housing support from Māori urban authorities and trusts. However, most remained reliant on social housing providers such as Housing New Zealand (in 2006, 12% of the Māori population lived in Housing New Zealand housing) or the market to meet their accommodation needs (n.p).

However, many of the problems surrounding Māori housing, such as sub-standard, overcrowded, cold and damp homes, continued into the twenty-first century (Schrader, 2013; Waldegrave et al, 2006). Schrader (2013) contends that in 2006, 23% of Māori lived in overcrowded homes, which is almost six times the rate for Pākehā; just like the generations before, these types of conditions encouraged poor health among Māori (Schrader, 2013). Schrader (2013) asserts that in 2009 Māori children aged 5-14 experienced acute rheumatic fever at a rate ten times that of Pākehā, due in part to household overcrowding; while low incomes and rising house prices continued to hinder Māori home ownership, which remain well below Pākehā rates.

From 2010, the Whānau Ora scheme – a government initiative designed to improve socio-economic outcomes for Māori – was introduced. The aim of Whānau Ora, Schrader (2013) argues "…was to reduce welfare dependency among Māori by making them financially independent and healthy members of society" (n.p.). In terms of Māori housing, Schrader (2013) maintains:

The policy acknowledged that housing was only one element to Māori wellbeing: health, education and legal issues were important too. The vision was for government housing agencies to work with Māori trusts to build housing for Māori who were prepared to be part of Whānau Ora – this might include agreeing to things such as not

smoking and not drinking excessively. The scheme, initiated by the Māori Party, highlighted how Māori solutions to housing problems had now become part of mainstream thinking (n.p.).

Current housing situation in Waiōhau

There are four Housing New Zealand rental homes located in Waiōhau; under the current government there are home ownership options for these rental homes. There are 50 or so homes in Waiōhau that are owned by whānau or individuals. These homes are in reasonable condition. Around ten of these homes were constructed between 1940 and 1950; these were the old Māori Affairs houses. A further ten or so homes in Waiōhau were built between the 1960s and mid 1970s; these homes were purchased through the Housing Corporation scheme. Other homes in Waiōhau consist of a school house built in 1923 (Little, 1973, p.31), a number of farm houses, and other homes built after the mid 1970s.

Potential development

Waldegrave et al. (2006) claim that the most effective housing models for Māori are those that take into consideration social, spiritual, economic, cultural and historical factors. Hosking, Te Nana, Rhodes, Guy and Sage (2002) argue that "[n]ew housing solutions tailored to the specific needs of Māori communities are fundamental to Māori social, cultural and economic aspirations of the 21st century" (p. 4). Communal living was a normal part of Māori society in traditional times. Thus, there is a trend within Māori housing networks towards designing and building housing that is conducive to Māori communal living practices, such as those suited to papa kāinga developments (Hoskings et al., 2002). Modern communal living practices on papa kāinga developments may include shared water supply (rainwater tanks/bore supply) and operation (water distribution); shared solar and wind energy; shared access to external power supply (in times where solar and wind

generation is less than optimal); shared infrastructure in relation to roading, footpaths, driveways; communal gardens and orchards; and communal living spaces (Hoskings et al., 2002). According to Waldegrave et al. (2006) housing design for Māori must be able to accommodate extended whānau:

> …communal spaces should be open to enabling transitions between living and cooking areas and also enabling the living areas to be converted into sleeping quarters. The other important aspect is the need for a clear separation between living areas and the bathrooms, toilets and laundry (pp. 11-12).

Modern housing trends take into consideration the impacts on the environment of materials, energy use, water usage and waste management. According to Hoskings et al. (2002), energy efficient designs are required, including: greater thermal mass in building, with up to 200mm floor slab thickness, and floor slab insulation of 40mm polystyrene; super insulation, that is, building insulation that is above code requirements; a northern orientation, maximising windows facing the north and minimising those to the south; double-glazed windows; and solar water heating. Another significant design feature relates to the use of flooring material such as insulated pumice aggregate concrete, which absorbs heat from the sun during the day and releases this energy at night (Hosking, 2013). There has also been a trend toward the idea of 'zero energy' housing – housing that draws on renewable energy sources, such as solar and wind – in order to limit impacts on the environment. Other trends include using materials such as recycled wood, mud and straw bricks, paint, varnishes and stains derived from natural sources, and other environmentally sustainable materials. In terms of energy use, housing exists where solar and wind generation provides for most of the energy needs of the home. Excess energy produced can be sold to an electricity provider. Some homes even have the ability to store surplus energy for future use. The orientation of 'zero energy' houses in relation to

the sun is important in order to maximise the sun's energy for both solar energy harvesting and to keep the home warm during the cooler months. Large double- or even triple-glazed windows capture and trap the sun's heat in the cooler months, while shades are used to keep the home cool in warmer months.

Rainwater can be collected and filtered for drinking and 'grey' water can be collected from baths, showers and basins and re-used in the garden, or treated and recycled for use in the toilet. However, the use of a composting toilet would remove the need to use water in the toilet at all. The very notion of polluting water with human waste is not truly congruent with a Māori world view. Everything within the Māori universe is linked together. For Māori, fresh water is of physical and spiritual importance. As a giver and sustainer of life, fresh water provides for the physical needs of Māori; and it is also a potent spiritual cleansing agent. Composting toilets do not use water, but instead use aerobic bacteria to transform excreta into compost.

Mauri pakanga – critical education and praxis
Education is the most important aspect of hapū development because knowledge is power. Patuheuheu, like all Māori, have been oppressed through mission and state education policies and practices in the past. Simon (1990) and Johnston (1998) argue that state education policies and practices sought to purposefully discriminate against Māori and limit Māori access to knowledge and, therefore, to power. These oppressive policies and practices have had terrible consequences for Māori. Simon (1990) states that "…the cumulative effects – both psychological and economic – of past policies and practices which have, over generations eroded the initial enthusiasm and aptitude of Maori for school learning and replaced them with resentment, mistrust, anxiety or apathy" (Simon, 1990, p. 148). In Freirean theory, it is essential that the oppressed gain a critical understanding of their oppression and make positive changes in their lives in order to bring about transformation of their reality. Critical education and praxis, therefore, is fundamental to hapū development in a contemporary context.

For Māori in traditional times, the educational process began in the womb with words of instruction and encouragement chanted to the unborn child; shortly following birth, tohunga prepared the child for his or her future role through karakia (Hemara, 2000). Children were trained in their roles and status, and learned the necessary skills in order to benefit their whānau and hapū; as children grew, further "...skills were built upon so that they could sustain spiritual, intellectual and physical wellbeing" (Hemara, 2000, p. 11). Games were used as a means of crystallising the pedagogy (Hemara, 2000). From around age 12, some children were selected, because of their particular whakapapa and abilities, to enter into the whare wānanga – a special school of esoteric instruction similar to a medieval monastery or university (Hemara, 2000). According to Hemara (2000), since arriving in Aotearoa, Māori practised a variety of pedagogy and curricula including:

- students and teachers were at the centre of the educative process
- life-long intergenerational learning was normal
- students undertook gradual learning from a familiar starting point
- curricula were mixed and complementary
- giftedness was recognised and encouraged
- learning and teaching were conducted out of students' strengths
- small student numbers were normal
- one-on-one interaction was important (p. 5).

Indigenous Māori pedagogy and curricula was severely impacted upon by colonisation. Simon (1990) argues that Pākehā domination over Māori was achieved in the first 50 years of colonisation using "...a combination of processes rationalized through ideologies of 'race', including the large-scale alienation

of Maori land and the establishing of the capitalist mode of production" (p. 66).

The missionaries were the first to educate Māori using European pedagogies. Like the settlers, missionaries viewed Māori as heathens who needed to be civilised and Christianised. The first mission school was established in 1816 at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands by Thomas Kendall of the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) (Calman, 2012a; Simon, 1990; Simon, Smith, L. T., Smith, G. H., McNaughton, Mathews, Smith, W., Pihama, Hēperi & Tuteao, 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). Māori came to believe that Pākehā education and skills such as literacy would help them to deal with the settlers; however, there were limits to how helpful Pākehā education would be to Māori at this stage (Calman, 2012a; Simon, 1990; Simon et al., 1998). Simon (1990) states that while "…Maori sought schooling as a means to greater control over their lives, the missionaries and government, in providing such schooling, were concerned to gain control over the Maori" (p. 67).

Māori were quick to attain literacy; those who had been mission educated taught this knowledge to other Māori, and by the early 1840s half of the adult Māori population was literate to some extent (Calman, 2012a; Simon, 1990; Simon et al., 1998). When the missionary and chief protector of aborigines, George Clarke, travelled through Hauraki and Waikato in late 1840 he discovered that Māori were running their own village schools; but because the only reading material was the scriptures, interest in school declined (Calman, 2012a; Simon, 1990; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

George Grey, Governor of New Zealand from 1845-1853 and 1860-1868, developed the state's racial assimilation policies, which were based on the perceived racial superiority of British civilisation and which remained central to Māori education policies until the 1930s (Calman, 2012a; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). Following open warfare with Māori in the mid-1840s, Pākehā viewed education as a way of placating Māori; it was believed too that Māori were destined to be a labouring class for Pākehā settlers (Calman, 2012a; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

Through his Education Ordinance 1847, Grey provided some support for the mission schools based on religious instruction; industrial training; instruction in the English language (although many mission schools taught in te reo Māori); and government inspection (Calman, 2012 a; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). Building upon this system, the Native Schools Act 1858 provided funding for the schools; however, the majority of the mission schools were closed by the New Zealand wars of the 1860s (Calman, 2012a; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

After the New Zealand wars, the Native Schools Act 1867 created a national system of village primary schools controlled by the Native Department; Māori had to provide the land for schools and initially had to contribute to the teacher costs (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). In 1879 the native schools that had been established were transferred to the Department of Education (started two years earlier); in 1880 the Native School Code regulated the conditions for establishing schools, hours of operation, governance and curriculum; and in 1894 school became mandatory for Māori (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

The main purpose of these schools was to teach the English language (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). Te reo Māori was initially used as the means of teaching, but over time te reo Māori was heavily discouraged; in later years, Māori children were punished harshly for speaking te reo Māori at school (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). Māori at this time were generally very secure in their Māori language and identity, and many encouraged the learning of Pākehā language and skills in order to be successful in an increasingly Pākehā world. The curriculum included basic reading, writing and arithmetic, but was more focussed on manual instruction and personal hygiene (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

Sir Āpirana Ngata instigated a Māori cultural renaissance in the 1920s and introduced Māori arts and crafts in the 1930s; this was an indication of the end of previously hard-nosed assimilation policy (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon

& Smith, 2001). Secondary schooling was made free in the 1930s, but Māori had very limited access to this level of education because secondary schools were located in urban centres, and Māori generally lived in rural areas; less than 1,000 Māori children went to secondary school in the late 1930s (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). Until the 1940s, church-run boarding schools provided most post-primary education for Māori (Calman, 2012c). From 1941, native district high schools were established by attaching secondary departments to existing native schools; initially these native secondary units were geared toward manual instruction, until the introduction of a national examination, School Certificate, in 1945 (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

The Māori population experienced rapid growth and Māori became more and more urban; as a result of this, the number of Māori in mainstream schools surpassed the number of Māori in the native schools, which became known as 'Māori schools' after 1947 (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). From the mid-1950s, the Department of Education made plans to transfer the Māori schools to regional education boards; however, supporters of the Māori schools argued that Māori schools accommodated Māori learning needs more effectively than did mainstream schools (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). The 1960 Hunn Report argued that Māori were disadvantaged in terms of education, health, employment and housing, and so recommended integration, rather than assimilation, meaning that Pākehā and Māori were to attend the same schools; in 1969, the remainder of the Māori schools were transferred to regional education boards (Calman, 2012b; Simon, 1990; Simon & Smith, 2001). While the recommendations of the Hunn Report seemed to be about combining "…the Maori and pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct" (Hunn, 1961, p. 15), the lack of equity between Pākehā and Māori only served to support the dominance of Pākehā (Simon, 1990).

The Hunn Report highlighted the wide educational disparities between Māori and Pākehā and led to a large amount

of research which theorised about Māori deficits (Simon, 1990). The research supported the dominant view that Pākehā were superior to Māori by arguing that Māori were culturally deficient, and were therefore much less successful in education (Simon, 1990). However, this view was challenged in 1967 by the New Zealand Educational Institute's report, which argued that Māori culture was not deficient or inferior to Pākehā culture, but was simply different (Johnston, 1998; Simon, 1990). In the 1960s, Māori voices of protest emerged to confront the racism of state policies and practices; but the Department of Education was purposely selective about how it approached Māori issues, for example, consistently disregarding calls for bilingual education (Simon, 1990).

In the 1970s to the mid-1980s state policies and practices were affected by Māori resistance and protest (Simon, 1990). One example is how, in 1976, the Tūhoe community of Rūātoki insisted that the Minister of Education allow for the establishment of a bilingual school where the primary language of instruction was te reo Māori; the school was set up the next year, which inspired some other communities to follow this example (Simon, 1990). Regarding the movement toward bilingual schools, Simon (1990) states: "...at the behest of Maori, the Department was now applying resources to 'undo' the effects of its earlier policies" (p. 143).

An eruption of Māori-driven initiatives in the 1980s paved the way for increased levels Māori educational success (Calman, 2012d; Simon, 1990). In 1913 over 90% of Māori children could speak te reo Māori, but by 1975 only 5% of Māori children could speak their own language; the kōhanga reo movement, based on total Māori language immersion, was established in 1982 and was a direct response to the parlous state of te reo Māori (Calman, 2012d). The kōhanga reo movement was initiated by the desire of Māori to save their language. Since its establishment more than 60,000 children have been educated in kōhanga reo and the movement endures as a critical platform for te reo Māori revitalisation (Calman, 2012d).

Kura kaupapa Māori are state schools that are located philosophically within a Māori world view and deliver the

curriculum in te reo Māori (Calman, 2012d). The first kura kaupapa Māori was established in 1985 (Calman, 2012d). Kura kaupapa Māori, like kōhanga reo, are critical to the continued revitalisation and retention of te reo Māori.

Wānanga are Māori tertiary institutions that were established by Māori to revitalise te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori in order to support Māori advancement in higher education; wānanga give 'second chance' learners, in particular, an opportunity to succeed in education where they may not have otherwise succeeded (Calman, 2012d). Te Wānanga o Raukawa based in Ōtaki, established in 1981, was the first wānanga (Calman, 2012d). Te Wānanga o Aotearoa followed in 1984, and in 2009 had 21,000 full-time students, which positioned the institution as the second largest tertiary institution in Aotearoa New Zealand (Calman, 2012d). Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, based in Whakatāne, opened its doors in 1992; in 2004, it was accredited to teach programmes to the doctoral level, which is a world first for an Indigenous tertiary education provider (Calman, 2012d).

Current education situation in Waiōhau

Te Kōhanga Reo o Tama ki Hikurangi is located on Patuheuheu marae, Waiōhau. The kōhanga is licensed for 25 tamariki, including five under two years of age; in 2012 there were ten tamariki - five girls and five boys (Education Review Office, 2012a). The kōhanga locates its pedagogy within a hapū epistemological context (Education Review Office, 2012a). Kaiako share their knowledge of Tūhoe reo and tikanga with the belief and hope that the tamariki will become the hapū knowledge keepers of the future (Education Review Office, 2012a). The tamariki and kaimahi co-construct the learning, which is informed by the cultural context and local environment:

> Children learn about their cultural context and their responsibilities as tangata whenua. They engage comfortably in welcoming visitors to their

kōhanga reo. Children are familiar with kawa and tikanga. They are active participants, observers and supporters of various hui at their marae. Children are familiar with waiata tawhito, whaikorero and karakia. The urupa, the ngahere, maara kai, wai and the whenua are used to emphasise the importance of sustaining and maintaining their culture (Education Review Office, 2012a, p. 19).

The community engages with and supports the kōhanga reo. Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust kaimahi visit regularly with the tamariki and kaimahi of Te Kōhanga Reo o Tama ki Hikurangi:

Health clinic personnel [kaimahi from Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust] work closely with the kōhanga reo. Children attend the health clinic weekly and receive massages, intended to enhance their physical and spiritual wellbeing. Children learn about healthy eating, good hygienic practices and eco-studies about their land and water as part of the health programme. Whanaungatanga ties are extended when local kōhanga reo come together. Children enjoy the many advantages of belonging to their hapū (Education Review Office, 2012a, p. 19).

The tamariki and kaimahi of Te Kōhanga Reo o Tama ki Hikurangi are intimately connected to the hapū and the Waiōhau community; this includes a close relationship with the local school, Te Kura Māori-ā-rohe o Waiōhau (Education Review Office, 2012a). According to the Education Review Office (2012a): "Whanaungatanga in this small, rural, community is very important to them. The kura [Te Kura Māori-ā-rohe o Waiōhau] whānau has established links with the kōhanga reo and a transition to school programme is in place" (p. 19). Te

Kura Māori-ā-rohe o Waiōhau is a state school that emerged out of the Kura Kaupapa Māori movement.

Te Kura Māori-ā-rohe o Waiōhau is a decile 1 school located in Waiōhau. In 2012 there were 19 girls and 13 boys. Students from Whakatāne, Murupara, Kawerau, Te Teko and Galatea attend the school. The goal of the kura is to ensure that te reo Māori and the tikanga of Ngāi Tūhoe is a fundamental part of the teaching and learning (Education Review Office, 2012b). To achieve this "Kaumātua input is integral to the learning programme. They willingly share their knowledge and expertise of ngā kōrero tuku iho, whakairo and rāranga" (Education Review Office, 2012b, p. 12). Furthermore, "[s]tudents hear excellent models of te reo Māori o Ngāi Tūhoe. Tikanga and kawa are modelled in authentic settings. Students effectively carry out the different leadership roles and responsibilities on their marae" (Education Review Office, 2012b, p. 12).

Te Ōati o te Kura, a framework based on Te Umutaoroa, is the philosophical base of the school. Located within the paradigm of te mana motuhake o Tūhoe, the curriculum is based on the eight principles of Te Umutaoroa. The Education Review Office (2012b) states: "The[se] principles influence the kura structure, organisation and practice and relationships. They also incorporate student and whānau aspirations" (p. 13). Furthermore, Te Kooti's Ringatū faith informs the pedagogy while "[k]arakia sets the tone for the day's activities, and helps to settle and focus students on the tasks ahead" (Education Review Office, 2012b, p. 12).

Commenting on the overall culture of the school, the Education Review Office (2012b) maintains:

> Students demonstrate a strong sense of belonging and wellbeing in this environment. They are secure in their cultural identity, cultural heritage, and whakapapa, and they embrace the legacies of their tīpuna. The expectation is that all students will learn and achieve to their fullest potential as descendants of Ngāti Haka [and] Patuheuheu. Student learning is steeped in the

knowledge of knowing who they are and where they belong (Education Review Office, 2012b, p. 11).

Potential development

Critical pedagogy, or critical education, is about conscientisation or the development of critical consciousness (Burbules & Berk, 1999). According to the Freire Institute (2014), conscientisation is "[t]he process of developing a critical awareness of one's social reality through reflection and action. Action is fundamental because it is the process of changing the reality" (n.p.). Part of developing a critical consciousness is being critical of power relationships and social institutions and traditions that maintain oppression (Freire, 1970). Critical pedagogy involves Freire's idea of reading the word and reading the world, which describes a process of reading the word and the world in order to decode power relationships and social dynamics and forces, to reveal the way the world is, and to generate solutions and potential around how the world might be (Freire & Macedo, 1987). The purpose of critical pedagogy, therefore, is to facilitate, for an oppressed group, a critical awareness of their oppression as a starting point for praxis, which Freire (1970) describes as action and reflection. Commenting on Freire's notion of praxis as action and reflection, the Freire Institute (2014) argues:

> It is not enough for people to come together in dialogue in order to gain knowledge of their social reality. They must act together upon their environment in order to critically reflect upon their reality and so transform it through further action and critical reflection (n.p.).

The researcher has developed an education model based on the eight mauri of Te Umutaoroa.

Figure 4: Mauri pakanga critical education and praxis framework

Explanation of the mauri pakanga critical education and praxis framework

Mauri atua: Teacher respects wairuatanga or the spiritual dimension of the student.

Mauri whenua: Teacher respects the physical, cultural and spiritual significance of whenua as a critical part of Māori identity.

Mauri tangata: Teacher respects the mana or authority and prestige of the students by demonstrating reciprocity, generosity.

Mauri whakapono: Teacher acknowledges the power of self-belief, combined with action, as a critical part of educational transformation and development.

Mauri whakaora: Teaching practice contributes to a programme of social, cultural, spiritual and psychological wellbeing for students.

Mauri hōhonu: Teacher deeply, sincerely and critically reflects on the application and impacts of their teaching practice and considers how this practice contributes to positive change within the educational context and the wider community.

Mauri pakanga: In the nineteenth century context of Te Kooti's prophecy, pakanga refers to war in terms of physical resistance to colonisation. However, in today's context, this resistance is no longer physical, but political. Since education is itself a political process, it is essential, within the context of this educational framework, that one's teaching practice contribute to conscientisation, action and reflection, and should mirror Freire's (1970) idea that the oppressed must participate in the practice of freedom as agents of transformation within the educational context, the community, and indeed, the world.

Mauri whakahoki: Teaching practice contributes to a programme of restoration for students in terms of reclaiming space, self-determination and positive transformation.

Mauri hōhonu – research

Research on Māori goes back to the time of contact with Pākehā (Teariki & Spoonley, 1992; Smith, 1999; Stokes, 1985). Smith (1999) comments that …"'research', is probably one of

the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (p. 1). Research is connected to imperialism, colonialism and power; European explorers travelled to other lands and researched the Indigenous 'other' through their colonial gaze (Smith, 1999). Smith (1999) contends that 'othering' research by Europeans about Indigenous people framed the discourse surrounding the perception and treatment of Indigenous people. These imperial accounts became universal 'truths' or rather misrepresentations about Indigenous people. The West has always seen itself as the ethnocentric core of authentic knowledge, and all other forms of knowledge have been constructed as 'other' and thus inferior to Western knowledge (Smith, 1999).

For Indigenous communities to benefit, research must be carried out by Indigenous researchers or by researchers who work alongside Indigenous communities (Smith, 1999). Smith (1999) advocates a process of decolonisation through Indigenous-driven research agendas which seek to reclaim space for Indigenous peoples, and challenge Western knowledge and perceptions about Indigenous communities. There has been a history of Māori being used as subjects for academic research in ways that did not value the Māori world view. Research that respects and values the Māori world view is known as Kaupapa Māori research. The research methodology for this work is based on Kaupapa Māori ideology, as demonstrated by the Rangihau model (see figure 2). Rangihau's model locates Māoritanga at the centre and Pākehātanga on the periphery. The very act of pushing Pākehātanga to the margin is an act of resistance that promotes Māori ways of seeing and being in the world.

John Rangihau was from the Tūhoe iwi, and was intimately linked to Patuheuheu amongst other Tūhoe hapū. He was closely related to the researcher's great-grandmother, Pare Koekoeā Rikiriki (see figure 1). Therefore, his Indigenous model is significant for Patuheuheu hapū in terms of research, which is why it was used in this thesis. Whenua is one of the aspects of Rangihau's model that was used a portal through which to develop the Te Umutaoroa research model (see figure 3).

Research is imperative to Patuheuheu development because it allows Patuheuheu to enter into a process of decolonisation by engaging in research and reclaiming knowledge and space. According to Te Awekotuku (1991):

> Research is the gathering of knowledge – more usually, not for its own sake, but for its use within a variety of applications. It is about control, resource allocation, information and equity. It is all about power (Te Awekotuku, 1991, p. 13).

Modifying Te Awekotuku's words: research is the gathering of Patuheuheu knowledge that is linked to control, resource allocation and management, information, equity and power.

Current research situation in Waiōhau

Members of Patuheuheu hapū have engaged in a number of research projects. Most of these occur through wānanga held on the marae about tikanga, waiata, mōteatea, haka, hapū history, family reunions and for other reasons. Research fulfilling university and wānanga (Indigenous/Māori university) requirements has also occurred. Most recently, research from Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka scholars, Tina Fraser and Hohepa Tamehana, has contributed to an archive of written research and knowledge for their people.

Fraser's (2009) doctoral research was completed at the University of British Columbia and is entitled Māori-Tūhoe epistemology: Stages of sustaining tribal identity through Tūhoe performing arts. Her abstract states:

> Many Indigenous peoples cite the processes of colonization as the single greatest contributor to the loss of language, culture, land, and tribal practices. In 1971, the Tūhoe tribe of the Eastern Bay of Plenty in New Zealand established Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe (The Unique Gathering of Tūhoe) to retain their culture and language. This bi-yearly, performative arts gathering affords those tribal

members living outside of the region the opportunity to return to their tribal lands to rekindle kinship ties and tribal practices. This dissertation focuses on the experience of being Tūhoe, as described by a single participating haka (song and dance) group (Ngāti Haka-Patuheuheu). It identifies how people develop and sustain their individual and collective tribal identity through Māori performing arts and how Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe contributes to the continued transformation of Tūhoe self-determination.

In order to focus on the experience of Tūhoe identity, this dissertation poses two major research questions: (1) How is Tūhoe epistemology transmitted/transformed through traditional performing arts? And (2) How does Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe sustain tribal identity?

Māori-Tūhoe identity is centred on their language and culture; therefore, this research was conducted in a culturally sensitive and community-centred manner. A Kaupapa Māori Research Approach and a Māori Centred research approach enabled the Māori-Tūhoe participants to share their knowledge(s), epistemology, ontology and pedagogy for developing their identity. I examined emerging trends in the development of Tūhoe identity through interviews, focus groups, observations, scholarly literature, and personal experiences. In order to ensure the development and sustainability of Tūhoe identity, it is essential for Tūhoe to develop both an individual and collective identity, which will challenge them to develop their knowledge and understanding of how and what Tūhoe identity is.

Performing Arts, for Maori-Tūhoe, are an integral component of developing who the Tūhoe are: they enable the transmission / transformation of knowledge(s), create a place to encourage tribal

identity, and act as a site of resistance to new forms of colonization (Fraser, 2009, pp. ii-iii).

Tamehana's (2013) doctoral research was completed at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and is entitled: Exploring historical and contemporary contexts and practices of 'Mana Motuhake' as a foundation for Tuhoe self-government/governance. His abstract states:

This research seeks to understand the potential of Mana Motuhake by examining historical and contemporary models of Mana Motuhake, in particular the impact of Mana Motuhake on a tribal group within Aotearoa/New Zealand: Tūhoe. Canadian First Nations and Inuit experiences in tribal self-government/governance will further inform this study. This research supports the rights of these communities to map out their own journey in relation to how they see their community sovereignty rights.

In this thesis Mana Motuhake is explored in five stages: (1) historical contexts of Mana Motuhake; (2) the impact of colonisation on Mana Motuhake; (3) the current struggle for Mana Motuhake; (4) tribal self-government/governance experiences in Canada; and (5) potential ways of viewing and practising Mana Motuhake today.

Māori/Tūhoe narratives and oral traditions are the background used to construct an understanding of Mana Motuhake historically and past legislations are investigated to explore how colonisation has impacted on Mana Motuhake. Recent experiences between Tūhoe and the New Zealand government highlight the current struggle for Mana Motuhake and a comprehensive review of three experiences of tribal self-government/governance in Canada are examined

for content relevant to contemporary self-government/governance today.

It is expected that the research will contribute to the discussion for Tūhoe with regard to the concept of Mana Motuhake as identified in its present form and into the future, self-governance being the ultimate goal for the tribe and how that may be modelled from such experiences.

The implications of this research could also benefit other Māori or Indigenous communities who wish to establish self-government/governance (Tamehana, 2013, p. ii).

Research by the late Judith Binney has also made a significant contribution to Patuheuheu historical knowledge from a Pākehā perspective. Her book, Encircled lands: Te Urewera, 1820-1921, presents a significant Tūhoe history, which features Patuheuheu amongst the many other hapū of Tūhoe. While her book article, Te Umutaoroa: The earth oven of long cooking, provides a specific history of the land loss of Te Houhi and the advent of the Te Umutaoroa prophecy.

Other research has been carried out in Waiōhau, including an oral history programme where researchers sought to record and transcribe interviews from knowledge keepers as a means of preserving whānau, hapū and iwi information. Te Tāpenakara also carries out its own research into rongoā, health and wellbeing practices and healing through wānanga, and attending and hosting international healing conventions. This doctoral thesis is also another contribution to a growing body of research for the hapū.

Potential development

Research on Māori has historically been problematic because the research did not benefit Māori (Smith, 1999). Māori are now in a place where research for Māori, by Māori is an integral part of Māori development. Horkheimer's (1982) definition of critical theory as that which seeks to emancipate people from

oppression, demonstrates that critical theory does not have to be limited to the academy. Under Horkheimer's broad definition, Te Kooti can be viewed as a critical theorist, because his theories and prophecies were designed to liberate his followers from oppression. Undeniably, his ideas live on through prophecies like Te Umutaoroa. Critical thinking, critical theorising and research are important for Patuheuheu, like all Indigenous people who have been colonised, because understanding how oppression works and developing strategies to engage in actions to positively transform Indigenous realities is a central part of the decolonising process.

There is much potential for research within the hapū and community. Decolonisation research and wānanga could be beneficial to the hapū, as well as wānanga around tikanga and whakapapa. Patuheuheu hapū also has the potential to research the retention, revitalisation and development of te reo Māori. Another research avenue might be to teach research to children and young people at the kura and also to other interested members of the community; in this way the hapū could learn about research and enhance potential research skills and form a network of community/hapū researchers. The potential for research by Patuheuheu hapū is as limitless as the prophecy of Te Umutaoroa.

Summary
Te Kooti's prophecy of hope and restoration has provided a philosophical base for Patuheuheu hapū. This article has demonstrated the use of that prophecy as a foundation for hapū development through the Patuheuheu hapū development model. This model is merely the beginning of a discussion around Patuheuheu hapū development and provides some examples of how some aspects of development might potentially be achieved. It is anticipated that others from Patuheuheu hapū will adapt or add to this work and that it might also be of use to other groups who wish to create models based on their own prophecies.

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