Te Moeone Mārakai:
Connection, Ahi Kā and Healing.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctorate
in
Public Health

at Massey University, Albany, Aotearoa, New Zealand.

Kenneth John Taiapa

2022

Abstract

There are significant Māori led initiatives in Aotearoa New Zealand that seek to uplift the wellbeing of people and whenua through assertion of rangatiratanga, connection and reconnection. Rangatiratanga, combined with other living philosophies and practices such as ahi kā, manaakitanga, mana whenua and kaitiakitanga, provides a foundation for the development and implementation of such initiatives. One common expression of Māori (and non-Māori) community action in relation to respectful environmental relationships and connection, is through community gardens. This approach to collective food production is recognised for its ability to increase access to fresh, healthy food, promote physical activity, build community, and share knowledge and practices in relation to food gardens. Mārakai, as they are known in Māori communities have multiplied to the point where they can be found in most towns around the country.

My doctoral study is set at Tārereare, a small holding of Māori-owned land situated on top of Mangaone Hill, in New Plymouth city. A relocated house serves as a whare for the mana whenua, Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū, one of eight hapū that make up Te Atiawa iwi. Adjacent to this is an additional acre of land no longer owned by the hapū that has been converted into a mārakai known as Te Moeone. I worked with Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū as they pursued the reignition of ahi kā, a vision articulated in their aspirations framework, developed in response to a challenging Treaty claims settlement process. To achieve this, I followed the development and implementation of their food-production vision and other related initiatives aimed at restoring their social, cultural, and environmental wellbeing. Through haerenga kitea video records, qualitative interviews, hui and wānanga, we explored the reconnection of the hapū to their tūrangawaewae through the mārakai. The story of the mārakai is one of tensions and challenges inherent in the Treaty claims settlement process and the emergence of the aspirations framework to assert values of peace, rangatiratanga and ahi kā. As a vehicle to pursue these aspirations, the mārakai brought the hapū and other community members together, with impacts across multiple domains of identity, mana, hauora and hapūtanga.

Acknowledgements

E hara taku toa i te toa takitahi, he toa takimano

Success is a collective effort.

Many people have contributed to the success of this PhD journey that I would like to acknowledge and mihi to, without each and every one of you this would not have been possible. Firstly to Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū, thank you for the manaakitanga and aroha you have shown to my whānau and me over the years, and for embracing us within your ahi kā. Thank you for trusting me to tell the story of Te Moeone mārakai, it has been a privillege to learn the histories and tikanga of the whenua, and to hear the aspirations for the future. Especially to Glen and Ngamata Skipper, without your friendship, support, expertise and guidance this research would not have taken place. Ko tēnei te mihi maioha ki a koutou katoa.

To all the participants who supported this research through agreeing to share time, thoughts, expertise, knowledge, experiences, and voice – thank you. The insights you provided along the way were taonga that were integral to telling the story of Te Moeone mārakai. E mihi kau ana ki a koutou katoa.

To my supervisors, Professors Helen Moewaka Barnes and Tim McCreanor, *e kore ngā kupu*. Thank you for your support, guidance, patience, generosity and aroha on this journey. From the time I was a new graduate until now, you have helped me grow as an individual and as an aspiring Māori public health researcher. I continue to learn so much through your combined commitment to the kaupapa. He mihi aroha ki a kōrua. Also, to the SHORE and Whāriki whānau, thank you all for the peer support and inspiration over the years. I have learnt so much from you all and the different projects we have worked on. Ko tēnei te kupu aroha ki a koutou katoa.

To Dr Ruakere Hond, thank you for all your time, support and guidance on the cultural aspects related to this research. Your patience and willingness to be available to discuss whakaaro and provide critique of my mahi along the way was invaluable. Koinei te mihi maioha ki a koe e te rangatira.

I would like to acknowledge the financial support of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, the Māori Centre of Research Excellence. I am hugely grateful for the research internship, and doctoral funding that enabled me to undertake this study. Ngā mihi maioha.

To my wife Catherine and tamariki Nikita, Te Moana-Nui-A-Kiwa, and Rimu, you are the reason and the inspiration. Thank you for your love and support throughout, this was just as much about your commitment to this journey as mine.

Mā koutou te waka e hoe.

Glossary

The words in this glossary were translated using online and hardcopy dictionaries, and their meanings reflect the context in which they were used in this research.

ahakoa he iti he pounamu	although it is small it is a treasure
ahi kā	fires signalling continuous occupation of whenua
āhuatanga	characteristic/s, attribute/s
Āpōpō	tomorrow
Aotearoa	the Māori name for New Zealand
aroha	love
aroha-ki-te-tangata	respect and acknowledgement of participants and their contribution to the study
āwhina a kōrero	supportive conversations
e hara	not
haerenga kitea	data collection using cameras to follow and record verbal and non-verbal communication of participants
Haka	to perform a ceremonial dance
hākoakoa tū mana motuhake	using authority and identity to be resilient
hapū	sub-tribe/s
hapūtanga	kinship links
Hauora	healthy, fit, vital, an integrated view of health
he āhua nei mā te katoa	this is an attribute for us all (here)
he ngākau aroha o roto	a loving heart inside
he tino taonga tērā	that was a real treasure
he utu	a cost, price
hei āpōpō	for tomorrow

Hekenga	migration, to emigrate
hīkoi	march, walk
Hikurangi	the ancestral mountain for Ngāti Porou iwi in the Tairāwhiti region on the East Coast of the North Island, Aotearoa
Hine Rāra	female deity that provides a calming influence to people that have been exposed to the influences of Tūmatauenga
Hone te Kekeu Ropiha	local rangatira of Ngāti Tāwhirikura descent
hui	gatherings
Ihumātao	site of an ancient Māori settlement near the suburb of Māngere in Auckland
i whakamana ana tēnei mea i te mahi whenua	working the land was empowering
Iwi	tribe/s, tribal
ka mua ki muri	looking back to move forward
kai	food
kai tahi	shared meal
Kaikoura	town on north-east coast, South Island, Aotearoa
Kaitiaki	caretaker and/or guardian of the environment
Kaimahi	worker/s
kaimoana	seafood
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kānga	corn
kanohi ki te kanohi	face-to-face meetings and interviews),
Kātere ki te Moana/Kātere	name of a papakāinga building
kaupapa	theme/s

Kaupapa Māori	research methodology grounded in Māori worldviews
kawa	customs
keri toke	digging for glow worms
kina	sea urchin
ki uta ki tai	from mountains to the sea
kohanga reo	Māori language preschool
koirā te painga o tēnei whenua	that is the good thing about this land
kōrero	talk, speak
kōrerorero	discuss, discussion
kotahitanga	unity
Kōura	crayfish, freshwater crayfish
Kūmara	sweet potato/es
kura kaupapa	Māori language primary school/s
Lake Ōmapere	a lake in the Northland region of the North Island, Aotearoa
mahi	work
mahinga kai	inclusive term related to all aspects of ‘food work’
Mamae	hurt, be painful
Manaaki	support, to care for, look after
manaakitanga	hospitality
mana whenua	territorial rights, power from land
Mangaone	the name of a stream within the mana whenua of Ngāti Tāwhirikura
Māngere	suburb in Auckland city, North Island, Aotearoa
manuhiri	guest/s

Māori	the generic name for the indigenous people of Aotearoa
Māoritanga	Māori culture, beliefs and way of life
mārakai	marae-based community food garden, cultivation
marae	tribal gathering place
marae-ātea	formal courtyard located in the wharenui on a marae complex
Maramataka	Māori lunar calendar
mātauranga	Māori knowledge and knowledge systems
matua	father/parent/respectful form of address
Matikotare	a marae in Rotorua, central North Island, Aotearoa
mauri	life principle, life force
Moko	a form of tattoo
Mokopuna	grandchild/grandchildren
Mōteatea	lament, chant
Motukaraka	an area in the Auckland region, North Island, Aotearoa
mounga Taranaki	Mount Taranaki
Mutunga	shortened version of Ngāti Mutunga, Taranaki iwi
Ngahere	forest, bush
Ngako	essence, substance
Ngāti Maniapoto	an iwi of Waikato/Waitomo region, North Island, Aotearoa
Ngāti Porou	an iwi in Te Tairawhiti region, Aotearoa

Ngāti Pukenga ki Waiau	a Tauranga-based iwi in the Bay of Plenty Region, North Island, Aotearoa
Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu/Ngāpuhi	a confederation of iwi and hapū of Northland, Aotearoa
Ngāti Tāwhirikura	a hapū of Te Atiawa iwi in Taranaki, Aotearoa
Ngāti Whānaunga	an iwi based on the Coromandel Peninsula, Bay of Plenty Region, Aotearoa
Ngāti Whātua	an iwi located in the lower northland region, North Island, Aotearoa
noa	to be free of restrictions of tapu, to be unrestrained
Onaero	a small sea-side village in Taranaki
pā	fortified village
Papaioea	Palmerston North, located in the Manawatu region of Aotearoa
papakāinga	Māori kinship settlement based on collectively owned land
Papatūānuku	the earth mother, wife of Ranginui
Parihaka	Māori settlement 45km south of New Plymouth city in the Taranaki, Aotearoa
paua	abalone
Pawarenga	an area in the Auckland Region of Aotearoa
pāwhara tuna	boning and preserving eels
Pehiaweri	a marae in Whangarei in Northland region of the North Island, Aotearoa
pepeha	introduction that locates and identifies linkages with people and place

pērā te mahi tuakana mō ngā iwi o Taranaki	that's the important work for Taranaki people.
Pōneke	Wellington region, southern point of North Island, Aotearoa
pono, tika, aroha	truth, doing things correctly, love
pou	a post of column, to support
pou tutaki	pole erected in Waiwhakaiho valley by supporters of Māori land league; marks the extent that settlement was allowed to encroach to
pūrākau	narratives containing knowledge, a conceptual and methodological approach to research
pūtea	money, cost
rāhui	the socio-cultural value of enacting a temporary ritual prohibition on a resource
rama pātiki	floundering by torch
rangatahi	youth
rangatira	chief
rangatiratanga	self-determination, chiefly authority
Ranginui	the Māori god of the sky and husband of Papatūānuku
rimurimu	seaweed
Riri	anger, angry
rohe	region or area
Rongomaiwahine iwi	an iwi based on the Mahia Peninsula, Hawkes Bay Region, North Island, Aotearoa
Rongo-mā-tāne/Rongo	Māori deity associated with cultivated food, cooperation and peaceful activities

Rongowhakaata	an iwi of Te Tairawhiti region of Aotearoa
Rotorua	a city in the central North Island, Bay of Plenty region, Aotearoa
Ruapotaka	a marae in Glen Innes suburb of Auckland city in the North Island, Aotearoa
rūnanga	tribal council, iwi authority
Tāhuri Whenua	National Māori Vegetable Growers Collective
Tairāwhiti	a region on the East Coast of the North Island, Aotearoa
Takahanga	a marae in Kaikoura in the Canterbury region on the East Coast of the South Island, Aotearoa
tamariki	children
tama whāngai	adopted son through a Māori form of adoption
tangata whaiora	mental health clients
tangata whenua	people of the land
tangata Tiriti	‘treaty people’ refers to non-Māori who have a right to live in Aotearoa under Te Tiriti o Waitangi
tangata whenua	‘people of the land’, a term used to describe the intimate relationships Māori maintain with land
Tangoio	an area north of Napier in the Hawke’s Bay Region of the North Island of Aotearoa
taonga	treasure/possession
tapu	sacred, prohibited
Taranaki	central region on the West Coast of the North Island, Aotearoa
Taranaki mounga	Mount Taranaki
Tārereare	the name of whenua within the mana whenua of Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū

taunahanaha	Māori practice of naming places
tautoko	support
Tāwhirikuratanga	the distinct identity of Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū
te ao marama	the world of light, realm of conscious thought according to Māori cosmogony
te ao turoa	the world around us
Te Atawhai o te Ao	an independent Māori research institute for environment and health
Te Atiawa	an iwi of the Taranaki region, Aotearoa
te hari o ngā tamariki	the happiness of the children
Te Hiku whānui	the broader family relationships within Te Hiku iwi
Te Kao	a village on the Aupouri Peninsula in the Northland region, North Island, Aotearoa
Te Kapotai	a hapū of the Ngāpuhi iwi
te kore	the void, realm of potential being according to Māori cosmogony
te po	the night, the darkness, realm of unseen thought according to Māori cosmogony
Te Moeone	name given to the hapū food garden
Te Puni Kōkiri	the Ministry of Māori Affairs
te ra o Te Whiti and Tohu	the 18th and 19th are two days set aside every month for more than 150 years as a forum of discussion to engage with the legacy of Tohu and Te Whiti
te reo	the Māori language

Te Rewarewa	the name of whenua within the mana whenua of Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū which borders the Waiwhakaiho river
Te Rōpū Whāriki	Māori led research group at Massey University
Te Rūnanga a Iwi o Te Aupōuri	the legal entity established by Te Aupōuri to facilitate its treaty settlement offer from the Crown
Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Porou	the tribal council of Ngāti Porou iwi
Te Rūnanga o te Rawara	the tribal council of Rarawa iwi
te tai ao	the natural world, the environment
Te Tairāwhiti	A region on the East Coast of the North Island, Aotearoa
Te Tai o Rehua	Tasman Ocean
Te Tau Ihu o te Waka o Māui	prow of the canoe belonging to demi-god Maui; reference to the Marlborough region Northern end of South Island, Aotearoa
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	te reo version of the treaty of Waitangi
Te Tuturu o Te Atiawa wharepuni	the principal house, sleeping house named Te Tuturu o Te Atiawa
tikanga	rules, understandings, values and principles that guide practice
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy
tipu	growth
Tipuna	ancestor
tohe	persevere
toi tuna	bobbing for eels
tokoiti o tātou	so few of us

tuakana	elder brother (of a male), elder sister (of a female), someone with senior status
tuakana hapū	hapū of a senior line
Tūmatauenga	the Māori deity used to personify characteristics of war, conflict and the darker sides of human nature
Tuna	eel/s
tūpuna	ancestors
Tūrangawaewae	standing place, where one has the right to stand
urupa	burial ground
wahi taonga	treasured place
wahi tapu	sacred place/s
wai	water
Waiapu	an ancestral river in the Tairāwhiti region of the North Island, Aotearoa
waiata	song/s
Waikato	a region on the West Coast of the North Island, Aoteroa
Waipatu	a marae in Hastings, Hawkes Bay region of North Island, Aotearoa
Wairua	spirit
Waitangi Tribunal	permanent commission of inquiry into alleged breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi
Waireina Watene Taungātara	a whānau of Atiawa descent
Waitaki	a region spanning from the East Coast to the middle of the South Island, Aotearoa.
Waiwhakaiho	the name of a river that runs through the mana whenua of Ngāti Tāwhirikura

Waka	voyaging canoe/s
Wānanga	to meet, discuss, learn and deliberate
whakapapa	genealogy, connections
Whakatauki	proverbial sayings
whānau	family
Whanganui	a town on the West Coast of the North Island of Aotearoa
Whangarei	town in Northland region of Aotearoa
Wharekai	dining hall/food preparation/eating space
wharekura	Māori language high school/s
Wharenui	the meeting house on a marae complex
whare wānanga	university, place of higher learning
Whau	the Whau river is a catchment in West Auckland, North Island, Aotearoa
Whakataukī	proverbial saying
Whenua	land or domain, placenta
whenua tōmua tangata tōmuri	people would give their lives before they sold their land

Ko wai au?

Ko Hikurangi te maunga,

Ko Waiapu te awa,

Ko Ngāti Porou te iwi,

Ko Horouta te waka,

Ko te whānau a Hinerupe ki Waiapu te hapū,

Ko te Rāhui Pā o Tikitiki te marae,

Ko Parekoihu Te Kani-ā-Takirau Taiapa rāua ko Tākiri Paratene oku tipuna,

He tama whāngai hoki ahau o te whānau Waireina Watene Taungātara no Te Atiawa,

Ko Kenneth Taiapa ahau.

Hikurangi is the mountain,

Waiapu is the river,

Ngāti Poroua are the people,

Horouta is the canoe,

Te whānau a Hinerupe in the Waiapu valley are my sub-tribe,

Rāhui Pā in Tikitiki is my marae,

Parekoihu Te Kani-ā-Takirau Taiapa and Tākiri Paratene are my ancestors,

I am also a whāngai to the Waireina Watene Taungātara family from Te Atiawa,

My name is Kenneth Taiapa.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Disruptions to the holistic weave between indigenous peoples and their environments can be traced back to colonially induced environmental interventions aimed at separating indigenous peoples from their lands, modifying the landscape for settlement and for the introduction of exploitative and extractive technologies. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the introduction of capitalist values combined with settler paradigms changed the way whenua was conceptualised, which led to a devaluing of the intrinsic connections Māori had with it (Henwood et al., 2016). As with the settlement and colonisation of other indigenous peoples and lands in Australia, Canada and the United States, such attitudes and approaches were buoyed by the erronous view of the land as being 'Terra Nullius', meaning 'belonging to no-one'. For settlers this presented an opportunity for wealth creation through individual ownership and posession of whenua; an opportunity otherwise not a reality to many in Britain because of the strict class structure and lack of social mobility. The settler lolly-scramble for whenua through unjust Crown legislation on collective Māori ownership, combined with unscrupulous dealings from land speculators such as the New Zealand Company are well documented (see for example Belich, 1996; King, 2003; O'Malley, 2019, 2016; Orange, 2020; Rice, 1998; Tawhai, 2011; Walker, 2004; Ward 1999). While this may have helped to reduce the burden of a burgeoning urban population in Britain, it was also aimed at supporting the elites in the transplantation of capitalist ideals into the frontier in search of exploitable resources such as whenua.

The indigenous Māori people of Aotearoa New Zealand have longstanding place-based knowledge systems that provide insight into the health-giving relationships between humans and the environment (Crow et al., 2020; Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Hutchings, 2020;

Hutchings et al., 2020). Connection to whenua and environmental tikanga practices provide broad understandings on the dimensions of place-based wellbeing through experiential knowledge and interactions with nature (Hutchings, 2020: Panelli & Tipa 2009; Parkes, 2011; Walker et al., 2019). Strongly tied to the notion of wellbeing in this context is the role of identity (Knox, 2021; Walker at al., 2019), which for Māori is inextricably tied to whenua, based on our whakapapa connections to our atua, including Papatūānuku and Ranginui, the earth mother and sky father.

The nature of these connections places us in an intimate relationship with whenua and the wider ecosphere, forming the basis of our self-identification as tangata whenua, people *of* the land. Emphasis in this relationship is on the word 'of', as opposed to western capitalist constructs which position whenua as a commodity separate to humans and 'owned' (Menzies, 2021; McGregor et al., 2020; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2018; Whaanga, 2021). Māori and other indigenous peoples' relationships are grounded in the understanding that we are caretakers of the whenua that sustains our collective wellbeing (Menzies, 2021). Thus, one important role as tangata whenua is to be physically present and engaged in a mutual relationship with whenua as a basis for ensuring present and future wellbeing and to uphold our responsibilities as people of the land (Henry, 2021; Hutchings et al., 2020).

Despite colonisation, the whenua continues to be a central feature of Māori worldviews, identity and mātauranga. Environmentally focused initiatives proliferate, enabling Māori to connect and reconnect to whenua by virtue of our participation in whenua-based activities and actions (Harmsworth et al., 2016; Henwood et al., 2016). The nature of these initiatives strongly aligns to the kaitiakitanga ethic of environmental guardianship and mutually respectful relationships, which provide a rallying point for Māori engagement in ways that support our wellbeing.

Aims and Objectives

The aim of this PhD thesis is to contribute knowledge and understanding on the assertion that whenua is *the* determinant of health for Māori (Moewaka Barnes, 2019) and that through whenua healing can occur. To do so, I explore indigenous relationships with the environment through connecting people to whenua using a hapū aspirations framework. The research tells the story of Ngāti Tāwhirikura, a hapū based in the Taranaki district of Aotearoa New Zealand. I explore their aspirations, and approaches to whenua connections and wellbeing through their mārakai initiative, Te Moeone, and other related activities. There are three main objectives to this study:

- To tell the story of the Ngāti Tāwhirikura mārakai initiative through hapū voice.
- To examine the implementation and impacts of the Ngāti Tāwhirikura mārakai initiative.
- To explore the contributions of the mārakai initiative to realising the Ngāti Tāwhirikura aspirations framework.

Approach

A qualitative approach guided by Kaupapa Māori Research methodologies was used to tell the story of Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū and their connection to their tūrangawaewae through whenua-based initiatives. To develop some context to address the aim of the PhD, the research provides:

- A review of literature to explore indigenous relationships with whenua and initiatives that seek to restore whenua and connect people with environments.
- An analysis of key informant interviews with hapū members to enable understanding of the hapū aspirations framework, why and how it was developed.

- Findings from haerenga kitea data collection projects with hapū members and people involved with the mārakai, to explore the processes, experiences, perceptions and learnings involved in implementing the mārakai initiative.

The success of this research approach relied on relationships and the observation of tikanga to develop respectful relationships with the hapū leadership and the mārakai community. Privileging the reflections, knowledge, and experiences of the hapū and kaimahi through this design enabled the research to tell a part of the hapū story, focusing on the mārakai. Doing so contributed place-based knowledge, experiences and perspectives on the processes and impacts of whenua-based initiatives and related activities and their contribution to restoring hapūtanga.

Thesis Structure

This research is presented as a thesis by publication. It contains peer-reviewed journal articles and a book chapter exploring different but related aspects of the research. Each item contributed towards telling the story of Ngāti Tāwhirikura, and their response to Crown-imposed systems and processes, as a pūrākau – a Māori approach to storytelling – of looking back to move forward, and as a journey to reassert ahi kā.

The thesis was structured by pūrākau in the sense that the chapters are grouped in a general chronological order to tell the unfolding story of Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū through the development and implementation of Te Moeone mārakai. Chapter 1 sets the scene with background and introductory information to orient readers to the project and thesis. This is followed by Chapter 2 where I introduce Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū and the relationships we developed.

Through an exploration of the literature in Chapter 3, the thesis positions the hapū journey within a paradigm of indigenous ontologies, epistemologies, and actions in relation to

connections with the environment. In Chapter 4, I discuss the development of Kaupapa Māori theory and my use of Kaupapa Māori methodology through the data collection and analyses of the research and writing. The discussion on my use of data collection methods and analyses is intended to provide insight into the Ngāti Tāwhirikura story by privileging participant voices, reflections, and experiences.

The purpose of the first findings chapter, Chapter 5, is to set up a context in which the story can be conceptualised and better understood. A critical lens was applied to understand the conflict, anger and pain experienced by the hapū as a result of participating in the treaty claims settlement system. The intention was to focus on the systems and processes imposed by the Crown, rather than the actions of individuals. This was not unique to Ngāti Tāwhirikura. Their response was to draw on tikanga and tūpuna (ancestors) practices to exercise rangatiratanga and affirm their presence on the whenua.

In Chapter 6, having presence on the whenua is discussed more closely using mārakai as a manifestation of ahi kā. This chapter explores the development of the mārakai and associated wellbeing and identity connections that were supported by reconnecting to hapū and whenua. The mārakai enabled healing that is further explored in Chapter 7, where participants speak of the broad effects of re-igniting ahi kā over whenua. The chapter examines the implications of reoccupying whenua and remembering the tikanga practices of tūpuna as a beacon for being present on whenua.

Chapter 8 reflects on the Ngāti Tāwhirikura aspirations framework to explore the contributions of the mārakai to the collective vision and aspirations for hapūtanga. Chapter 9, as the conclusions to the thesis presents a summary of learnings along with my reflections and hopes for ongoing decolonising scholarship and action in this domain.

CHAPTER TWO

Ngāti Tāwhirikura and The Research Journey

Ngāti Tāwhirikura Hapū

Ngāti Tāwhirikura are one of eight hapū that collectively make up Te Atiawa iwi; one of eight iwi who collectively make up the mana whenua in the Taranaki region on the West Coast of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. The hapū are mana whenua of land on the northern boundary of New Plymouth city, including the Mangaone stream and the Waiwhakaiho River which runs from Taranaki mounga through Ngāti Tāwhirikura whenua and out into Te Tai o Rehua, the Tasman Ocean. The name Ngāti Tāwhirikura is derived from a common ancestress named Tāwhirikura whom the hapū claim descent from - Ngāti meaning '*the people of*'. Through the marriage of Tāwhirikura to Aniwaniwa, the eldest son of Te Whiti o Rongomai the first[1] and Rongouaroa, Ngāti Tāwhirikura have strong whakapapa connections to Parihaka and the New Plymouth-based Ngāti Te Whiti hapū (Boulton, 1997).

Parihaka, a settlement 45km south of New Plymouth was established in 1866 in response to government confiscations of Māori land in Taranaki, and under the leadership of Te Whiti o Rongomai the third and Tohu Kākahi it rose to prominence for its non-violent methods of resistance to colonial settlement. Instead of responding with conflict, the settlement enacted the characteristics of Rongo-mā-tāne and turned their hands to the plough to prepare the confiscated land for cultivation. Even when the settlement was ransacked in 1881 government troops were met with offers of food by children who were singing and dancing.

In the 1820s, following repeated musket raids from other iwi such as Waikato and Ngāpuhi, a large contingent of Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū joined the hekenga of other Taranaki hapū and iwi south to the Kapiti Coast, Wellington and Te Tau Ihu to escape the conflict. While some

[1] Te Whiti o Rongomai I was the grandfather of Te Whiti o Rongomai III the spiritual leader of Parihaka

eventually returned to Taranaki, others remained in their newly adopted homelands while maintaining their collective identity as Ngāti Tāwhirikura. As a result, today the descendents of Ngāti Tāwhirikura continue to maintain a presence in Taranaki, Wellington and Te Tau Ihu (G. Skipper, personal communication, 15 June, 2020). The focus of this PhD research is on the actions and activities of Ngāti Tāwhirikura ki Taranaki who remain present on Tārereare, the block of whenua in New Plymouth still in Māori ownership.

Hapū Whenua

Today, a relocated house, Kātere ki te Moana, serves as a whare for the hapū and provides a physical manifestation of their ongoing occupation of the whenua at Tārereare. The name Kātere ki te Moana was taken from a nearby pā located across from the top of Mangaone hill. Meaning 'float out to sea', Kātere ki te Moana is a reference to the resistance of the hapū to selling their remaining whenua to the Crown, and that they would rather 'let it float out to sea' (Boulton, 1997). Until recently Kātere ki te Moana, the whare was used by the hapū as a base for the Ngāti Tāwhirikura Hapū A Trust, and as a gathering point for other hui and wānanga when appropriate. It is also used as a wharekai (dining hall/food preparation/eating space). Today, the ongoing reclamation of Ngāti Tāwhirikura identity includes the development of new facilities on nearby hapū whenua at the mouth of the Waiwhakaiho river mouth known as Te Rewarewa.

On the northwest aspect of Kātere ki te Moana is 1.5 acres of hapū whenua which is currently home to an orchard, beehives, and a few sheep that occupy and graze the whenua. In the collective memory of the hapū this whenua was once a thriving kāpata kai where their tipuna Ngarere Kipa, a hapū matriarch and kuia of Mangaone Pā adjacent to Tārereare, is remembered for growing kūmara, potatoes, corn, watermelon, and a range of other vegetables for the purpose of manaakitanga, sustenance and bartering. The tikanga of growing food for manaakitanga was an important part of Ngarere's relationship to the whenua at Tārereare and

Kātere ki te Moana and was well known further afield (Boulton, 1997). To illustrate, people travelling from north Taranaki to Parihaka for te ra o Te Whiti and Tohu on the 18th and 19th of every month were welcomed into Mangaone Pā for rest and were fed from the vegetables grown by Ngarere (N. Skipper, personal communication, 19 November 2020). Alongside these occasions she also grew and provided food for hui and wānanga held at Te Tuturu o Te Atiawa wharepuni at Mangaone Pa. The character and tikanga of their kuia are remembered in the kōrero of Ngāti Tāwhirikura today, which also influenced the values that the hapū later developed to guide their hapūtanga. As children, the leadership of the hapū Trust recall the stories of their old people, the siblings, children and grandchildren of Ngarere, and they clearly remember this being a critical part of their connection back to the whenua at Tārereare.

On the southern side of Kātere ki te Moana is an additional acre of land which the hapū have reoccupied and converted into a fine mārakai known as Te Moeone. The name Te Moeone was given to the mārakai in reference to the lifecycle of the Awheto (vegetable caterpillar) which, after eating tiny spores of *Ophiocordyceps robertsii* fungi, becomes encased and mummified by fungi and lies dormant in the soil. This name also refers to the use of the Awheto as a source of the green hued ink for moko, which are often worn as a marker of identity. The Kipa whānau were part of the contemporary renaissance of moko in Taranaki, which was also a renaissance of identity (G. Skipper, personal communication, 25 March 2021). In the context of Ngāti Tāwhirikura, the name Te Moeone is symbolic of the renaissance of mārakai and the revitalisation of hapū identity through being present on the whenua. Since 2012, Te Moeone has been supported through designated mārakai funding from Te Puni Kōkiri and relied on voluntary efforts of whānau and their supporters to establish and maintain the mārakai.

Development of the Aspirations Framework

Ngāti Tāwhirikura were left disenfranchised after engaging with the Treaty claims settlement system from 2005-2014. The ability to step back and decide what they aspired to was the

beginning of a journey of reclamation that led to the birthing of the Ngāti Tāwhirikura aspirations framework, an act of rangatiratanga in the face of external conflict. It provided a rallying point for the hapū to reflect on their identity and envision pathways towards revitalisation. Doing so helped the hapū to determine and galvanise their collective values in order to take control of defining who they are and what hapūtanga means to them. For Ngāti Tāwhirikura this was about validating and revitalising the hapū identity, and shaping the futures they wanted for their mokopuna. Central to both of these aspirations was the need to rebuild a presence on the whenua through uncovering their ahi kā.

Inspiration for the framework came from a power and control model used by kaupapa Māori health and social service provider Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki, as a tool in its domestic violence programme. The model provided a conceptual framework of the ways power is lost and control can be asserted in an intimate relationship. The essence of the model resonated with the hapū leadership who could see parallels to the nature of power and control in the treaty claims settlement system and the sense of loss inflicted on them as a result of these dynamics.

Through deconstructing the model and analysing each component, the hapū leadership was able to reconstruct this into a framework of transformative praxis by naming and reclaiming their agency as a distinct hapū. Part of the liberation was in the ability to reconceptualise the rangatiratanga of Ngāti Tāwhirikura, to determine and manage their own affairs according to their own definitions, understandings and aspirations. The context for the aspirations framework is articulated by the hapū in its Declaration and Affirmation of Hapū Rangatiratanga (2013) strategy, which is an affirmation of hapū tino rangatiratanga over all aspects of its hapūtanga.

> *Ngāti Tāwhirikura Hapū affirms its inherited and enduring Tino Rangatiratanga. This customary entitlement should be respected and acknowledged as the paramount*

> *authority of Ngāti Tāwhirikura over its affairs, rohe whenua and taonga guaranteed to all Māori in Te Tiriti o Waitangi*.
>
> (Declaration and Affirmation of Hapū Tino Rangatiratanga, 2013, p. 1; see Appendix 1).

The declaration and affirmation is further defined through collective values, purpose and aspirations. The aspirations are anchored by four pou – *Voice, Rebuild then Grow, Hapū Ora, Cultural Strength* – which provide definition and scope on the journey towards hapūtanga as well as benchmarks for how their rangatiratanga is enacted, represented and measured. It recognises the responsibilty of hapū members to promote, protect and represent the rangatiratanga of whānau and the hapū on kaupapa in Taranaki and abroad (Declaration and Affirmation of Hapū Tino Rangatiratanga, 2013).

Development and implementation of the aspirations framework provided a roadmap for the journey and led to the birthing of Te Moeone mārakai initiative. The reoccupation of whenua and the reassertion of ahi kā over their tūrangawaewae (place of belonging and standing) was implemented through the mārakai as a vehicle to protect and restore their Ngāti Tāwhirikuratanga and to remember the tikanga of Ngarere. In this context Te Moeone mārakai is more than just a community garden; it is evidence of a collective mind-shift from responding to conflict, to instead being a manifestation of rebuilding, revitalising and revalidating hapū identity embedded within whenua.

Connecting with Ngāti Tāwhirikura

I first came to know of Ngāti Tāwhirikura through my wife Catherine, who worked with Glen Skipper (then a member of the hapū leadership) at Puke Ariki Museum in New Plymouth. Through this connection we were invited to a working bee at Tārereare to help plant kūmara tipu and to clean up Te Moeone, which was overgrown with kikuyu grass and had the remnants of wooden pallets and seed-raising trays from a few years before buried beneath. My whānau

and I spent the day with Glen and his whānau, along with some other hapū members restoring the mārakai, and we were invited back to continue with this project. This led to being invited to other working bees at Kātere ki te Moana, as well as another hapū-related mārakai on Smart Road. We also helped Glen and his whānau harvest a hemp trial in the Onaero Valley and were soon added to the working bee network and attended whenever we could.

In 2018 Glen and I both attended a 2-day bio-intensive workshop at Roebuck Farms at Hurford Road New Plymouth, run by Jodi Roebuck. The purpose of the workshop was to learn the principles of bio-intensive gardening based on soil preparation and high density planting to maximise the use of garden beds. Theory was combined with practical application and Glen and I got hands on experience of garden preparation using broadforks to break-up soil aggregate and condition garden beds 750mm wide for planting by increasing the depth of the soil. We later planted seedlings according to high density planting patterns.

After the workshop Glen and I started planning how to apply bio-intensive principles at Te Moeone mārakai as we finished restoring the whenua. We used stringlines to mark out 750mm beds with 250mm paths in between for walking, we then used the broadfork to cut the edges of the mārakai. We dug the beds and broke the the soil aggregate up into a fine texture for planting. The aim was to increase the depth of the soil to increase its planting capacity. The final process was walking in the paths between the mārakai to give them strength and definition for mārakai users. The first crops planted in these whānau mārakai were cucumber, basil, Jeruselum artichokes and taro. After each harvest new crops were added, including carrots, broccoli, bok choy, spinach, tomatoes, onions, lettuce, beetroot, coriander, courgettes, and open leaf cabbage.

Through being involved with hapū working bees I got to know Glen and his whānau better and we soon became friends outside of the mārakai. Glen and I often discussed vegetable growing, upcoming mārakai jobs, and planned the different crops that could be grown at

various times. Our shared interest in the mārakai and growing food was one of many common interests and, in the early stages of being invovled with the mārakai, we decided that if we could grow our own vegetables we could grow and harvest our own meat. When an opportunity to buy a local flock of sheep came about we did so collectively with two other whānau - the Hetet/Waiwiri whānau and the Eriksen whānau. Together we learned about pasture management with guidance again from Jodi Roebuck and Roebuck Farms, and how to tend and harvest lamb and mutton as both a social event between our whānau and as a means of sustenance. At times in our household we ate meals completely grown and harvested through these means which were in accord with our whānau tikanga of not using herbicides or agri-chemicals. Due to different sets of circumstances over the years, only the Taiapa and Skipper whānau continue with growing and harvesting stock.

To keep our diets diverse and to give our tamariki exposure to gathering other mahinga kai Glen and I also harvest from the sea and rivers. On big tides in the summer we take our tamariki down to gather paua from the foreshore and, when the tides align on the weekends, we sometimes put a flounder net in the river. We consider these environments to be living laboratories where our tamariki get to learn about the nature and role of tides, winds, water health, species, harvesting and preparation of kai. These experiences are a result of the connections that were made in the mārakai and have enabled us to have greater control over the kai we eat and reconnect with mahinga kai.

The relationships that were developed through participating in hapū working bees and working in the whānau plots led to kōrero about the potential for a research project to describe the process and outcomes of Te Moeone mārakai. The first time Glen and I talked about the possibility we were digging kūmara mounds in the kūmara tūāpapa on Smart Road in New Plymouth, within the mana whenua of Ngāti Tāwhirikura. We agreed there were potential benefits in documenting and sharing the learnings of developing and implementing the

mārakai. We continued to talk about this casually over the following months during other working bees, and as we tended to the kūmara and mārakai.

After some time I talked with my previous supervisor from the SHORE and Whāriki Research Centre, Helen Moewaka Barnes, about my involvement with Te Moeone mārakai and Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū. An opportunity arose to apply for a Doctoral scholarship to support this through a project funded by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, the Māori Centre of Research Excellence. After more kōrero with Glen as well as talking With Ngamata Skipper the chairperson of the Ngāti Tāwhirikura Hapū A Trust, support was given to move forward on the condition that the PhD research be used to tell the story of Te Moeone mārakai. As Helen was to be my supvervisor she was not involved in the selection process that resulted in the offer of Doctoral funding.

With positive relationships already established with some of the hapū leadership, other hapū members and kaimahi in the mārakai, scaling my invovlement into a research project felt natural. It was the right thing to do if the research could support the hapū in a positive way. Transitioning into a researcher role easily blended into my role as a kaimahi in the mārakai because it enabled me to observe and reflect while connecting to the whenua and the community of people gathered around the kaupapa. This was important for the research approach because it helped me to gain clarity on what the mārakai was, how people interacted with it, how people felt about it, and the connections they had to it. Over this time, with support from Helen and Tim, I developed the proposal for my research.

The confirmation for my PhD was in 2018 and, rather than holding it in the usual space of the university, Helen arranged for mine to be held at the whare, Kātere ki te Moana with the hapū as witness. An open invitation was made to all of the hapū membership, as well as the wider community to come and attend and to hear the proposed aims and objectives of the research.

The level of support for the confirmation was encouraging with a range of hapū and non-hapū in attendance, some as spectators and others who took hands on roles. Dr Ruakere Hond, a local Taranaki expert on reo and tikanga, and Dr Will Edwards, a local Māori public health researcher, supported the confirmation through sharing insights and reflections on the scope of the research and how to position it within a Taranaki context. Helen played the role of both peer support and ringawera; providing peer review and support to me, as well as providing and preparing food with support from Catherine and hapū members. Although Tim could not make it to the confirmation in person he joined virtually. After presenting the research proposal and answering questions on my approach to the research I was given approval to go ahead. This was the official confirmation of my full doctoral enrolment, according to university protocol; however, the relationships that supported this had already been in place for some time.

Following the confirmation process, the tikanga I had already been observing in all of my invovlement with the hapū remained the same. On a practical level the research processes were largely shaped and guided by my relationships with the hapū leadership, and an awareness of the tikanga of Te Moeone mārakai, the whenua at Tārerare and the whare Kātere ki te Moana. This was important for knowing when to be a researcher and when to be a kaimahi, which I realised at times were one and the same. First and foremost, being present and active in Te Moeone mārakai was needed to support the kaupapa, and the research fitted in around this. This approach was consistent with the aspirations of the four pou in the framework (see Appendix 1), which unsurprisingly was a good fit for working on the ground in this context.

On a personal level, this research and the mārakai enabled me to support the intergenerational transfer of knowledge to my son Rimu, who Catherine and I decided to homeschool at the age of 8. Kaupapa Māori research methodologies combined with the manaakitanga of the hapū meant Rimu could accompany me in the mārakai and on other visits to community gardens to conduct observations and to discuss our connections to te tai ao (the natural world), our

responsibilities as kaitiaki and the importance of manaakitanga. At times I was able to participate in online hui with my supervisors and other community researchers from Auckland, Whanganui, the Waitaki and Tangoio while doing field work with Rimu. This helped him to understand my role as a researcher, gardener, kaitiaki and father, and that I belong to different communities working on common kaupapa. On occassion, Glen joined us.

As the research and the work in the mārakai continued, I tried to maintain close working relationships with the hapū and with Glen, in particular. This was an important part of the tikanga of the research and, as mentioned earlier, was mainly around maintaining a presence on the ground to support Glen with the ongoing development of Te Moeone mārakai. In line with this tikanga I also attended a number of hapū Trust meetings over the years to outline the research when asked, and to stay informed and show support on different kaupapa within the hapū.

At different times this extended into discussing each stage of data collection with Ngamata as the hapū chairperson and Glen as the trustee responsible for developing and implementing the mārakai, to explain what I was doing and how it related to telling the bigger story. I also sent drafts of each of the articles that were published through the PhD to them to review, add comments and provide feedback. Helen visited regularly throughout the PhD research, and the relationship is being maintained through a successful Health Research Council Programme Grant, with the hapū as collaborators.

CHAPTER THREE

Literature Review

This literature review discusses the importance of human whenua relationships, moving from concepts, values, and benefits to whenua-based initiatives, including mārakai. Following these topics, I turn to discuss literatures around Kaupapa Māori methodology and methods in general terms, ahead of elaborating on ways that these are applied in the current research, which is the focus of Chapter 4.

Tangata, Hauora, and Whenua

Selected examples are provided from a vast and growing array of initiatives that connect and reconnect people to whenua and diverse ecosystems. Conducting such a sweep is intended to give an overview of how, by nature, indigenous initiatives work in harmony with the natural environment in an effort to restore the balance, integrity and vitality of whenua as places of sustenance, healing and resistance.

Indigenous Concepts and Practices

Founded on longstanding intimate connections to the environment the knowledge of indigenous peoples is becoming increasingly recognised as a vital part of human understandings of how we can live more sustainably on planet Earth (Franco-Moraes et al., 2021; Harmsworth, 2020; Hutchings, 2020; Panelli, 2007; Parkes, 2011; Stephens, Parkes & Chang, 2007; Whyte, 2017). Insights into the holistic understandings and relationships Indigenous peoples maintain with the natural environment are the result of long-held place-based knowledge systems that are embedded with a blueprint for maintaining and nurturing biodiverse ecosystems and ecologies (Fox et al., 2017; Harmsworth, Awatere & Robb, 2016; Franco-Moraes et al., 2021; Reyes-Garcia et al., 2019; Whyte, 2017).

Whyte (2017) argues that systems of knowledge on how to live within specific ecological conditions are encoded in the languages of indigenous peoples and within their cultural practices, such as the mentorship and knowledge transmission from elders to youth (Whyte, 2017). Within these philosophies are clear perspectives, values and concepts that underscore and provide insight into the link between healthy environments and healthy people; an important cornerstone of indigenous identity (Richmond et al., 2021; Tipa, 2009; Walker et al., 2019).

Central to these understandings is the acknowledgement that the “Earth is alive and imbued with spirit” (McGregor et al., 2020, p.35) and on this basis indigenous peoples live within a set of reciprocal responsibilities to maintain balance within their natural environments, ecosystems and habitats. As a result, indigenous environmental philosophies provide an alternative view of the environment compared to western-capitalist constructs that position the environment as being separate to humans and regard its resources as commodities to be bought and sold in the name of human progress (Fox et al., 2017; McGregor, Whitaker & Sritharan, 2020, Tipa, 2009).

Consequently, the colonisation of indigenous lands, ecosystems and resources by the British provided a footing for the expansion of capitalist ideologies that were premised on carbon intensive economics (Harmsworth, et al., 2016; Whyte, 2017). As well as supporting the capitalist mantra of exponential expansion, the largescale modification of the environment through deforestation of indigenous lands, disruption of hydrological cycles, implementation of intensive agricultural production and other pollution-based practices also provided an anchor point for anthropogenic climate change. The impact of such widespread colonially induced environmental change not only destroyed and limited access to natural environments and ecosystems but also significantly undermined the health and wellbeing of indigenous peoples and their practices and interactions with the environment (Richmond, et al., 2021; Walker et al., 2019; Whyte, 2017).

The vulnerability of indigenous peoples continues today as the increasing impacts of climate change represent an intensification of the colonially-induced environmental changes already inflicted on indigenous peoples through colonising processes (McGregor et al., 2020; United Nations, 2020; Whyte, 2017). For example, sea-level rises are displacing many indigenous peoples from their lands as well as disrupting their economies, habitats, and customary fishing practices (Franco-Moraes et al., 2021; McGregor et al., 2020; Richmond et al., 2021; Whyte, 2017; Wildcat, 2009). While the impacts of climate change continue pose a significant threat to human survival, they also exacerbate indigenous disconnection from lands, ecosystems, and habitats. For Wildcat (2009) these changes are the result of western-capitalist relationships with the environment:

> As ice sheets and glaciers melt, permafrost thaws, and seacoasts and riverbanks erode in the near and circumpolar Arctic, peoples indigenous to these places will be forced to move, not as a result of something their Native lifeways produced, but because the most technologically advanced societies on the planet have built their modern lifestyles on a carbon energy foundation… (p.4).

Building on Wildcat's (2009) assertion, Whyte (2017) notes the increasing anxiety within colonisers towards the impacts of climate change, which he postulates are the result of more than 500 years of colonially induced environmental change and modifications. Such recognition gives further credence to the anxiety that indigenous peoples have felt towards the destruction of their ecosystems since the advent of colonisation long before the current predicament (McGregor et al., 2020). From this perspective anthropogenic climate change is a direct result of colonising processes that sought to uphold and spread capitalist values into the frontier while desecrating indigenous ecosystems in search of exploitable resources.

In the face of such ironies, McGregor et al. (2020) cited the mounting distrust within indigenous peoples towards global initiatives aimed at stymying the environmental destruction caused by

climate change, which are at odds with their own knowledge systems and assessments of the Earth's changing climates. From this perspective the intersection between indigenous philosophies and environmental sustainability is vital territory for reconceptualising potential solutions that longstanding indigenous place-based knowledge systems have to offer (Jollands & Harmsworth, 2006; McGregor et al., 2020; Richmond et al., 2021; Whyte, 2019).

Understanding and recognition of the value of indigenous knowledge systems to address these issues is also an opportunity to decolonise and decouple global thinking and actions about the natural world from the ongoing and pervasive symptoms of colonialism (Jollands & Harmsworth, 2006; McGregor et al., 2020; Walker et al., 2019; Whyte, 2017). For example, according to Wildcat et al. (2014) if the processes of colonisation are to dispossess indigenous peoples from their environments, then decolonisation should involve processes of reconnecting indigenous peoples to their lands and the social, cultural and linguistic systems that are embedded within the land.

Whenua and Whakapapa

Underpinned by longstanding mātauranga and tikanga practices, Māori environmental values and concepts are premised on a holistic belief in the relationships and interconnections between all diverse lifeforms. A cornerstone of the Māori belief system is derived from a union of parents Ranginui and Papatūānuku, and the personification of their children as deities of the natural world, which teaches us about the formation of the earth and the emergence of biodiversity (Carter, 2005). This union also provides a genesis for the whakapapa connections Māori maintain to the environment and all other living entities (Durie, 2018; Knox, 2021: Walker et al., 2019). These holistic beliefs, values and concepts continue to influence the way Māori think and speak about the ways we interact with and occupy whenua and ecosystems (Carter, 2005; Knox, 2021). Consequently, a Māori worldview provides us with interconnected understandings that bring together the weave between human health and the health of the

environment (Durie, 2018, 2003; Henwood & Henwood, 2011; Hoskins, 2007; Knox, 2021; Mark & Lyons, 2010; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Royal, 2010; Walker at al., 2019).

For us as Māori these intimate connections between the environment, identity, belonging, and health are regularly reaffirmed through our use of pepeha as a form of introduction (Kake, 2021; Menzies, 2021; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Spraggs, 2020). The pepeha I refer to in the opening of this thesis (page xv) outlines my descent from the iwi of Ngāti Porou based on my whakapapa connections to the Tairāwhiti region on the East Coast of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand, which is demarcated by particular eco-cultural markers.

Through these geographies I position myself within a dynamic ecosystem of interconnected relationships where my identity is contextualised by my whakapapa connections to a mountain (Hikurangi), river (Waiapu), and people (Ngāti Porou). The nature of this 'symbiotic relationship' (Henwood & Henwood, 2011; Hutchings et al., 2020; Kake, 2021; Walker et al., 2019) means that when my environments are well, I am well, and my people have the ability to flourish.

Relationships with Whenua

Māori relationships to whenua are intimate and strongly place-based; founded on more than 1000 years of observations and interactions with local conditions and environmental indicators (Menzies, 2021). Given the highly contextual nature of these relationships to whenua, the ability to maintain connections are fundamental to Māori identity and wellbeing (Durie, 2018; Hoskins, 2007). According to Moewaka Barnes et al. (2019) these relationships consist of an "entire cultural infrastructure integral to identity, community, spirituality, sustainability and even material sustenance" (p.35). Therefore, the ability for Māori to connect with whenua is a healing pathway that stems from a sense of belonging to place, and it is through this sense of belonging that we access and activate our values and understandings of environments that support our Māoritanga (Hoskins, 2007) such as rangatiratanga, kaitiakitanga and mana

whenua. Māori understandings of the integration between the physical, spiritual, and environmental can teach us ways of responding to environmental crises (Durie, 2018, 2006, 2003, 1998; Menzies, 2021).

In this thesis, my use of the term whenua extends beyond the more restrictive English meaning of land, to include wai and ngahere based on their inseparable relationships to whenua. This view is consistent with the integrated nature of Māori worldviews and aligns with concepts that emerge from within such ontologies and cultural frameworks. For example, the concept of mauri, meaning the 'energy which binds and animates', conceptualises how all things in the physical world have a life essence that provides a relational accountability (Royal, 2007 as cited in Te Ara Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, 2021). All plants and living systems have a spiritual life force derived from Ranginui and Papatūānuku (Henwood et al., 2016; McLachlan, et al., 2021) and any disruption to the mauri of a plant or ecosystem affects other related parts of the plant or system (Harmsworth and Awatere, 2013).

As a result, there is a range of terms and concepts that express Māori inter-relationships with our environments; Durie (2006) for example uses Te Ao Turoa to articulate a whole of environment view. Similarly, Harmsworth and Awatere (2013) explain how Te Ao Marama, commonly translated as the world of light, encompasses a broad view of interconnected life-forms that includes "plants, animals, birds, fish, microorganisms, the genes they contain, and the ecosystems they form" (p.276).

Māori and Water

Māori relationships with water have been developed over hundereds of years of hapū and iwi interactions with waterways in tribal territories (Mulholland, 2010). Over this time Māori knowledge systems and cultural practices with water have been used to provide physical, spiritual and medicinal sustenance. These relationships remain underpinned by a strong kaitiakitanga ethic and guided by Māori principles of "mana (authority, power), mauri (life

force), taonga (treasure, anything highly prized), mahinga kai (food gathering places), whakapapa (traditional relationships), and tikanga (rules, methods)" (Bennett, 2010, p. 176). As a result of these deep-seated connections, water remains an essential element to Māori health, wellbeing, sustenance and identity in the present (DoC, 2011; Durie, 2018; Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Tipa, 2009, 2010; Tipa & Teirney, 2003). Māori rights to water, as acknowledged in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, alongside their longstanding and highly place-based understandings and knowledge systems on water, are increasingly recognised by mainstream society and government organisations today. For example the growing interest in local and central governments to work with hapū and iwi in the management of freshwater resources is leading to increased visibility of Māori values in legislation and participation in strategic collaborations (Harmsworth et al., 2016).

This momentum is reflected in the establishment of the Kāhui Wai Māori in 2018 – the Māori Freshwater Forum, an advisory group, as part of the Essential Freshwater programme. The Kāhui Wai Māori consists of 11 elected Māori members from a diverse range of expertise, including "the primary sector and agribusiness, freshwater science and mātauranga Māori, local government, resource management law and policy, and flax roots whānau, hapū and iwi advocacy" (Ministry for the Environment, 2019, p.13). The purpose of the Māori Freshwater Forum is to provide Māori perspectives on proposed reforms to the National Policy Statement on Freshwater Management (NPSFM) as well as any other governing instruments related to freshwater management (Ministry for the Environment, 2021). It seeks to achieve this by facilitating relationships between Māori and the Crown, collaborating in the development of policy options of relevance to Māori, providing advisory functions on behalf of Māori to the Crown, and engaging with the wider Māori community on relevant issues as required (Parker, 2018).

Following kōrero between the Fresh Water Iwi Leaders Group and Ministry for the Environment, along with input from the Kāhui Wai Māori, the NPSFM was updated in 2020

with the redevelopment of Te Mana o te Wai. The ammendment provides a national framework that can be applied to inform freshwater management practice that prioritises the “mana and mauri (life-force), and overall health and wellbeing, of freshwater bodies” (Ministry for the Environment, 2019, p.28). While Te Mana o te Wai acknowledges the concepts of mana and mauri, it must be noted that it does not enforce or place any requirements for regional councils to adopt these into practice.

Despite Māori rights and access to many of their traditional waterways being usurped through the processes of colonisation (Harmsworth et al., 2016; Hook & Raumati, 2011) and the ongoing effects of pollution-based industries in the present (Durie, 2018; Mulholland, 2010), there are strong expressions of kaitiakitanga paralleling the efforts of general community groups to restore and maintain the quality of our waterways.

Tangata Whenua

Māori concepts of water, outlined above, provide insights into Māori relationships with whenua and associated epistemologies that were developed over generations to ensure ecological balance and sustainability. Maintaining this conceptual space is also essential for ensuring Māori buy-in and participation in the sustainable management of the natural environment and the ecosystems within it (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013). The concepts, frameworks and approaches of Māori provide a local lens on the value of, among other things, experiential understandings and indigenous knowledge in restoring our natural environments (see for example Crow et al., 2020; Harmsworth, 2020: Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Henwood & Henwood, 2011; Hutchings, 2020; Panelli, 2007; Panelli & Tipa, 2009).

From within this interwoven paradigm, holistic Māori epistemologies continue to provide the concepts and guidelines for how to interact with the environment and its resources in ways that uphold our cultural obligations to maintain the integrity of our natural environments (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Henwood et al., 2016; Knox, 2021; Paul-Burke & Rameka,

2015). As indigenous peoples with deep connections and intergenerational knowledges of the environment, this eco-cultural weave forms the basis of our collective identities which are embedded within our understandings of whenua as a system of reciprocol relationships - and ethical practices (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Walker et al., 2019). Our understandings of the interplay between these elements have and continue to profoundly shape the way in which we as Māori position ourselves in the world.

Tangata whenua is a unifying term used to articulate the deep-rooted connections Māori have with te tai ao. The term tangata whenua, which commonly translates to mean *people of the land,* provides insight into the health-giving aspects of place and belonging (Hutchings, 2020; McLachlan et al., 2021) that have formed a cornerstone of Māori identity, knowledge systems and wellbeing since time immemorial (Marsden, 2003). Over this time Māori values (Henare 1988; 2001; Marsden & Henare 1992; Harmsworth, 2020; Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Mead, 2003; Robb, Harmsworth, & Awatere, 2015; Rainforth & Harmsworth, 2019; Tipa & Teirney, 2003) have ensured that Māori interactions with the environment remained sustainable and future-focused (Hutchings, 2020).

The ability for Māori, as tangata whenua, to practise our values in relation to the environment is enshrined within the concept of rangatiratanga, which according to Mead (2016) denotes the expression of sovereignty and self-determination. Through exercising our right to rangatiratanga, as guaranteed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori are able to activate the range of values and understandings that were developed over more than 1,000 years of intimate associations with the natural environment and its ecosystems (Menzies, 2021; Rainforth & Harmsworth, 2019).

Unsurprisingly, when these values are observed our mental, spiritual and physical economies are upheld and sustained (Durie, 2018). This is spearheaded through the observation of kaitiakitanga, commonly defined to mean guardianship (Kawharu, 2000), which provides an

overarching context in which to theorize and conceptualise our interactions with the natural world. However, kaitiakitanga must also be understood and contextualised as an affirmation of rangatiratanga and the authority of tangata whenua to engage in the 'management' of environmental resources according to our own values and concepts (Kawharu, 2000).

Kaitiakitanga

In line with our holistic understandings of the environment, the value of kaitiakitanga is also imbued with intergenerational responsibilities to uphold the integrity of the ecosphere and its resources to ensure the sustenance of future generations (Durie, 2006; Henwood & Henwood, 2011; Paul-Burke & Rameka, 2015). From this perspective, kaitiakitanga enables us as Māori to weave together the "... ancestral, environmental, and social threads of identity, purpose and practice" (Kawharu, 2000, p. 350).

Kaitiakitanga is inextricably interwoven with our understandings of mātauranga and tikanga practices handed down through, and developed over, multiple generations. The right for Māori to continue exercising our values in relationships with environmental resources remains enshrined in Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Crow et al., 2020; Williams et al., 2019) and is recongised in other legislative frameworks and approaches. Māori value driven concepts and practices such as kaitiakitanga, rāhui, tapu and mauri have been used to limit access to resources, prevent the degradation of the environment, to protect people and to ensure the wellbeing and sustenance of future generations (Harmsworth, 1997; Robb, Harmsworth & Awatere, 2015; Hutchings et al., 2020; Marsden & Henare, 1992; Whangaparita, Awatere & Nikora, 2003). Successful implementation of legislation and protective actions require strong participation and guidance from Māori, however power imbalances and western paradigms predominate. Enactment of the Resource Management Act (1991) for example, seemingly supported Māori aspirations for kaitiakitanga through provisions related to the management and protection of our natural environments. However, Walker et al. (2019) highlighted tensions in trying to

embed Māori concepts and values into state legislation, where definitions of kaitiakitanga are only a shadow of the ways it is understood and acted on in Māori communities. This is a stark reminder that Māori environmental philosophies are more than just legislative chattels or considerations, and there are risks involved with cutting and pasting approaches to addressing indigenous concerns and aspirations through mainstream legislations.

Within this context the application of kaitiakitanga to monitor and regulate the use of natural resources is enacted through the observation of concepts and practices such as rāhui, tapu and noa. In relation to resources, rāhui is observed and invoked for the purpose of protecting and balancing use, for example, to allow a particular resource to replenish. In coastal areas, rāhui remains a longstanding customary practice of hapū and iwi to ensure the sustainable management and conservation of kaimoana such as paua (abalone), kina (sea urchins), and rimurimu (seaweeds). Similarly, tapu ensures the principle of respect guides decisions in relationships with ecosystems and resources (Harmsworth, 1997). These values, which are not easily compromised, underpin planning, policy and actions that can be expressed in areas such as protection and management of significant sites, resources, and ecosystems. These may include wāhi tapu, urupā, mahinga kai and other wahi taonga. Key activities involve sustaining flora and fauna and natural resources including habitats and taonga species, plants, animals, birds, water, and safeguarding and strengthening the language, knowledge and practices interwoven with te tai ao, such as te reo, whakatauki, mōteatea, waiata and haka.

Contemporary articulations of human-environment linkages that are specific to place (Hond, Ratima, & Edwards, 2019; Hutchings, 2020; Panelli & Tipa 2009; Parkes, 2011) provide opportunities to enhance environmental resource management/land-use planning approaches and outcomes to enhance the health of whenua and people in Aotearoa New Zealand (Manaaki Whenua, 2017; Harmsworth, 2020; Panelli & Tipa 2007; Tipa & Teirney, 2003). At local levels, for example, kaitiakitanga is a cornerstone for Māori interactions with the

ecosystem, based on notions of guardianship and sustainability (Hutchings et al., 2019, 2012; Marsden, 2003; Mihinui, 2002; Roberts et al., 1995; Walker, et al., 2019) and on relationships between people and whenua (Hutchings et al., 2020; Walker et al., 2019).

As a result, kaitiakitanga is increasingly being re-conceptualised and implemented in contemporary society in ways that operationalise Māori self-determining agendas and underline our role as kaitiaki. Combined with living philosophies such as rangatiratanga, manaakitanga and mana whenua, kaitiakitanga provides a foundation for the inclusion of Māori worldviews into urban planning alongside the development and implementation of whenua-based initiatives.

Significance of Connection with Whenua

Indigenous knowledge systems, shaped by generations of reciprocal relationships and sustainable interactions with the earth, are re-emerging as providing critical ways of restoring ecological health and reconnecting with whenua (Reyes-Garcia et al., 2019; Harmsworth, 2002; Hutchings, 2020; McGregor et al., 2020; Parkes, 2011; Stephens, Parkes & Chang, 2007; Whyte, 2017). The knowledge systems and practices of multiple indigenous peoples include environmental expertise often spanning hundreds and even thousands of years. This mātauranga is of crucial importance in efforts to shift human relationships with the planet onto a sustainable trajectory (see for example Wooltorton, Collard & Horwitz, 2015).

The long tail of anthropogenic (human caused) climate change is currently one of the most critical issues facing humanity (McGregor et al., 2020; Whyte, 2017). Following on from centuries of unsustainable anthropocene harms to local regional and global ecospheres, there is a steadily growing acknowledgement that long accepted models of development have depleted resources, polluted environments and changed climate and other critical human life sustaining systems to the point of large-scale collapse (Flannery, 2008, McGregor et al., 2020; McMichael et al., 2003; United Nations, 2020). The effects range from global climate change

to local impacts such as polluted catchments and waterways and increasing pressures on local habitats. Despite doubts and the resistance of vested industry and political interests there is an increasing worldwide awareness of the urgent need to address the critical state of our environments (Durie, 2003, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 2018; Jollands & Harmsworth, 2006, Parkes and Horwitz, 2009, Patz, 2007; United Nations, 2020; Whyte, 2017). However, the current western inability to conceptualise and practice mutually respectful relationships continues to threaten the survival of multiple ecosystems.

Indigenous peoples have long seen the damage caused to whenua through extractive human relationships, which negatively impact on the health and wellbeing of both. In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori relationships with whenua and place have been severely disrupted and the ability to exercise agency and rangatiratanga, central to being Māori, is an ongoing casualty of colonisation. These disruptions include whakapapa connections, knowledge systems, social relations, and tikanga embedded within the whenua (Henry, 2021; Panelli & Tipa, 2009). According to Roycroft (2021), this was exacerbated by interruptions to the collective stories and memories woven into places of significance, which form the basis of our narratives of connection. It also set in train serious harms to Māori identity and wellbeing that have required forced adaptions and advancements to remain deeply embedded within the health of, and access to, their environments and ecosystems (Hutchings, 2020; Hutchings et al., 2020; McLachlan et al., 2021; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Panelli & Tipa, 2009; Tipa et al., 2016). These historical determinants of health highlight the divide between worldviews on whenua, where from a settler paradigm it is a determinant of wealth based on concepts of ownership, exploitation and extraction. From a Māori worldview it is *the* determinant of *health* (Moewaka Barnes, 2019). The divergence in understandings of, and relationships to whenua have resulted in tangata whenua having to find ways to rebuild connections to critical cultural relationships with significant places of belonging that promote wellbeing.

Despite the massive appropriation of whenua Māori and pollution of ecosystems by vested economic and political interests, the health of Māori peoples remains culturally, physically, spiritually, and metaphorically connected to our environments. From a hauora perspective, where wellbeing is a holistic balance between our internal and external environments (see Durie, 2003, 1998; Pere, 1997), the ability to form connections to whenua and maintain control of our environmental practices remain important components of our wellbeing. Through human-whenua initiatives founded on living philosophies such as kaitiakitanga, whakapapa, manaakitanga, tangata whenua and ahi kā we can explore deeper understandings of the relationships between healthy environments and healthy people (Hatton & Paul, 2021; Hutchings & Smith, 2020; Morgan, 2006; Pihama et al., 2017; Walker et al., 2019). The uncovering of ahi kā and the activation of mana whenua offer a range of interventions, and insights into knowledge systems and practices linked to the whenua that have the potential to transform and support healing of physical, emotional and spiritual trauma in whānau (Pihama et al., 2017).

Today the flourishing of Māori-led environmental initiatives is creating connections to whenua which are leading to positive individual, community, and environmental outcomes despite ad hoc funding support. A lack of formal evaluation work in this field means that it goes under-recognised as a contribution to national efforts around environmental sustainability, and human health and wellbeing. Nonetheless, this momentum is evidence of the intrinsically respectful relationships Māori initiatives are seeking to forge and maintain with places of belonging, where the use of our own values, concepts and philosophies positions us as co-creators of nature, and upholds our whakapapa connections to the ecosystems that sustain us on planet earth (Hutchings, 2020). Given the knowledge systems and sense of belonging to place that filter down through our whakapapa connections to Ranginui and Papatūānuku, whenua initiatives also offer us an opportunity to decolonise our relationships to places that replenish and nurture us. Doing so is an important step towards enacting rangatiratanga over

our resources in ways that honour relationships to place, and uphold our rights as guaranteed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Henwood et al., 2016). In this context, Māori understandings of the integration between the physical, spiritual and environmental can teach us about the healing potentials of place.

The inextricability of human wellbeing from the health of the environment is established as an important domain for Māori health gains in the present (see for example Harmsworth, 2020; Henwood & Henwood, 2011; Henry, 2021; Hutchings & Smith, 2020; Knox, 2021; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2019; Morgan, 2006, 2011, Tipa & Tierney, 2006). At a fundamental level Harmsworth and Awatere (2013) describe the mutual benefits of Māori connections to whenua as "... a reciprocal relationship comprising manaaki whenua (caring for the land) and manaaki tangata (caring for people)" (p.276). This reflection is consistent with Māori models of health that emphasise integrated understandings on the interconnectedness of the multiple domains that constitute health and the importance of connections with whenua and te tai ao (see for example Durie 2006,1999; 1998a, 1998b; Pere, 1997). Recognition of the importance of tangata whenua relationships urges us to find ways to reconnect our knowledge systems with the environments that support our survival and wellbeing (Hutchings & Smith, 2020). The whenua is one focus where recovery from the dispossession of land, identity and wellbeing is taking place.

Initiatives Connecting People and Whenua

Multiple initiatives and acts of resistance are evident in the literature and in media relating to degradation and destruction of whenua and sites of significance as well as initiatives that seek to reconnect indigenous peoples with place. Despite disruptions caused by colonisation, the essence of indigenous symbiotic relationships is evident today in the range of initiatives being undertaken by indigenous peoples around the globe. For example, in 2014, the proposed Dakota access pipeline in the Northern United States of America put a spotlight on the

resistance efforts of First Nation American Indian tribes and communities led by Standing Rock Sioux tribal members, affected by the unilateral approach of corporate capitalism and the US Government (Whyte, 2017b). Along with the Nakoda peoples, the Dakota and Lakota peoples make up the Oceti Sakowin society, a geographically diverse collective with ancestral connections to the land and waters traversed by the pipeline – which they never ceded to the United States of America (Whyte, 2017a). Designed for transporting crude oil from Bakken to Illinois for refinement, the pipeline posed significant risks to the Dakota and Lakota peoples of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, including water quality, heritage, and their relationships with their lands (Whyte, 2017b). These lands and waters remain environmentally and culturally significant to the health and wellbeing of these peoples. Commencement of pipeline construction led to the destruction of burial sites and other culturally significant sites.

In Australia the rights, voices and knowledge of the indigenous Aboriginal people is increasingly recognised in the monitoring and management of water (Jackson & Moggridge, 2019). Although the rights of First Nations peoples in national water policy were recognised in 2004, there is now a growing impetus to include indigenous representation in statutory spaces to support the inclusion of indigenous knowledge on water and water flows. More recently, along with its recognition of indigenous sovereignty, the Echuca Declaration provided a definition of cultural flows and a strategy for amplifying Aboriginal rights and voices in water allocation planning (ibid). In 2011 the Murray Lower Darling Rivers Indigenous Nations, the Northern Basin Aboriginal Nations (NBAN), and the National Native Title Council (NNTC) led the National Cultural Flows Research Project in the Murray-Darling Basin with the aim to "develop methodologies that can document water-related cultural values and quantify necessary flow requirements" (Mooney & Cullen, 2019, p.202). The research produced "a 10-step water-planning tool for First Nations and water managers to develop Cultural Flows Management Plans and quantify flows required to achieve First Nations objectives" (ibid). The Declaration provided a platform for the coming together of indigenous knowledge and

aspirations cultural flows, and enhanced resourcing for indigenous participation in water planning and management (Mooney & Cullen, 2019).

The Rak Mak mob (the white-breasted sea eagle people) of the Wagait flood plains are indigenous occupants in Australia's Northern territory. Colonisation has significantly altered their relationships with their lands and environmental resources. One damaging example is the Wagait flood plains, home to a range of water systems like swamps, rivers and billabongs that became contaminated by Mimosa Pigra, a noxious weed that blocks waterways and degrades swamps into thorny thickets (Ford Daiyi & Rose, 2002). Presence of the weed is also undermining their food gathering processes from the waterways and their cultural practice of burning the land to rejuvenate it and optimise it for subsistence cultural practices. Due to its invasiveness and combustibility the weed is changing the nature of these fires in ways that sit outside of their cultural narratives and understandings.

After having the degraded land returned in 1995 the Rak Mak mob have undertaken restorative works to enhance the vitality of the waterways and restore their status as a cultural mechanism and touchstone. Aerial spraying, bulldozing and burning dead Mimosa, and conducting research into beneficial insects to support environmental protection are part of an integrated response to eradicate the weed and restore the ecology (Ford Daiyi & Rose, 2002). This has resulted in restoration of waterways that can now be accessed again and used to support the transmission of their knowledge and practices on subsistence between generations.

In their research, Fox et al. (2016) conducted a comparative study across three countries with three indigenous communities engaged in river restoration works. The research was collaborative and used community researchers to determine and report on the ways that river restoration is viewed and approached by the Walpole Island First Nation (Ontario, Canada), the Grand Traverse Band (Ottawa), the Chippewa Indians, (Michigan, USA); and Waikato-

Tainui, (New Zealand). For all sites there was a common belief that the health of the people is intrinsically linked to the health of their water ways, and that restoring the health of the rivers was also about restoring the wellbeing of their people (Fox et al., 2016). There was also a shared aspiration to maintain agency over the way indigenous knowledge was used in this process – rather than inserting discreet sound bites of knowledge into restoration plan, they aspired for more. In all projects the tribes took the lead on the research which included accessing funding for the research, day-to-day monitoring, and participating in governing bodies. Findings highlighted that, to enact indigenous knowledge on river restoration indigenous people need to maintain a presence throughout the restoration process at a range of levels. Physical presence is required to maintain agency of the process, intellectual presence is essential to maintain the right to conceptualise, implement and evaluate the restoration, and spiritual presence is essential for ensuring control of the cultural and ceremonial aspects surrounding the restoration (Fox, et al., 2016).

According to Whyte (2017) the power of such initiatives is the coming together of indigenous communities to reassert self-determination in relationships with their environments as a basis for planning towards climate wellbeing. The decolonising effects of doing so also provide a critical view of the impacts of "ongoing processes of colonialism, dispossession, capitalism/globalization and patriarchy" (McGregor et al., 2020, p.36) which sought to remove indigenous peoples from their lands and environments. On this basis, according Wildcat et al. (2014) indigenous-based initiatives that reconnect indigenous people to their environments and reinsert indigenous knowledges into the land are anti-colonial by nature and are an outward sign of the protracted struggle for environmental justice.

Community-Based Initiatives in Aotearoa

In Aotearoa New Zealand multiple community groups are active in environmental restorative work. Driven by increasing awareness and concern about the precarious health of our

ecosystems (Bardi, 2009; Hopkins, 2008; Hutchings, McCoy et al., 2014; IPCC, 2018; Myers, 2017; Shiva, 2008; United Nations, 2020), there are concerted efforts from groups working independently and in support of the work of statutory resource management agencies - such as regional councils - to restore and protect the health of our environments (see for example Sustainable Taranaki, n.d.; Canterbury Community Gardens Association, 2021). This work is undertaken by more than 600 general community-based environmental groups (Peters, Hamilton, & Eames, 2015; Ross, 2009), with primary or initial concerns being environmental degradation and restoration. In their review of community environmental groups' restoration works Peters et.al., (2015) found that membership of these groups was largely volunteer based, typically involving those over 65 years of age and ranging from 20-100 members. The health of New Zealand's freshwater and marine environments has become an increasing concern for New Zealanders in recent years. The reality of volatile climate change events such as storms, cyclones and earthquakes combined with human influences has highlighted the fragile state of some of our waterways (National Institute for Water and Atmosphere (NIWA), (2020). In response, there has been a proliferation of community-based initiatives aimed at restoring the health of some of our freshwater bodies around the country.

Due to large-scale environmental degradation and habitat loss, some of New Zealand's wildlife and plants are under threat (World Wildlife Fund, 2018). There is a proliferation of national and local initiatives. National initiatives include Forest and Bird, for example, established to protect native birds and forests. However, this was expanded to include all native species on land and water. The organisation is a formal network of volunteers from around the country who promote restoration activities like weed and pest control, track maintenance, beach clean-up days and making submissions on conservation to designated authorities (Forest and Bird, n.d.).

Multiple location-based initiatives seek to re-establish native flora and fauna to foster the re-growth of life-giving habitats and ensure the preservation of biodiversity values. Friends of

Flora engages in revegetation and preservation of the Flora Stream in the Kahurangi National Park in Nelson. It was established in 2001 for the purpose of building community and nurturing connections to protect the biodiversity of the catchment within the boundaries of this 452,002-hectare park (Friends of Flora, n.d.; New Zealand Association of Science Educators, 2015). The group works closely with DoC scientists as well as students, teachers, and other volunteers to find practical solutions to support vegetation and wildlife within the catchment. These include constructing and monitoring rat tunnels, stoat traps and footprint tracking tunnels to measure predator activity. The group accept that outcomes from their work are a long-term vision that will require additional funding and on-going volunteer support.

Small community groups such as the Wellington Churton Park Revegetation Group, and the Manukau-based Tiffany Bush Care Group are also making important local contributions towards restoring local biodiversity. The Churton Park Revegetation Group established a community of people at Wingfield Reserve – home to one of the upper tributaries of the Porirua Stream - based on connecting with the land and wider ecosystem at the reserve. This resulted in over 12,000 native plants being planted (Churton Park Community Association Inc, n.d.). The Manukau-based Tiffany Bush Care Group was formed in response to environmental factors affecting the natural environment in Tiffany Close. The group is actively engaged in restoring the health of the wider ecosystem surrounding the Flat Bush catchment, which includes regular working bees to stimulate revegetation and weed and pest control to support the restoration of remnant native bush within the catchment (Scott, 2007; van Roon & van Roon, 2009). A focus on community building and establishing wider connections resulted in collaborative work with other stakeholders. One example was working with children as part of the Trees for Survival programme to promote and support the growing and planting of seedlings within the catchment. Since its inception there is a noted reduction in weeds along with an increase in regenerative native bush and biodiversity in the forest and stream (Scott, 2007).

Many initiatives bring together community groups and external agencies to address issues of water quality (see for example Stuart & Fukuda, 2016, The Whau River Catchment Trust, 2018; Kaimai Mamaku Catchments Forum, 2018; Kaipātiki Project, n.d.; Kakanui Catchment Project, n.d.; NIWA, 2015; Project Twin Streams, n.d.; Te Hiku Climate Change Project, 2018). The linking together of community expertise and external agents has enabled capability-building processes that have empowered community participants, helped to provide insights to external stakeholders and made positive contributions to freshwater waterways and ecologies. For example, the Friends of the Whau is a community-based organization focused on ecological restoration of the Whau River catchment in West Auckland. They maintain a range of collaborations with organisations such as the Waitakere City Council, Auckland City Council, Chinese Conservation Education Trust, Avondale Community Board, Eco Water, Friends of Oakley (Te Auaunga) Creek, University of Auckland, and Unitec. Their work to date includes increasing community awareness of issues that affect this ecosystem and trying to mobilise community ownership and action to address these.

The Friends of the Otaki River was established in 2000 to provide a community perspective on the management of flood protection and on-going development of the Otaki River and the Otaki Estuary (Haxton, 2016). Emphasis is placed on education, flood protection, and environmental advocacy. While the group has up to 35 members including environmentalists, riparian landowners, recreational river-users, local government, and iwi, who meet weekly to work on restoration activities, they also maintain important collaborations. These include the Greater Wellington Regional Council Flood Protection, Biosecurity and Environmental Departments, businesses, philanthropic groups and educational institutions. Group activities include growing native plants in their nursery (5000-6000 plants per year), riparian planting and maintenance, pest control and weed management. Among other milestones, this led to the restoration of the Chrystall's Bend in the river with the development of a lagoon (Haxton, 2016). As mentioned earlier providing education for the community on the river and its

ecosystem is a key focus for the group, which it facilitates through partnering with local schools to give students hands-on experience of propagation and plant management.

The Waikato Lakes Catchment Project was developed in response to collective concerns at the deteriorating states of shallow lakes and wetlands in the Waikato that are of national significance (New Zealand Landcare Trust, 2010). Although now concluded, the project was developed as a catchment-focused sustainable land management initiative to address the above concerns. As with previously mentioned water management projects it maintained a broad range of relationships with organisations including NZ Landcare Trust, Ministry for the Environment, Waikato Regional Council, Waipa District Council, Department of Conservation, and Conservation Volunteers New Zealand. A key aspect to the success of this project was its participatory approach to running workshops and other forums designed to share information on sustainable land management. This sat alongside producing several related publications, research outputs, workshops, tours, and farm and catchment plans to increase awareness of the issues and interventions associated with this ecosystem.

A common element across these initiatives is that, while they are driven by community passion, they are enhanced through strategic collaborations with other groups and organisations such as hapū, iwi, funders, government departments and agencies, regional councils, and universities. I now move to collaborations between Māori and non-Māori organisations and Māori led initiatives.

Māori Collaborative Initiatives

The Manaia River Restoration project is a partnership between Ngāti Pukenga ki Waiau, Ngāti Whānaunga and the Waikato Regional Council aimed supporting the recovery of the catchment as a food and recreational site for local people. The project extends on previous work undertaken by the council, iwi and landowners to address ongoing degradation in the catchment leading to increases of silt, flooding and runoff (Waikato Regional Council, 2019).

Once an abundant food basket and recreational resource, the decline in the health of the river led to a concerted response from the wider community to take action. Restoration works are funded through the Ministry for Primary Industires One Billion Trees fund over 3 years and initiatives will include establishing a nursery to propagate seedlings to be planted in the catchment, along with site preparations and maintenance of native flora and fauna (ibid). Central to this project are the aspirations of the iwi for the health of the river and the inclusion of mātauranga Māori in the restoration initiatives.

An agreement between Rongomaiwahine Iwi Trust and the Department of Conservation to undertake co-management of all DoC reserves on the Mahia Peninsula is another example of paving the way for increased iwi reconnection to whenua. The agreement is recognition of the status and interest of mana whenua and will ensure the iwi have a voice in all decisions relating to management of the reserves. The initiative is a continuation of the relationship between Rongomaiwahine iwi and DoC forged from working on the Whakatipu Mahia project, funded through the Predator Free 2050 fund (Gisborne Herald, 2020). The new agreement offers insight into the alignment between statutory objectives for the environment and iwi aspirations to establish and maintain connections to whenua.

Te Hiku Climate Change project (2018) was a collaborative research project between Te Hiku Iwi Development Trust, Te Rūnanga a Iwi o Te Aupōuri, Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa, NIWA, Institute of Environmental Science and Research (ESR), and Te Rōpū Whāriki that investigated water supply and quality for human consumption within Te Hiku. The project focused on three Northland communities; Te Kao, Pawarenga and Motukaraka, where detrimental climate change impacts are already of grave concern. The research aimed to determine what the implications of climate change are on water supply sustainability for the selected Te Hiku communities. The research was transdisciplinary, integrating Kaupapa Māori research with climate science, microbiology and social science to develop community-oriented

solutions to address the pressing issues of climate change (Henwood et al., 2019). The objectives of the research were to:

- Decide which dimensions of climate change are of most salience to sustainability of supply
- Link both knowledge and measures to mātauranga Māori and kaitiakitanga
- Build local databases on supply, pressures and threats to sustainability
- Find measures of such dimensions that can be monitored by communities
- Decide on community actions that can be taken to ensure sustainability of supply
- Build research capability within Te Hiku Iwi Development Trust (THIDT) and Te Hiku whānui

(Te Hiku Climate Change Project, 2018).

The research provides an opportunity for Te Hiku Iwi to take a collective rohe-wide approach to understanding the impact of climate change on water supplies so that communities can strategize to prepare for, minimise and reduce the detrimental effects. The project also seeks to build community capabilities that can be transferred to other locally salient climate change issues. As well as initiatives involving strong collaborations, as described above, increasingly Māori are leading and driving whenua based initiatives. While some, on the face of it, focus on specific aspects, they provide vehicles for broad connections and contributions to wellbeing for people and whenua.

Māori Initiatives – Vehicles of Connection

Based in the Far North of Aotearoa New Zealand, the Te Rarawa Noho Taiao Projects is a place-based learning initiative that aims to reconnect students to whenua as part of an indigenous pedagogical approach to teaching and learning about the natural sciences. Led by Te Rūnanga o Te Rawara, the project is run in 23 hapū marae and is a collaboration between

secondary schools in the rohe (and indeed throughout the country, environmental science organisations (including NIWA), community environmental groups, and Te Rōpū Whāriki researchers. To address the health-demoting effects of mainstream education on Māori youth (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2019) the project reimagined ways of engaging them with the sciences, which meant looking beyond the confines of the classroom and demonstrating the value of noho tai ao as a health promoting initiative, enhancing wellbeing, identity and connection. To do so, the project conceptualised customary environments as living laboratories where reconnections to whenua formed the basis for engaging students with mātauaranga and science concepts. In their observations of the project Moewaka Barnes et al. (2019) noted the wide-ranging implications of indigenous pedagogy in this context and its ability to increase student participation, enhance capabilities, build strong connections, create peer review processes, support intergenerational interactions, and provide an increased sense of belonging to place.

The Whakarauora research project, hosted by Te Atawhai o te Ao is a Whanganui-based initiative working to gather and preserve knowledge on traditional fishing methods of Whanganui tūpuna (Tinirau, 2020). Part of the project includes running wānanga with Te Morehu Whenua, a group of 6 rangatahi with whakapapa connections to Rānana marae on the Whanganui river, for the purpose of exposing them to the mātauranga and tikanga of their tūpuna before them. Alongside learning about whakapapa, pepeha and waiata, they learn the tikanga practices of catching and preparing tuna and kōura (Tinirau, 2020). As Tinirau (2020, p.5) explains, this encompasses activities “such as keri toke, toi tuna (bobbing for eels) pāwhara tuna (boning and preserving eels), and rama pātiki (floundering by torch)”. As per the project rationale, the revival and transmission of mātauranga and tikanga is essential to reconnecting uri (descendants) to whenua and to the place-based wellbeing developed intergenerationally.

In 2006, the Lake Ōmāpere Project Management Group and associated agencies developed a Restoration and Management Strategy for Lake Ōmāpere. The strategy identified kaitiakitanga (guardianship) as a key principle for improving the health of the lake and set out a range of activities and outcomes to support this (NIWA, n.d., Henwood & Henwood, 2011, Williams et al, 2009). A baseline survey of the eel population in the lake was carried out in 2007 by members of the Lake Ōmāpere Trust, Te Rōpū Taiao o Utakura and NIWA; a Nutrient Budget was also conducted by NIWA. Another output implemented by the Māori-led team was *Working for the River will Lift the Health of the People* (Henwood, 2017; Henwood et al, 2016. This monograph reported the social science component of the project, that reported on participants' knowledge and memories of Māori life on the river and how the health and wellbeing of people and the river were entwined in ways that support both.

The on-going project is a collaboration of key organisations including Te Rōpū Taiao o Utakura (lead organisation), Te Rōpū Whāriki (SHORE & Whāriki Research Centre, Massey University), Northland Regional Council, Waikato University, Manaaki Whenua Landcare Research, and NIWA. Using a participatory approach of working with the hapū and other community stakeholders the research sets an example of the way research can be used as a tool to engage people and operationalise Māori environmental values to form reconnections with whenua.

Another project integrating healthy land, healthy rivers and healthy people is Restoring the Waiapu Catchment, a catchment management project based in the East Coast region of Te Tairāwhiti in the North Island. Recognised for having the highest suspended sedimentary yield in the country (Harmsworth & Warmenhoven, 2002; Ministry for Primary Industries, 2020) the catchment poses considerable environmental risks. The initial stages of the project focused on developing a collaboration between the Gisborne District Council, Ministry for Primary Industries, and Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Porou, which was formalised with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding. This coincided with identifying priority areas to hasten

restoration, provide support for Māori landowners with the running of their land, encourage access to the East Coast Forestry Project, and provide a range of land-use options to landowners (Manaaki Whenua Landcare Research, 2018; Warmenhoven et al., 2014). Weaving expertise created a multi-layered approach where iwi-aspirations and mātauranga Māori were valued and aligned with the aims of local resource management agencies and government departments.

Kai, Whenua and Wellbeing

Another area of significant effort has been food, due to its significance and the degradation and loss of lands that sustain and support foods significant to indigenous peoples the world over. Efforts to build eco-resilience and restore traditional food systems seek to reassert self-determination over health and wellbeing (Fox, 2017; Green, 2009; Johnson et al., 2016; Richmond et al., 2021; Reyes-Garcia et al., 2019). Traditional food systems refer to naturally sourced foods that come from either "hunting, farming, fishing, or harvesting" (Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996 cited in Richmond et al., 2020, p.4) that are "nutritious, local, and centrally important for the physical health and wellness of indigenous people and communities" (Richmond et al., 2020, p.4). These restorative efforts form part of a much-needed antidote to dispossession, intergenerational poverty and trauma inflicted on colonised indigenous peoples living in societies around the world.

In Aotearoa, food-based initiatives range from national to regional and local community initiatives and organisations. National non-governmental organisations include Soil and Health, which is engaged in whenua-based initiatives, by championing organic food and farming philosophies and practices. Through this work it creates a forum for healthy living based on the articulation and adoption of sustainable philosophies and food growing systems. Some of the ways it achieves this are through the publication of the *Organic NZ* magazine, providing support for on-going research into organic horticulture, ensuring the dissemination

of information to stakeholders on chemical-free growing, along with lobbying local government on policy development (Soil and Health, n.d.). One of its initiatives, Project Gro, aimed to establish ten organic gardens across the Taranaki region. To do this it worked with whānau and other key stakeholders in Taranaki to establish mārakai in several community settings such as marae and schools. To support this, a collaboration with Te Whenua Tōmuri Charitable Trust and Hive Taranaki led to a mārakai mentor being appointed to monitor the gardens, which also included providing education on organic growing, connecting growers into established growers' networks and providing resources such as seeds (Soil and Health, 2016). As a result, there are currently nine community gardens across the region, including the Bell Block Community Garden, E Kai Eltham, Inglewood Community Garden, Marfell Community Garden, New Start Gardens, Te Māra Hapōri o Parihaka, Okorotua Marae Garden, Te Moeone Garden and WISE Community Garden Waitara (Sustainable Taranaki, n.d.). Complimented by a further five community orchards, this impetus towards encouraging community engagement with whenua through the soil and surrounding ecosystems across the region is transforming communities.

The National Māori Organics Authority of Aotearoa, Te Waka Kai Ora, is a not-for-profit kaupapa Māori organisation. The organisation is a Māori food sovereignty and food growing network that supports whānau, hapū and iwi to grow, maintain, process, and cook food collectively. Through its focus on ensuring food secure pathways for communities it provides a Māori voice on environmental and cultural sustainability. This kaupapa embeds Māori sociocultural values in organisational goals and in its approach to promoting healthy living based on the uptake of chemical-free food production by Māori growers. Its mārakai programme is designed to encourage the development of sustainable mārakai as a basis for whānau ora through the provision of education, coaching and networking (Te Waka Kai Ora, n.d.). Integral to this is its role as kaitiaki of the Hua Parakore Indigenous Validation and Verification system for Kai Atua or Pure Food, which recognises and promotes the use of

tikanga as an indigenous system of food production based on ancestral practices (Carney & Takoko, 2010). To support the uptake and success of mārakai in whānau, Te Waka Kai Ora provides whānau with education, networking and coaching along with a range of mārakai activities, including:

- Kōrero Atu to connect whānau with knowledge.
- Manaakitanga to assist with the practical set-up and maintenance of mārakai.
- Mātauranga to connect whānau with knowledge.
- Whanaungatanga to connect whānau to networks of other growers and expertise

(Te Waka Kai Ora, n.d.).

Whenua Warrior Charitable Trust was established in 2018 for the purpose of addressing issues of increasing food insecurity in Aotearoa, and to create a community impetus towards food sovereignty. The Trust helps to increase the capabilities of whānau, hapū, iwi and communities to develop and maintain food gardens to increase access to fresh and healthy food. Among other things, the achievements of the Trust to date include planting over 5000 seedlings, establishing over 500 gardens, engaging over 2000 school students, and raising over $250,000 to support these initiatives (Whenua Warrior, n.d.).

Collectively these activities and contributions, combined with those from other NGOs continue to have a significant influence on community-led initiatives that promote healthy relationships between people and whenua and address challenges, in this case, production of and access to healthy food. At a local level, community gardens are important vehicles for groups wanting to build community, connect people and create healthy outcomes for participants.

Community Gardens

Community gardens are increasingly recognised for their ability to increase access to fresh healthy food, promote physical activity, build community, and share knowledge on growing foods. They have become prolific to the point where they can be found in most towns around the country and in multiple rural settings. Determining how many community gardens exist in Aotearoa is problematic, however, according to a database of community gardens compiled by the Soil & Health Association (2018), there were approximately 108 community gardens operating at the time. A scan of online articles, stories, and databases suggests community gardens are a highly effective method of connecting people to whenua through restoration efforts. Common pursuits across initiatives include building community, increasing participant capabilities in gardening activities, developing strategic alliances to support their works, increasing physical activity and access to healthy food, and providing opportunities for people to connect with the land (Canterbury Community Growers Association (CCGA), 2021; New Zealand Herald, 2010; Ooooby Growers Network, 2014; Matai Community Garden Group, n.d.; Rani Community Centre, n.d.; Sanctuary Gardens, n.d.; Soil & Health Association, 2016; Wellington City Council, n.d.).

An example of a community garden that embodies these pursuits is the Jay Street Community Garden in Wellington. The garden is sited on a 1500m^2 plot of land that, with the support of the Wellington Council, has been dedicated for the use of community gardening in the Northern Suburbs of the city (Northern Community Gardens, 2020). The main foci of the garden are to build community, promote the sharing of knowledge, increase access to healthy food and how to prepare it, and to expand community gardens across the northern suburbs of Wellington. While numbers in the core group of gardeners are modest, they continue to grow. Although at the time of writing it was in its formative stages, the project planned to expand to include other purpose-fit amenities including seed raising facilities and shade houses to further encourage people to reconnect with whenua and surrounding ecosystems while learning to

grow food (Wellington City Council, n.d.). Buy-in to the initiative continues to grow as other community groups such as the Glenside Streamcare Group and Ngā Hau e Whā o Paparārangi donated resources.

Despite the similarities between community gardens, there are also points of difference in methods and philosophies related to growing food and connecting with the environment. For example, while some community gardens subscribe to conventional agrichemical-based food growing techniques, others align with organic principles of food growing as a form of resistance to other less environmentally sustainable approaches (Soil and Health, 2016). For example, Edible Street, a non-profit organisation in Wainoni Christchurch is a hub of community action that is reconnecting people with whenua through organic food growing practices. The initiative is based on permaculture principles that seek to transform lawns into integrated and regenerative ecological foodscapes. Alongside providing knowledge on food growing to the community, Edible Street maintains a community space with a greenhouse and seed library, and a pantry initiative that is open to the community where people can share excess harvest and seedlings from their gardens (CCGA, 2021). To increase their platform of connecting people with information and resources, they also encourage others in the community to set up Edible Streets hubs outside their properties to encourage more people to reconnect with the soil and learn how to be active in kaitiakitanga of the environment.

Another point of difference can be seen in the Waimarie Community Gardens in Hamilton, which were developed on the belief that gardening and connecting people with the earth has therapeutic value for participants. To support this, permaculture and organic methods of food growing were adopted as they are both viewed by the organisation as being grounded in working in harmony with nature to promote environmental sustainability (Landman, 2005). This has included “using lots of locally sourced recycled materials, organic principles, companion planting, rotational cropping, mulching, making our own compost, worm farming and the like” (Landman, 2005, para. 2). In practical terms, there is an emphasis on capability-

building in activities such as compost preparation and worm farming to promote soil health, and companion planting to enhance plant health and productivity. Buy-in to the gardens came in the form of developmental funding from organisations such as Hamilton City Council, Lions Foundation and Trust Waikato. Resources such as timber, underlay, bricks and other materials have also been donated by external suppliers (Landman, 2005).

Indigenous Community Gardens

Community gardens are a key strategy of indigenous peoples as they are a vehicle for addressing challenges these communities face and provide vehicles for connection and assertion of indigenous knowledges and practices. The Elsipogtog First Nation in New Brunswick Canada is working with Canadian Feed the Children (CFTC) to address the issue of food insecurity in their community. As a result, the Elsipogtog First Nation school garden was expanded into a community garden inclusive of all 3000 community members using their own approaches (CFTC, n.d.). A range of vegetables were planted, and local networks and social media were used to increase awareness of the community garden and when vegetables were available to be picked up. Garden maintenance was incorporated into social events to create intergenerational experiences and to increase participation. According to CFTC (n.d., para 7), using a participatory learning approach provided a "vehicle to increase knowledge about proper nutrition, connecting children and their families to their environment, and teaching important practical skills that help families become more food secure". Furthermore, an increased sense of pride in their culture from participating in the garden, along with participants translating food growing skills into their own gardens are other positive outcomes attributed to the initiative.

Ontario in northern Canada is experiencing a resurgence in first nations community gardening initiatives as part of a strategy to increase access to fresh and healthy foods. This is a response to the significant food poverty experienced by the 33 First Nations communities that

reside in Ontario, caused by the prohibitive cost of nutritious food (Mollins, 2019). Through its coordination of the Ontario Indigenous Neighbours program, the Mennonite Central Committee provided indigenous communities with tools and seeds to establish and plant garden beds with vegetables. As well as growing long-term storage crops like onions and potatoes, they grow a range of other nutrient dense food such as rhubarb, lettuce and beans (Mollins, 2019). Alongside the traditional public health outcomes of increased access to healthy food and exercise, and social cohesion, the garden is also part of a healing and reconciliation process from the forced assimilation of First Nations Peoples through residential schools. The gardens provide an important sense of sovereignty and resistance to dominant models of food production.

For the Local Food Manitoulin (LFM) project, food resiliency is an important aspect of life for the seven First Nations who live on Manitoulin Island, Ontario. In collaboration with the Noojmowin Teg, the Aboriginal Health Access Centre, and grants from the Ontario Trillium Foundation and Ontario's Local Poverty Reduction Fund, the LFM have supported 11 community gardens and assisted more than 150 home gardens on the island since its inception in 2011 (Duchesne, 2020). First Nations buy-in and participation in local food resilience was further highlighted during the Covid-19 pandemic which resulted in a spike in local food systems (Duchesne, 2020).

Mārakai

For Māori in Aotearoa mārakai symbolise the ability of hapū and iwi to be self-determining in values and practices to ensure the wellbeing of their whenua and communities. Mārakai are proliferating, and the examples in this section are drawn from a cross section of academic literature and other media such as media reports and websites. Mārakai and community gardens on marae such as Mataikotare in Rotorua (New Zealand Herald, 2014), Waipatu in Hastings, (New Zealand Herald, 2015), Ruapotaka in Glen Innes (Tāmaki News, 2014),

Takahanga in Kaikoura, (Te Rūnanga o Ngai Tahu, 2013), and Papatūānuku marae in Mangere (Tauranga, 2010), provide important opportunities for people and communities to connect and build relationships. Across multiple mārakai initiatives, Māori aspirations to develop health promoting interventions have resulted in increasing opportunities for people to grow and access healthy foods, engage in physical activities, learn and reconnect with people and whenua.

What originally started as a marae only kaupapa, the Mataikotare marae mārakai in Rotorua has since opened its doors to the wider community for the purposes of growing and providing food. The ultimate vision for the mārakai is to reduce reliance on dominant models of food production from the likes of supermarkets, and to focus on building food sovereignty through stimulating local food production. Central to the kaupapa of the mārakai is increasing the capabilities of the marae community to grow enough food for internal functions such as hui and tangi, and to provide fresh food for local whānau (New Zealand Herald, 2014). Mataikotare uses place-based mātauranga of growing kūmara and other crops to increase availability and yield of its crops (Armstrong, 2014).

Te Mahinga Kai o Tairāwhiti is a cross-sector collaboration based on the East Coast of the North Island aimed at creating a region-wide sustainable food movement. The initiative was developed by Healthy Families East Cape in partnership with Te Mahinga Kai o Tairāwhiti collective which includes Rongowhakaata Iwi Trust, Hikurangi Enterprises, Supergrans Tairāwhiti, Gizzy Kai Rescue, Hauora Tairāwhiti DHB, Trust Tairāwhiti, Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiārangi and Cobham School. The project is a ground-up solution to address local concerns of food poverty and food insecurity in the Tairāwhiti region (Healthy Families East Cape, 2021). Through the coming together of community stakeholders the project developed a number of initiatives for the purpose of building a resilient local food community in Te Tairāwhiti.

The Pourewa Reserve mārakai, located in the East Auckland suburb of Ōrākei, is a community garden initiative driven by the mana whenua, Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei, that is restoring the environment and reconnecting people to whenua. Based in an old pony club paddock, the mārakai was designed using ethnobotanic principles to ensure Māori ontologies, language and practices underpin the development and operations of the mārakai (Landscape Architecture Aotearoa, 2021). Motivation for the mārakai also came from a desire to revive traditional Māori gardening techniques, practices and uses of plants and vegetables. To reflect this, the mārakai consists of a plant nursery, community garden, a rongoa (medicinal) garden and pre-European kūmara garden. Plants are grown according to the maramataka and vegetables are grown using organic principles and methods, with produce distributed to whānau and the city mission (Remuera Heritage, n.d.).

In the literature, there is little critical engagement in the development, implementation and impacts of mārakai on participants and communities, which also coincides with a lack of information and resource sharing between projects and initiatives. On reflection this highlights the opportunity provided by this PhD thesis to contribute to the small pool of academic literature on mārakai initiatives and related activities and their ability to restore the environment, build community and reconnect people to whenua alongside other outcomes and learnings. Integral to this is an understanding of the role and application of research methodology and method to guide the development and implementation of future research opportunities to tell these stories.

Methodology and Methods Literature

Beginning with a look at the emergence and development of Kaupapa Māori theory, I shift the epistemological lens to explain how these principles and concepts are embedded in Kaupapa Māori Research. For added context I provide an outline of Haerenga Kitea (Moewaka Barnes,

2017) and Pūrākau (Lee, 2009), two research methods developed and used within Kaupapa Māori Research, and employed in this study as detailed in Chapter 4 below.

Kaupapa Māori

Research is a dirty word to indigenous people (Smith, L.T. 1999), and Māori are no exception. Beginning with the advent of colonisation in the 19th century, Māori, like indigenous peoples around the world have a long history of being 'researched' by western researchers using western tools of inquiry for the purpose of positioning western voices as the authority on Māori (Bishop, 1999; Mahuika, 2008; Moewaka Barnes, 2000; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012; Wilson et al., 2021). Typically, because such research and narratives sought to highlight Māori deficit, underachievement, and violence they helped to entrench negative stereotypes of Māori, which were used to justify colonising processes and marginalising approaches (Cram, 2019; Moewaka Barnes, et al, 2013; Smith, L.T. 1999; Wilson et al., 2021). The exclusion of Māori knowledge and voices in research on Māori created a vacuum of Māori lived experiences that was filled with the voices of outsiders. These frustrations were amplified by the institutional racism and prevalent monoculturalism in the mainstream education system aimed at maintaining the Pākehā status quo, to the detriment of te reo and Māori culture.

Such colonially inspired structures and representations of Māori led to, and reinforced feelings of distrust that Māori had towards research (Bishop, 1999; Cram, 2019; Mahuika, 2008) and mainstream education systems that maintained a 'colonizing gaze' (hooks 1992, cited in Mahuika 2008, p. 1).

In the 1980s, Māori resistance to the hegemonic discourses and white-streaming of monocultural education systems reached a crescendo and, through an intensification of political consciousness, a series of fundamental shifts were triggered (Eketone, 2008: Cram, 2019; Pihama, Cram & Walker, 2002; Pihama et al., 2019). As Smith (2003) recalls, the result was a deep internal revolution that was sparked by:

> … a shift in mindset of large numbers of Māori people - a shift away from waiting for things to be done to them, to doing things for themselves; a shift away from an emphasis on reactive politics to and an emphasis on being more proactive; a shift from negative motivation to positive motivation (p. 2).

This shift resulted in the creation of an intellectual space and impetus for the development of an affirmative Māori-driven initiative that became known as Kaupapa Māori (Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, Cram & Walker, 2002; Smith, G., 2017, 2003). Kaupapa Māori theory is a philosophical framework based on Māori worldviews and aspirations for cultural continuity, knowledge production and transformation that was developed as an "intervention praxis" (Smith, G. 2003, p.6) in response to the disproportionate effects of social, educational and cultural crises on Māori (Smith, G. 2003). As a critical theory, Kaupapa Māori draws on the Marxist tradition of critiquing and transforming oppressive structures (Eketone, 2008) which, according to Smith (2017), requires engagement of conscientisation, resistance and transformative action as a cyclic flow of interventions.

As a Māori-centred philosophical approach, Kaupapa Māori seeks to realize the "affirmation and legitimation of being Māori" (Pihama, Cram & Walker, 2002, p.30) using holistic Māori frameworks (Smith, L.T. 2015, 1999; Kerr et al., 2009) to assert te reo and Māori values (Mane, 2009). The result of such an epistemological assertion, alongside other social and political conscious raising, led to the revitalisation of te reo through the establishment of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, wharekura and whare wānanga (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Smith, G. 2017).

These initiatives provided proactive settings where Māori desires to be Māori were normalised and te reo and Māori pedagogies formed the basis of knowledge and learning. More importantly though was the power shift that occurred as a result of Kaupapa Māori principles that provided "… a way to empower Māori to regain control of our lives, our culture and research related to those things" (Bishop, 1994 as cited in Mahuika, 2008, p.37).

Today Kaupapa Māori principles have underpinned actions led by Māori across the academy (and other domains) for the purpose of improving Māori learner engagement and outcomes in the higher education system. For example, Te Kupenga o MAI (a programme for post graduate Māori students) has its origins in the work of Professors Linda and Graeme Smith and the Māori Education Group at Auckland University in the 1990's. The initiative was in response to the assimilationist mainstream education system that was used to displace and dispossess Māori of language, culture, and knowledge (Pihama et al., 2019). As well as creating changes in the policy environment to support increased Māori and indigenous participation in Doctoral programmes, it also created intellectual space for the inclusion of Māori knowledges, resources, and pedagogies in higher education. Combined with wraparound support and mentoring and opportunities to connect with other MAI doctoral scholars, MAI Te Kupenga has made a significant contribution towards increasing Māori doctoral enrolments. Statistics show an increase of 75 doctoral enrolments in 1994 to 535 in 2016 (Ministry of Education, 2018, cited in Pihama et al., 2019).

Kaupapa Māori Research

The shifts spearheaded by the development of Kaupapa Māori Theory also provided pathways through which Māori critiques and challenges to the neo-colonial dominance of health, social and educational research could be channelled (Bishop, 1999; Eketone, 2008). Central to this was a Māori distrust of western researchers and research processes that excluded Māori epistemologies and lacked accountability to Māori (Bishop, 1999; Wilson et al., 2021). Māori efforts to reframe academic research methods and practices into an indigenous approach to research became known as Kaupapa Māori Research, with the purpose of deconstructing the neo-colonial dominance of knowledge (Bishop, 1999; Carlson, Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2017; Eketone, 2008; Smith, G. 2003). Doing so not only supported aspirations

to decolonise western dominated research spaces, but also spurred efforts to indigenise the production and application of knowledge (Wilson et al., 2021).

The development of Kaupapa Māori Research created methodological space within the academy for the articulation of Māori concerns, aspirations and analyses through which issues affecting Māori, and their solutions, could be conceptualised using Māori philosophies (Bishop, 1996; Cram, 2001; Kerr et al., 2010; Smith, L.T. 2015, 1999; Wilson et al., 2021). In doing so Kaupapa Māori Research shifts the locus of power underpinning research into the collective hands of Māori and provides tools for creating change (Moewaka Barnes, 2000) and achieving tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), also described by Bishop (1999) as agentic positioning.

The diversity of Kaupapa Māori Theory is evident in the broad spectrum of research methods that draw on the epistemological underpinnings of Kaupapa Māori methodology. Fundamental to this is Smith's (1997) assertion that the application of Kaupapa Māori Theory into research should form the basis of transformative action and praxis and address power dynamics. Carlson, Moewaka Barnes and McCreanor (2017) write that power sharing may not always translate into equal input in research when working with different stakeholders, but that power acknowledgement, open communication and opportunities for engagement are important operating principles. Their reflections illustrate the way that Kaupapa Māori Theory is continually adopted and added in order to reflect the different power dynamics, relationships and contexts when conducting research with Māori stakeholders. As a result, Kaupapa Māori Research is often highly collaborative, crosses disciplinary boundaries and employs diverse methods (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2021). In this context methods need to be fit for purpose and may draw on multiple knowledge systems, but are grounded in Māori worldviews (Moewaka Barnes, 2000).

Pūrākau

Storytelling has always been a primary method for the transmission and maintenance of knowledge and culture for indigenous peoples within their communities (Bowers, 2012: Lee, 2009; Whyte, 2017). In this context storytelling is used to capture mood and engage listeners to open a space for new understandings (Bowers 2012). Pūrākau, a term for Māori stories, are a form of narrative tradition used to support socialisation and social order through the maintenance of oral histories (Amopiu, 2019; Lee, 2009. The word pūrākau itself is embedded with theoretical understandings and refers to the many stories which form the pū (base) of the rākau (tree). According to Lee (2009)

> … it is significant that 'story telling' derives its meaning in Māori language from words that relate to the trees and bush, since the imagery of trees often reflect our cultural understandings of social relationships, our inter-connectedness with each other and the natural environment… the word pūrākau, can be interpreted stories that represent the experiences, knowledge and teachings that form the pū (base) from which the rākau need in order to grow, or even survive. The base of the tree is usually unseen, buried deep within the Papatūānuku (earth mother) the roots draw the water and nutrients it needs to provide strength and vitality in an effort to develop as well as protect, shelter and foster other trees growing in the ngahere (7- 8).

Therefore, as a metaphorical tree pūrākau acknowledge that 'while there is a base there may be many branches, versions or interpretations' (ibid, p.8). For example, according to Ware (2009), pūrākau are more than myths, they are important repositories of knowledge used for the development of cultural norms and beliefs, and often "embody the values and beliefs of the people and ultimately reflect human qualities" (p. 22). For illustration, the pūrākau of Ranginui and Papatūānuku tells of a celestial earth mother and father joined in a tight embrace. Their separation at the hands of their children provides an account of the origins of

the world through the personification of natural elements as deities and descriptions of their behaviours, traits and emotions (Walker, 1996; Ware, 2009). Through the whakapapa of these primal parents and their offspring we learn of the natural ordering of the world (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013), the interconnectedness of the natural environment and our role as humans and kaitiaki within it.

Pūrākau also offer significant healing potentials for Māori. The potential for healing with tangata whaiora (Lee, 2009) is evident in the works of Diana Rangihuna, a clinical practitioner. In the delivery of her 'mahi ā ngā atua' (the deeds of the gods) programme (Cherrington, 2003, as cited in Lee, 2009), pūrākau with Māori deities were given to tangata whaiora and their whānau; these pūrākau are later the focus of wānanga about the embedded knowledge and wisdoms. Cherrington (2003, as cited in Lee, 2009) notes the most important aspect of the therapy is the chance for tangata whaiora and their whānau "... to retell, recreate and creatively represent the pūrākau (which may include waiata, haka, poetry, drama, sculpting, painting, drawing, storytelling, and/or writing) in ways that connect to their own understandings and experiences" (p.4). Through the use of pūrākau methodology participants are able to conecptualise the context which they are in, and a pathway forward (Rangihuna, Kopua & Tipene-Leach, 2018).

Similarly, in her analysis of pūrākau as a tool for child psychotherapy, Amopiu (2019) explains how the creation pūrākau of Ranginui and Papatūānuku interweaves "Māori to the land and all things on the land through wairua (spiritual) and mauri (life force in all things)" (p.7). From this union and separation also comes the three existential states of being according to a Māori worldview - te kore (the void, potential and energy), te po (the unseen potential, the night) and Te Ao Marama (world of light and awareness, the dwelling place of ecosystems) (Harmsworth, 2020). As such the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuaku provides us with an ontological understanding of the nature of existence based on interconnected phases of development (Kawharu, 2000) that we, as tangata whenua, claim whakapapa connections to.

Despite the prominent role of pūrākau as a form of narrative infused with our knowledge, values and norms, the advent of colonisation and the transplantation of colonial norms into Aotearoa meant pūrākau were denigrated (Pouwhare, 2016; Ware, 2009). The impacts, as Pouwhare (2016) explains, meant they were largely "neutered of their epistemological power" (p. 1) and given the status of fables or folklore.

The emergence of pūrākau as a decolonising research methodology was the focus of Lee's (2008) doctoral research looking at the work of Māori teachers in secondary schools. Through this journey she transformed the common understanding of pūrākau as Māori myths and legends codified with selected knowledge and wisdoms into an approach to storytelling in a research context with indigenising implications (Lee, 2009). By design, it encourages us to look beyond the veil of western research methods and to revert to the essence of our communication traditions and knowledge transmission. Given the interweaving of voice and story into research, pūrākau as a method further contributes to validating our Māori epistemologies, cultural codes and worldviews while also enabling us to better understand our lived experiences of being Māori. By reclaiming our practices of oral tradition and storytelling as indigenous peoples in a contemporary context we can exercise control over the ways we maintain the collective memory of our peoples and cultures (Lee, 2009).

Haerenga Kitea

Kaupapa Māori methods, such as pūrākau, have a clear whakapapa to past knowledge systems. Recent tools may also be used to develop methods also grounded in te ao Māori; one such development is haerenga kitea. Haerenga kitea is a form of visual documentation developed by Moewaka Barnes et al. (2017) that builds on 'Go Along' interviewing and Photovoice methods (McCreanor, Kaiwai, Jensen et al., 2006). In this approach participants walk around sites of significance accompanied by a researcher who unobtrusively films the haerenga on video camera. The role of the researcher is to film participants immersed in a

particular context; paying attention to what is deemed significant by participants (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2017). Analysis of the data involves multiple viewings of footage and developing codes through logging audio and visual content. Attention is paid to verbal and non-verbal cues such as expressions, body language as well as discourse.

In their research exploring how wairua might be recognised in research, Moewaka Barnes et al. (2017) used a haerenga kitea method to investigate the meaning and significance of national days in Aotearoa. Haerenga kitea were conducted on Waitangi and Anzac Days with Māori and non-Māori participants who were allocated a researcher for part of, or the whole day. After multiple viewings of more than 40 records, excerpts were selected and analysed for both verbal and non-verbal cues such as gestures, body language and context, as well as the inner subjectivities of the research team (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2017).

The methods described above were the ones selected for this study as they met the hapū wish for the research to tell part of their story and provided visual records that will be part of the hapū record, where agreed. In the following chapter I describe my position as a researcher and the approach, methodology and methods selected.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology and Methods

In the context of this research, kaupapa Māori was about being Māori. Through this positioning I was able to figure out my approach to the research and what the research and tikanga needed to be, rather than applying an external discipline or mindset I had to fit into. This was about knowing how I needed to be with people and how to work from a place that respected the mana of others, including treading carefully and checking in with people. Giving effect to kaupapa Māori methodology was also about being present in the hapū context as appropriate. As noted earlier, the relationships behind this research were formed years earlier through common kaupapa hosted by the hapū, including working bees in the mārakai, mahi tai ao, and other whenua initiatives. Through my whānau and me supporting and being involved with these kaupapa we got to know Glen and Ngamata and were welcomed into Te Moeone mārakai and offered the use of whenua to grow kai. Under the manaakitanga of the hapū I learnt about the tikanga of Tārerare the land, Te Moeone the mārakai, Kātere ki te Moana the house, and how to be with people there. For me, this meant that kaupapa Māori was not about seeking to find truth or untruth, but was about being guided by my understanding of the tikanga of the hapū.

Because the research was conducted as a doctoral study, it was obvious what I was getting out of the process. However, coming from a kaupapa Māori space, this had to be more than an individual pursuit, meaning I needed to identify the purpose of the study and understand and negotiate more collective responsibilities in line with the hapū aspirations and transformational intent. To support this, I tried to maintain a critical and reflexive way of looking at what I was doing and to check in with my primary supervisor and the hapū at multiple points.

Approach and Methodology

This research used a Kaupapa Māori Research methodology to tell the story of Ngāti Tāwhirikura and the development of Te Moeone mārakai. Lived experiences, expertise, reflections and insights from participants were the focal point for exploring and understanding the processes for developing and implementing the mārakai and conceptualising impacts on research participants and the hapū. To explore this I was guided by an understanding of the tikanga needed to respect the mana of the hapū and research participants and to honour the voices of the people when telling the story of Te Moeone mārakai. Treading very carefully included drawing on multiple sources for guidance, peer support and clarity. Within the hapū this involved regular kōrero with both Glen and Ngamata to clarify details on telling the story, and to help guide the research and how it was presented. I also drew on people outside of the hapū leadership to provide advice and critique what I was saying in my writing and how I was saying it. Alongside my supervisors this included Ruakere who supported through multiple hui and kōrero, and Will, who provided feedback as part of my confirmation event and ongoing peer support.

Early on, through multiple conversations, and data collection and analysis I came to realise development of Te Moeone mārakai emerged from a series of tensions and conflict from engaging with the treaty claims settlement system. How I approached this through the research was important, as I had to frame the story in a way that showed this wasn't about individuals or groups, but about structures and process that created tension, conflict and pain. The distress and anguish that stem from this meant following a tikanga that didn't cause more hurt. This was an important insight for the first findings chapter because it was about hapū other than my own and the pain and tension that these people felt.

In order to shift the focus away from discord and suffering, the second and third findings chapters centred on the healing potentials of mārakai. To achieve this the writing was shaped

more by the reflections, experiences and perceptions of research participants. At this point I was guided by the tikanga of whanaungatanga and supporting participants to feel comfortable with the audio-visual method of data collection and to share their kōrero in a group dynamic.

Writing about the healing potential of whenua also required a critical lens in order to step outside of the traditional western construct of health and healing. I needed to apply a Māori frame of hauora to understand the relationships, impacts and changes that occur when reconnecting to whenua. This required taking for granted that health is more than the absence of disease and, when viewed through a hauora lens, is broadly conceptualised and understood in the context of relationships to different domains of health (Durie, 1999, 1998b).

My use of Kaupapa Māori Research in this PhD research drew some learnings from Action Research in relation to creating change through research in ways that are participatory and reflective. For me, a key consideration was to balance power by acknowledging the hapū as producers and owners of research.

I reflected on and revisited tikanga as a guide to the research processes and relationships. Principles such as whanaungatanga, kanohi-ki-te-kanohi, pūrākau, and aroha-ki-te-tangata, were part of the tikanga for this research. These foundations helped to ensure that the integrity and contributions of participants, stakeholders and the community were acknowledged and valued. Successful implementation required processes and methods that were consistent with my methodology and the tikanga of the research.

Methods

In order to tell the story of Te Moeone mārakai through hapū voice, the methods chosen for this research had to be consistent with this purpose. Using a qualitative approach, the methods supported the coming together of relationships, tikanga and mātauranga as a natural part of the research process. The research used three methods of data collection and related analyses to determine and tell the story of Ngāti Tāwhirikura and Te Moeone mārakai:

- hui contributed to both data collection,analysis and framing
- individual interviews were conducted and analysed for voice, themes and stories
- haerenga kitea provided video recordings that were viewed multiple times, sections transcribed and analysed
- voice and story were interwoven using pūrākau as a guide for analysis.

These methods are outlined and discussed in more detail below.

Method One: Hui

Throughout the development and implementation of this research, the ability to connect with the hapū to reflect and kōrero and be accountable was important to the overall success of the research methodology and research methods. Hui were important touch points and provided constructive spaces to talk about the research, discuss processes and reflect on data and its relevance to telling the story of Te Moeone mārakai.

Several hui, formal and informal, were held with various hapū members and, after the first year, my confirmation event was held at Kātere ki te Moana. The event was open to the wider hapū community as well as other Māori community stakeholders with an interest in mārakai and kaupapa Māori research. Helen and another Whāriki colleague also attended. Holding the confirmation at Kātere ki te Moana instead of Massey University reflected where the research was based and where the experts were. It was an acknowledgement of the mana of place and that the hapū was central to the study. I wanted to uphold my responsibilities to the hapū and, jointly with my hapū contacts, provide an opportunity for the broader hapū to come together to hear about the research and ask questions.

Ongoing hui with the hapū leadership and Helen at Kātere ki te Moana contributed further data through additional reflections as well as providing hapū analysis of the findings. Other hui with

Ruakere Hond to discuss cultural and conceptual development in my writings for this PhD supported the generation of kōrero, ideas and approaches on kaupapa ranging from parallels to Parihaka, to ahi kā being the idea of uncovering a fire, to the use of methodologies and methods to tell a story.

Method Two: Individual Interviews

Data collection

Individual interviews were primarily used to develop an understanding of the recent history of the hapū in order to understand the hapū journey in relation to the aspirations framework and the development of Te Moeone mārakai. In 2018, interviews were conducted with two of the hapū leadership, who had navigated the hapū through and beyond the treaty claims settlement process. Through existing strong connections and through kōrero and PhD planning hui with both participants the interview was organised as the research was being developed. The interview was semi-structured and conducted jointly to allow them to bounce memories and thoughts off each other about what happened in those times. It also enabled them to navigate and conceptualise some of the riri and mamae together. This provided a dynamic and fluid account that was guided by the sharing of their experiences, recollections and reflections as they got to tell their stories.

Analysis

Interviews were transcribed and read multiple times. Thematic and discursive analyses (Braun & Clarke, 2006) were used to interpret and explore their perspectives, memories and experiences in the context of their story. Writing the article from their data was a cautious process that required tikanga guidance and mulitple reflections to position it in a way that critically addressed the Crown-imposed systems and processes, rather than focus on individual behaviours.

Method Three: Haerenga Kitea

Data collection

Two haerenga kitea were conducted in 2019 to explore participant perspectives and experiences of Te Moeone mārakai. Given the context of the mārakai combined with Kaupapa Māori methodologies, it was agreed that a more natural way for participants to explore and share their feelings of the mārakai was to gather with them in the mārakai and be guided around it by them. A haerenga kitea method was used with two groups to achieve this.

The first group were non-hapū participants (6) who were active in Te Moeone mārakai, and the second group were hapū members (6) who had whakapapa connections to the whenua. As per the tikanga of this research, both haerenga kitea began with a focus on manaakitanga to acknowledge participant contributions and participation in the research. To do so, kai tahi and kōrerorero in the whare on the process and aim of the haerenga kitea helped participants to understand and connect with the kaupapa of the research and data collection method. The whanaungatanga established at this point was important for the group to feel comfortable with each other and with me as a researcher and to reaffirm that the locus of power remained with them in these interactions.

During both haerenga I accompanied the group into the mārakai and followed them around with a small video recorder, asking questions and recording verbal and non-verbal communications. Through each haerenga I was shown sites of significance, listened to reflections of tūpuna actions, heard about the excitement of harvesting crops and the satisfaction of watching tamariki engage with the mārakai. For participants who were active growers in the mārakai there was a clear sense of achievement and animation in visiting the different garden beds where they had previously grown food and they were able to vividly recall details about the growing season, the satisfaction of having their hands in the soil and the sense of community through sharing knowledge and food.

For the hapū participants, walking through the mārakai supported reflection and reconnection to tūpuna stories and tikanga practices embedded in the whenua. The nature of these connections was amplifed by being present in the mārakai and being asked what these connections meant to them. Based on their reflections and my observations from the harenga, having a presence on the whenua blurred the lines between the past, present and future, and was an enduring symbol of their collective resistance. It is also important to note that the footage will be a taonga for the future generations of Ngāti Tāwhirikura. Through this footage they will be able to see and hear their tūpuna, who were part of a movement and momentum to reconnect their hapū to the whenua, reflect and share their thoughts and experiences of connecting to whenua through Te Moeone mārakai.

As a researcher, my role in both haerenga was to follow the direction of participants and to film as unobtrusively as possible to allow them to immerse themselves in the mārakai and engage with sites of significance within it. Sometimes this meant fading into the background and recording individual reflections and conversations between participants or capturing other significant moments such as participants pulling weeds and eating vegetables as we walked, with tamariki playing in the background. At other times I asked reflective questions to encourage participant dialogue.

Before beginning the analysis, I wanted to hold a wānanga with both groups at Kātere ki te Moana for a viewing of their respective haerenga. However, because of the restrictions of Covid19, participants agreed to postpone this until a more suitable time. Instead, digital copies were shared with participants in each group, and they were offered the chance to have sections edited out if they chose. All participants were happy with the footage that was collected on both days and in the end no edits were required.

Analysis

Analysis began with watching the footage multiple times and transcribing participant dialogue verbatim. As I transcribed the dialogue, I made notes in the transcript of significant actions such as those described above as well as others; for example, the animation some participants showed through body language, gesture and expression when talking about their mārakai plots. The transcripts were sent to participants from each haerenga for the chance to review for accuracy. For Chapter 6, excerpts were gathered from the verbatim data to tell the story of the mārakai. The excerpts were then put on individual pieces of paper and put into the chronological order of a pūrākau, and narratives were developed around each of the verbatim quotes to expand on the story of the mārakai. For Chapter 7 I focused on excerpts related to wellbeing, to provide scope on the healing pathways that emerged through participant involvement with Te Moeone mārakai.

Through the pūrākau, the reflections, lived experiences and voices of participants are put forward as a key focus of this PhD research. The use of interviews, haerenga kitea and pūrākau enabled a context in which to consider the implications of involvement in a mārakai and whakapapa connections to whenua when re-establishing ahi kā. With the agreement of the hapū leadership I took photographs of wānanga, working bee's and developments in the mārakai to help with documenting the journey and to support the development of context. Selected photographs have been reproduced in this thesis with permission from the Ngāti Tāwhirikura Hapū A Trust chairperson Ngamata Skipper.

Pūrākau

Pūrākau illustrates the 'theoretical' understandings that are embedded in our language and woven into practice. In my study, particularly as a non-hapū member, the concepts embedded in pūrākau recognise that my interpretations provide one version of the hapū story. My way of recording the stories is also premised on discussions my primary supervisor and I had with

hapū members about current generations of the hapū providing the inspirational stories and histories for future generations.

Pūrākau sat across my approach to the research, and on a practical level this meant that the concept of pūrākau underpinned all aspects of research planning, implementation, and reflection. The agreement to use this PhD research to tell the story of Te Moeone mārakai was a shared journey with the hapū to find and interpret voice, which meant reflecting on the thesis in relation to telling the hapū story. For the structure and intent of this research I have largely ordered the findings chapters chronologically, because that is how it was told to me and that is how the timeline of events that led to the development of Te Moeone fitted together. As a shared journey of voice and story, I centred this as much as I could in Kaupapa Māori, which meant honouring relationships with the hapū and upholding the tikanga of the research.

Communicating the Research

Throughout the research journey a number of avenues for shairng the research were developed to reflect, gather feedback, share progress, and discuss learnings along the way. Each of these fora, both formal and informal, served as commuication channels for increasing awareness of Te Moeone mārakai, and the use of kaupapa Māori research methodologies to tell the story. Beginning with the PhD confirmation event at Kātere ki te Moana, this included hui with the hapū and hapū leadership, symposia and conferences, as well as conversations during working bees in the mārakai. Communicating the research also involved talking with the hapū leadership about further ways to share the findings on completion, which included hui at Kātere ki te Moana with the hapū, creating written summaries of key points for the hapū website as well as hard copies, and developing other resources from images and data to be used by the hapū.

Between 2017 and 2020 Glen and I co-presented at the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga International Indigenous Research Conference, the Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki Kaupapa

Māori Theory and methodology Workshop 2020, the Western Institute of Technology at Taranaki Research Symposium 2017, 2020 & 2021, and the SHORE and Whāriki Research Seminar, 2021. Each of these symposia were an opportunity to think about how to tell the story of the mārakai and the research, as well as a chance to share and connect with other similar kaupapa locally, nationally and internationally. Each of these were effective methods of addressing powerdynamics as they literally gave the hapū a voice to share their stories of the treaty settlement claims processes and the transformative work that followed. As an emerging researcher, I was used to these fora and used them as platforms for sharing insights on using Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology as a storytelling tool to support hapū aspirations. These were also personal opportunities for me to share my reflections and learnings of working in this space, and in doing so I came to realise that, in the context of this research that Kaupapa Māori was the dirt under my fingernails. In the context of the hapū story, I came to realise that dirt under the fingernails was a tangible outcome that represented connection to whenua.

LINK ONE

The following chapter includes a published journal article, *Tension without tikanga: the damaging face of the treaty claims settlement system*. The paper was written to provide context for telling the story of Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū. Originally I intended to focus the article on the aspirations framework the hapū developed to unify and guide their development in a contemporary setting. However, after interviewing the hapū leaders who were particularly involved in the treaty claims processes, many of their memories, feelings and kōrero centred on the the anger and pain of their engagement with the treaty claims settlement system. This shifted the focus of the interview and article from analysing the aspirations framework to understanding the reasons for its development.

Through learning this part of the story I began to realise the significant mamae the hapū and its leadership had experienced and how they transformed that mamae into a journey of reclaiming their Tāwhirikuratanga through the expression of manaakitanga to protect and nurture their people. I discussed the purpose of the article with the hapū leadership and my supervisors Helen Moewaka Barnes and Tim McCreanor. We did not want the articulation of anger and pain to cause further damage or to be about blaming individuals or hapū in terms of the tensions that occurred. From these discussions one purpose of the paper was to set the experiences in the context of the processes and relationships set up by the treaty claims settlement system and how the Ngāti Tāwhirikura leadership and hapū experienced and responded to this.

In the chapter these issues are explored in the context of externally determined processes where there are few opportunities to engage with tikanga. Tūmatauenga and the marae atea were suggested as ways of conceptualising potential tikanga processes not evident in the treaty claims settlement system. I balanced this with a healing aspect in the article that described the development of Te Moeone mārakai as a response to the tensions and conflct

the leadership experienced. Through writing this chapter I learned that upholding the mana of one group of people does not have to effect the mana of others and that, although we may not have specific tikanga on how to act in certain Crown-imposed systems, we also have values, concepts and practices to draw on as we navigate these systems and make sense of the dynamics of engagement. It became apparent that, although the treaty claims settlement systems set up a context of conflict and tension it also provided opportunities to explore hapū transformation and healing. Glen had considerable input into the article because reading my draft work would help him to recollect further and I would scribe as he talked and together we would insert this into article as it developed.

The hapū story was received with considerable interest and engagement across all forums in which it has been presented and the now published article has been viewed or downloaded at the journal site 84 times since publication in July 2021. The story resonated for many and the theorising and conceptual thinking behind the development of the framework was described as inspirational. The decision to present our research in these contexts was to support the telling of the story for the hapū leadership, and to enter this work into the broader spectrum of indigenous environmental research nationally and abroad.

I co-authored the chapter with my supervisors Helen Moewaka Barnes and Tim McCreanor, who provided guidance and support in developing the conceptual ideas and writing. The hapū leadership were also involved at multiple points of the writing to ensure accuracy and to have a voice in the development of the article. Significant tautoko also came from Ruakere Hond who provided expertise and insight on tikanga aspects covered in the article. The chapter was submitted as a paper to Alternative Journal in September 2020 for review. I chose this journal in consultation with Helen because of its connection to indigenous peoples more broadly and their experiences of treaties. We felt the article would contribute towards building knowledge on indigenous responses to imposed treaty claims settlement systems. The paper was sent

for review and minor revisions suggested. These were completed in April 2021 and the final paper was submitted.

Taiapa, K., Moewaka Barnes, H., & McCreanor, T.N. (2021). Tension without tikanga: the damaging face of the treaty settlement system. *Alternative* 17(2), 317-325.

CHAPTER FIVE

Tension Without Tikanga: the Damaging Face of the Treaty Settlement System

Abstract

In Aotearoa New Zealand, the arrival of imperial ideologies in the 19th century led to devastating land-loss and cultural marginalisation for Māori at the hands of settlers and successive governments. This paper examines the damaging effects of a Crown-imposed treaty claims settlement system designed to address injustices inflicted on Māori. Interview data from a Taranaki-based hapū that engaged with this system foregrounds the adversarial nature of this system and its continuation of trauma. We argue that, while the process provides voice to Māori, it does so within a paradigm that pits kin-groups against each other, unjustly limits redress and fails to resovle tension. A tikanga framing provides insights into how tensions are set up and ways tikanga can be used outside the redress system to seek healing and resolution.

Introduction

Colonisation has permeated all aspects of life in Aotearoa New Zealand over multiple generations. Driven by ethnocentric ideologies, the processes of colonisation changed social, cultural and economic structures of tangata whenua, which predated the arrival of colonists by hundreds of years, to reflect those of the motherland (Belich, 1986; Mutu, 2019; Walker 1990). Effects were felt by Māori communities in all regions, resulting in an escalation of armed conflict, political and societal upheaval, and the emergence of various resistance movements. Subjugation of Māori culture through colonising processes, combined with settler society's denial of Māori suffering, formed the basis of historical and intergenerational trauma (Pihama et al., 2014). The aftermath of that trauma lingers today, as the pain and grief remain unresolved in the collective memory of the people and form a part of the lived experience of

new generations (Brave Heart, 2000; Reid, Taylor-Moore & Varona, 2014). In the case of Taranaki, where colonisation was established by military force (Keenan, 2012; O'Malley, 2019) we gain insights into the pain, endurance and massive disruption experienced by hapū and iwi.

In recent years Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū, based in New Plymouth city on the West Coast of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand, drew on local oral traditions of mārakai, to explore shared ways of confronting trauma perpetrated through colonisation. Te Moeone mārakai (the name given to the hapū community food garden) was established in 2012 on the fringe of New Plymouth city. The mārakai shares the site with Kātere ki te Moana, a papakāinga building. The mārakai initiative included raising, planting and harvesting a range of crops using Māori and organic principals and methods. This also began a process of reclaiming Tāwhirikuratanga, by reconnecting people to the land. The use of mārakai in this context also offers fresh opportunities to build knowledge and understandings of the importance of place-based wellbeing and the contribution it makes towards achieving collective aspirations (Hond, Ratima, & Edwards, 2019).

In this paper we outline the journey of Ngāti Tāwhirikura as they emerged from Treaty claims settlement processes and began their pathway to resolution, guided by their values and tikanga. Within Māori worldviews, conflict is often associated with the domain of Tū-matauenga who provides us with physical, emotional, spiritual and procedural frameworks (R. Hond, personal communication, 18 January 2020). The open area of land directly in front of a wharenui, widely referred to as the marae-ātea, provides a conceptual understanding of what does and does not happen in Treaty claims settlement processes. Considered the domain of Tū-matauenga, the marae-ātea is associated with airing disputes and challenging opposing views (McCallum, 2011) and Hine Rarā, a female deity, provides a calming influence and pathways to restoring peace. We argue that conflict and tensions evident are not necessarily undesirable but that, removed from the domain of Tū-matauenga, the Treaty claims settlement

system is lacking in the many guiding concepts and practices that support open dialogues, transparency, respect, and resolution.

Histories of Taranaki

According to Taranaki narratives (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996) there are three waka (ancestral sea-voyaging canoe) that provide the main reference points for connection to Taranaki tribes: Aotea; Kurahaupō; Tokomaru. Prior to the arrival of British settlers, the main inhabitants in the Taranaki rohe (region or area) were linked by tribal affiliations within geographical boundaries. Today the region is home to eight formally recognised iwi - Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Maru, Te Ati Awa, Taranaki, Ngā Ruahine, Ngāti Ruanui and Ngā Rauru. A strong point of connection is found in the rivers that flow from the mountain, Mounga Taranaki (mount Taranaki), which continue to be acknowledged as a core element of collective tribal connection. Although all of the iwi have their distinct identity they maintain multiple genealogical links through histories, contemporary alliances and overlapping geographical, economic and cultural interests (R. Hond, personal communication, 18 January 2020). There have also been instances of inter-iwi conflict within the region evidenced by a succession of localised hostilities (Te Kupenga Mātauranga o Taranaki, 2011), alongside a history of conflict with iwi from elsewhere.

The signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, an agreement between the Crown and Māori leaders began in February 1840. There are two versions, one in te reo and one in English containing significant differences in meaning, particularly around issues of sovereignty and rangatiratanga. From the 1840s and well into the 1850s there was increasing pressure on government to provide land for the waves of settlers wanting to emigrate to New Plymouth and the Taranaki region (Adds, 2010; Allen, 2009; O'Malley, 2019; Riseborough, 2002; Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). Many arrived with the false understanding that they had already purchased land in Taranaki from the New Zealand Company (Te Kupenga Mātauranga o

Taranaki, 2011) which led to escalating aggression by the Crown to acquire Māori land. From the 1860s onwards a series of wars and attacks by the Crown ensued and Māori in Taranaki experienced the violent suppression of their rights as a continuous struggle well into the 1890s and beyond (R. Hond, personal communication, 18 January 2020). This resulted in significant disruptions to structures such as whānau, hapū, iwi and papakāinga (Mika, Smith, Gillies, & Wiremu, 2019; Smith & Wirihana, 2014). In their place a number of Crown structures such as collectives of owners or shareholders and management committees, were imposed. Large-scale deforestation and agricultural development of Māori lands exacerbated further disruption in the form of externally imposed operating systems through which the Crown could control Māori aspirations for rangatiratanga guaranteed in Te Tiriti.

Waitangi Tribunal

After years of Treaty activism from the land rights movement and other associated organisations (see Harris, 2004; Walker, 2004 for example), the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 was the first official recognition of the Treaty in modern times (Barrett & Connolly-Stone, 1998). The Act led to the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal; a permanent commission of inquiry empowered to look at breaches of the treaty from 1975 onwards (Belich, 1996; Fitzgerald, 2004; King, 2003; Melvin, 2004; Walker, 2004) and make non-binding recommendations to the government on how to rectify these (Barrett & Connolly-Stone, 1998; Sorenson, 2014; Tauri & Webb, 2011).

The passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985 extended the powers of the Tribunal to investigate historical grievances as far back as 1840 (Melvin, 2004; Walker, 2004) and provided many iwi with a mechanism and forum to express long-held injustices. For the first time Māori were able to voice their experiences and knowledge of colonising processes (Ward, 1999) and histories previously excluded from the public domain (Mutu, 2019). Claimants whose claims were upheld entered into negotiations with the Crown over claims

settlements, which mainly involved financial redress and the return of portions of land. With tikanga and kawa (customs) stripped away, the English adversarial system determined by the Crown is the central protocol. Multiple tensions have arisen over the processes, nature and extent of redress offered, including the Crown's ability to determine who is and is not legitimate in a Crown imposed Treaty claims settlement context. At its worst, ruthlessly pursued divide and rule tactics (Mutu, 2019), lead to a breakdown of relationships, where claimants defend themselves and fight for recognition at the expense of others who are often relations and close neighbouring hapū.

In addition, rather than a transparent process where contested viewpoints can be aired, negotiations are required to be confidential, a process at odds with the broader claimant constituents (Mutu, 2019). The cost for those excluded or invalidated through this process is further injury among those traumatised by previous hostilities, which can take generations to repair (Mutu, 2019). Validation and participation in this context are made more complex by the Crown's recognition of rūnanga as legal entities, and the subsequent understanding that these are key structures for Crown engagement. Instead of healing, these sometimes-exclusionary processes continue to leave some people and entities feeling disempowered and disenfranchised (Mika et al., 2019; Poata-Smith, 2004a, 2004b).

Rūnanga

The Rūnanga Iwi Act of 1990, a short-lived piece of legislation, enabled the establishment of commercially restructured iwi authorities based on the customary notion of a Rūnanga (Cox, 1993; Hall, 2004; Hill, 2009; Poata-Smith, 2004a). Of particular concern was the prescriptive nature of the legislation as it positioned new corporate tribal entities as the official voices for Māori society (Poata-Smith, 2004a, 2004b; Sharp, 2015). This gave rise to concerns about mandate and the risk of fragmentation (Erueti & Ward, 2001; Hall, 2004; Mika et al., 2019; Poata-Smith, 2004a) as not everyone, such as those living away from their tribal areas, felt

represented by these structures (Mika et al., 2019; Rangiheuea, 2010). Furthermore, questions over the actual autonomy being offered to Māori through these reinvented rūnanga structures were raised, as many saw them as another state apparatus through which Māori aspirations could be monitored by the Crown (Hill, 2009).

With the advent of claims processes, the Crown then dealt with selected groups at the expense of others, often resulting in whānau, hapū and iwi being set up in competition with each other. In the example of the Ngāpuhi iwi claim and settlement, this unilateral approach locked hapū out of the negotiation process (National Business Review, 2018). Hapū struggle to have their rangatiratanga recognised and to be present in negotiations over limited resources (Poata-Smith, 2004a, 2004b). Issues and conflicts arising from imposed structures are compounded and unresolved by the processes used to address claims and give voice to claimants. Crown processes along with the politico-historical context in which they operate, continue to have a significant influence on shaping the individual and collective identities of Māori in the present (Mika et al., 2019; Poata-Smith, 2004a, 2004b; Rangiheuea, 2010). While not unique to these challenges by any means, Taranaki provides one case study where issues of mandate, fragmentation, mana and tikanga can be observed and further understood.

Treaty Claims Settlements in Taranaki

The tensions mentioned earlier in terms of who is, and who is not, seen as a legitimate party in these processes can be seen in treaty claims settlement experiences in Taranaki. Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū, one of eight hapū who collectively make up Te Atiawa iwi (Te Atiawa are one of 8 formally recognised tribes in Taranaki), were excluded from negotiations after being relegated to the status of *emergent hapū* by the iwi authority, a move endorsed by the Crown, and were driven to fight to be included in the treaty claims settlement process. Despite having already established the Ngāti Tāwhirikura Hapū A Trust in 2005, and having directly engaged with the Crown on issues of surplus Crown land in New Plymouth city, in 2007 they were not

afforded an independent position at the decision-making table alongside other hapū representatives as part of Te Atiawa Iwi Authority (G. Skipper, personal communication, 8 August, 2019). Although they never ceded their agency, the mandate for Ngāti Tāwhirikura was given to other hapū during the claims settlement process. This left the hapū without a direct voice in political fora that had direct implications for their identity and wellbeing.

In this paper we draw on interviews from a doctoral study that explored initiatives aiming to strengthen and reconnect the people of this Taranaki hapū. We describe experiences of the claim and settlement process from the point of view of key Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū members, and how, despite tensions, this provided an impetus for the development of a hapū aspirations framework as a way of dealing with, and moving on from, the grief and loss of agency.

Methods

The study was carried out in partnership with Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū, involving discussion and agreement on the doctoral aims and processes. After several discussions with hapū members and document examination, an initial interview was conducted with two of the hapū leadership to elicit meaning and context on the experiences, perspectives and aspirations of the hapū. An important component of the hapū journey was an aspirations framework, which provides a benchmark against which hapū development can be guided and monitored. The framework articulates the values and aspirations of the hapū along with some strategies and measures on how to achieve these. Central to this is the affirmation of Ngāti Tāwhirikura inherited and enduring tino rangatiratanga.

The interview with leaders was conducted in February 2018 and lasted for two-and-a-half hours. This enabled the participants to explore their recollections and jointly reflect on the ideas that emerged. The interview was taped and transcribed verbatim and checked for accuracy. Multiple listening's and close-script reading techniques were used to identify themes

emerging from the data and, where appropriate, thematic and discursive analyses (see Braun & Clarke, 2006) were used to explore the meaning-making in these responses.

Findings

The findings are grouped under six themes characterised as tensions and responses arising from treaty claims settlement processes. This framing is supported by thematic and discursive analyses (Braun & Clarke, 2006) of interview data. Themes cover the processes and impacts of the treaty claims settlement system on individuals and collectives, followed by ways local histories elicited tikanga responses. The pursuit of aspirations and ways to realise rangatiratanga are the concluding two themes, providing a channel for healing from the effects of engaging with a conflict-oriented domain. Collectively these experiences show that before healing from historical trauma can begin, acknowledgement should be given to the hurt and harms caused through the Crowns continued use of colonially inspired structures and approaches to mediate historical grievances.

Reacting to Imposed Structures

The hapū members attended numerous hui ā iwi (tribal gatherings) in order to assert their right to be recognised as a distinct entity alongside other hapū in the claim and settlement processes. Reflecting on this time, the participants described feeling voiceless and concerned about the significant tensions and conflict between individuals. The hapū felt they had to prove the existence of a distinct identity to be considered part of the treaty claims settlement process. According to Tamati:

> Yeah … it was all conflict, in order to get anything done and to create any space. Because effectively the political and the economic spaces were already filled and in order for us as a hapū to have any of that space you had to knock someone out of your space. You had to get in there, boots and all.

Tamati describes Māori being set up against each other; rather than enabling inclusion and for all voices to be heard, one party is seen as being able to take part at the expense of another. Time is also seen as a factor, with spaces *already filled*, indicating limited time to work through multiple interests. He acknowledges the tensions inherent in these restricted processes and indicates some reluctance about the felt need to *get in there boots and all*. Participants contrasted the apparent lack of collective leadership with what they saw as a more managerial structure, which struggled to bring people together in processes of resolution and healing. For Tamati there was "… no leadership you know just management leadership and every meeting you know was just a scrap – it was just dysfunction". These excerpts illustrate multiple layers of tension and conflict arising during the Taranaki claims settlement process. Together they provide some insights into the damage resulting from selected recognition, with Māori feeling compelled to compete for recognition within the treaty claims settlement processes and the structures developed to supposedly facilitate engagement and management.

Imposed Processes

Kara expands on the reluctance to engage in conflict, as they describe grief over the fighting and splits within families:

> On this side was this faction and on the other side was another one, and I remember going up and sitting there and just crying, and people loving a fight aye – "what are you crying for?" "Your brother is over there and you two aren't speaking to each other and you're telling each other to fuck up'. That was how bad it was it was shocking, and I cried I just sat there and cried, and I said, "This has just split us."

This excerpt illustrates various *feeling* positions in relation to the tensions. One position is an apparent acceptance of fighting, and another is the felt grief at the effects of the disputes – anger, separation and shock. For Tamati, deciding to take on the values of rangatiratanga

meant resisting negative responses and looking for guidance in order to understand what rangatiratanga meant to them:

> So, you've got this real ugliness being portrayed and it's thrown against you and your basic instinct is to throw it back – except you don't want to throw it back, you want to be the best, you want to be the rangatira and act like a rangatira to counter someone acting like a clown. But then I had to know well what does that mean?

These experiences left the participants with unresolved feelings. In order to move beyond anger and grief they stepped outside the claims process to seek healing and a way forward, drawing on their tikanga and stories.

Drawing on Histories

One pathway to resolving their more negative feelings about voice and conflict involved drawing on iwi and hapū examples. The first was Parihaka, a Māori village 45kms south of New Plymouth, which provided a blueprint for peaceful resistance and standing up in the face of opposition. According to Tamati, "I had learnt and had to learn that from the various times that our whānau have stood up and so there was a clear precedence within our whānau even traceable from Parihaka through other petitions and all sorts of stuff". Tamati appears to gain strength from this example and goes on to describe strong women within their hapū, referring to a history of telling their story for collective benefit:

> … there was a clear precedence within our whānau to stand up for other peoples' rights so regardless of how old we were it's not me it's our whānau and I'm just continuing what they've done – here's the petition and this is what they've said and this is what I'm saying – it's the same thing they said 60 years ago, forget about me this is us as a people continuing … to state that this is the bottom line.

As well as drawing on local histories to guide their actions, the participant is positioned within this history by *continuing* the work of others. They also draw strength from the concept that this is not an individual pursuit for personal reasons but is for *our whānau* and *us as a people*. This clearly motivates the hapū leadership to develop their own pathways forward, as Tamati found:

> But what it meant for us right from the very beginning, and all of the stuff we've kind of done is that we knew we had to do it ourselves, we had to find our own ways forward and we had to act like rangatira … act like a hapū, take ownership of issues and be clear.

In this context Tamati highlights how the hurt and anger of being excluded was used as a basis to explore the notion of rangatiratanga. The ability to do so enabled them to reflect and reconceptualise what rangatiratanga meant to them in the context of their distinct hapū identity and provided a basis for their collective actions towards this.

Guiding Values and Tikanga

The hapū began to focus on and explore internal development based on reframing the dynamics of engagement. This was an impetus to better explore individual and collective rangatiratanga, rather than perpetuating the breakdown of relationships between whānau. The hapū focused on what they aspired to for the wellbeing and sustenance of their people. Here, Tamati underlines alternative aspirations aimed at ensuring access to necessities and basic living standards:

> I just think that we wanted more. We felt that we could, with something really aspirational to really be able to make a difference, to really be able to put roofs over people's heads and food in their bellies kind of stuff.

Drawing further on local values, including those exemplified by the Parihaka movement, the hapū developed an aspirations framework document, designed to guide their actions in pursuit of their goals. This provided a way for the hapū to seek self-determination regardless of the treaty claims settlement processes and disruptions. According to Tamati:

> … the values have been set by us in reflection of some of our stories around our tūpuna. So, the value of holding on to that last piece of land for our marae (tribal gathering place) for instance. There's a lot of things in those values documents that we took from Gary's actions for instance around holding on to that land.

Guiding values were drawn from hapū, iwi and tūpuna narratives as well as their history of peaceful resistance. Land was seen as being of crucial importance to the development of self-determination and the tikanga provided a roadmap to guide development. As Tamati elaborates:

> We also have things like the pou tutaki[2] and a lot of other things like Parihaka, the values of Parihaka strongly entrenched in that document and there's a whole heap of things like that. We have things like we won't stand by idly; they're all calls to action, they're all action kind of values I suppose you know about how we're going to get on and do stuff.

A key aspect of development in this context was the need to ensure the safety of hapū members in the process, as Tamati continues:

> I knew I needed it (the framework) so bad to keep me safe. But also, to keep the hapū safe too, to keep us heading towards rangatiratanga – not being, you know, diverted towards things that weren't real you know, things I didn't think were real, like money.

[2] Pou tutaki refers to the carving erected in the Waiwhaiho valley as a symbol of the Māori land league that sought to resist the further alienation of Māori land in Taranaki

> You know money is a tool, money can be a great tool but it's not what we were there to do.

These reflections illustrate the way that narratives and histories of resistance were embedded within the hapū ethos and in hapū concepts of development. Although Tamati felt unable to resolve conflict within the treaty claims settlement space, here he works through ways of being safe, as an individual and as a hapū. In order to do this tikanga processes underpinned by guiding values need to be articulated as a way forward.

The Aspirations

Although the exclusion of the hapū from treaty claims settlement negotiations with the Crown was fraught and painful, it provided the group with an impetus to nurture their identity, celebrate hapūtanga and formalise this in some way. Tamati explains how:

> … we needed a statement; we needed a declaration and that was also something that we as a hapū had made a declaration about hapūtanga. Remember that iwi are in a Crown settlement situation and so you need things like these statements these broad statements to kind of legitimise yourself against a Crown kind of entity and to legitimatise yourself in their eyes or anybody's eyes up against everybody else.

Development of an aspirations framework was also inspired by one of the participant's engagement with a local social services model on relationship dynamics in the context of domestic violence. The contributions of power and control to toxic relationships and seeking ways to respond peacefully resonated with the hapū experiences in the treaty claims settlement process. Here Tamati reflects on work-related facilitation training he undertook, where the potential to learn from and adapt domestic violence frameworks became apparent:

> I … was exposed to a whole lot of different frameworks around power and control and one of them stuck out to me as a really simple model which I kind of later realised it

> was a model for interpersonal relationships and how to maintain positive, or how to actually realise poisonous and really destructive relationships and what they look like.

The twin notions of power and control were given more context when the hapū considered the disempowering effects of Crown interactions with Māori that led to widespread disenfranchisement. Tamati explains that "… what I was framing up was … the taking of power and control by the Crown and what that has done to us. And just the same as when the … abused becomes the abuser". These dynamics provided inspiration for the development of a framework for guiding transformative relationships for themselves and with others. For Tamati, the first step was to focus on examining and reframing their thinking:

> … this whole framework was all about relationships, positive relationships and how that empowers people to get on and be the best they can be. But we're so entrenched in the crap we can't see a way forward and these things were really starting to frame up a way forward.

Self-reflection extended into a closer inspection of some of the core values the hapū ascribed to in a way that encouraged deeper reflection on their meaning and application, as Tamati elaborates:

> … we already had all these words like manaaki and kaitiakitanga and started to see them in a new light, but I never had time to flesh out what they meant. But then all of a sudden all those whakaaro they started to make sense to me with this idea that if you have the right framework within your community, that tikanga was really around projecting and enforcing the best out of the people – the best out of the community … that tikanga and words like kaitiakitanga and manaaki and aroha and all these other words are actually about setting you on the best pathway.

The aspirations framework provides a benchmark against which their development can be measured. This enables the hapū to monitor and reflect on the effectiveness of strategic

actions and related initiatives in the context of their collective hopes, goals and dreams. As Tamati articulates below, progress has been slow and steady.

> Our horizon is up here and yes there is stuff happening below that but big picture stuff and stuff that's really going to make a difference is up here – and how do we get up here? And it's been for the last 6, 7, 8 years it's been a slow steady climb towards getting ourselves in a position to really make a difference up here …. Yearly we update this so in ten years' time we'll be doing this – well it's year 3 now … where are we going?

The aspirations framework was described as an expression of hapū resistance to the processes of colonisation and dominant ideologies and practices. For Tamati, the way the framework was put into practice was as important as what got done:

> That model is the antidote to colonisation, but it's hard. Obviously the last 170 years have been about breaking down that model …. None of those energies to destroy that model have disappeared. The only difference is that we've gotten a bit harder and we've got a few resources to push against it. But every time we want to do something it's not just about getting it done, it's about how we're getting it done; who's out there speaking on our behalf; what are we reflecting back to our community? What's our story?

A key element of their resistance is the overarching value of manaakitanga, where people are nurtured within the mana whenua of Ngāti Tāwhirikura. As an expression, this means the ability to welcome people into the manaakitanga of Ngāti Tāwhirikura through kai and common kaupapa. According to Kara:

> We can't go and feed the multitudes you know. But they can come up here and have a feed of fish when we have a hui, we always have fish you know trying to flip that and

having the central point up here, “Come up to Kātere and hang out here, we’re having these hui and we’re doing this and that.”

Realising Rangatiratanga

Ngāti Tāwhirikura refocused their energies towards Rongo-mā-tāne[3]. This shift led them to use their whenua to establish a garden environment to re-centre their wairua and express rangatiratanga through manaakitanga. Development of the aspiration’s framework has enabled them to track and monitor progress towards achieving this and other outcomes set by the hapū, which to date has been gradual and steady.

The path towards achieving their aspirations was supported by multiple small wins. The sense of achievement and progression in the short-term continues to feed into their long-term visions and aspirations, as Tamati explains:

> … we’re kind of coming to a point where we’re starting to accumulate some putea, so resources where some of the bigger aspirations might be manifested like a papakāinga, Te Rewarewa, a business development; stuff we had talked about and dreamt about but had no idea really how to …but I feel like we’re on a cusp of breaking through some of those things. But we’ve had lots and lots and lots of small wins, continuous wins and we grade that stuff on whether it’s completed or still pending.

There was a tangible sense of accomplishment in connecting with and being able to focus on empowering and growing people to be the best they can be regardless of whether they were descendants of the hapū or not. This led to the formation of the ‘Friends of Tāwhirikura’ group to recognise the relationships and contributions of non-hapū people to different hapū kaupapa. Kara articulates this approach:

[3] The deity of peace and associated with food cultivation and cooperative activity

> And we've taken on the more the merrier, you know we said, "do we care if they're Tāwhirikura or not?" As long as you're tika and pono and behave the way we want, you're most welcome to come and stay or whatever.

For this group and other non-hapū people, the chance to build positive relationships with the hapū has had nurturing effects that provide a sense of belonging through the ability to contribute to shared passions and interests. This collective approach has helped to build and sustain a community of active participants involved with actions and initiatives linked with the aspiration's framework. Reflecting on the earlier impetus to develop a hapū identity and embody rangatiratanga, Kara felt that they were validated as a hapū if people were actively engaged, as she explains below:

> … where do we see our hapū in twenty years' time? Are we going to have an extra 1,500 people registered or does it matter? For me it doesn't matter how many people register with us. We could have 500 people register and we're still validated in my mind as a hapū as long as we're active.

Discussion and Conclusions

In Aotearoa New Zealand solutions to redressing colonising processes and historical trauma are predominantly articulated within a treaty claims settlement context, primarily through claims to the Waitangi Tribunal. However, this process is not straightforward and creates tensions and challenges. One particular challenge encountered in several claims is who sits at the table and who does not, who is *recognised* by the Crown and who is not, who speaks and whose voices are heard. This is situated within a colonial context where the apparent legitimacy of some and not others sits alongside the decimation of structures and systems that were previously available to attempt to work through tensions. These challenges are important in and of themselves as well as in determining who controls any settlements.

Although conflict is a natural and necessary part of life, Māori are regularly accused of fighting and arguing amongst themselves for not being able to agree (Poata-Smith, 2004a, 2004b). This accusation is levelled at the conflict arising from the settlement system and its damaging processes which result in loss of mana, exclusion and the inability to resolve conflict. For as long as this system continues to impose tension without tikanga, conflict cannot be resolved within a treaty claims settlement space. Conflict, the domain of Tū-matauenga, has little space for resolution through the physical, emotional, spiritual and procedural frameworks afforded by the marae-ātea and Hine Rarā, discussed earlier. In the Treaty claims settlement processes, airing disputes and challenging opposing views occurs within imposed frameworks and imposed notions of who is recognised and included and who is not.

The absence of a tikanga framework left claimants vulnerable to the unaddressed conflict within the treaty claims settlement system. Here we suggest that by drawing on our tikanga, histories and practices we can consider ways to resolve trauma and disputes. Healing processes and ways forward can then be understood within and guided by Māori concepts and frameworks. In this paper, Ngāti Tāwhirikura reclaimed their mana and rangatiratanga by entering into processes of resolution and healing outside the Treaty claims settlement space. Developing and articulating values, aspirations and tikanga provided clear pathways forward. This required taking a separate stance, stepping aside from the anger and argument, that had arisen because of tensions sparked by treaty claims settlement processes. The experience was traumatic for the hapū leadership and the hapū as a collective. However, being on the periphery of the treaty claims settlement process sparked deep reflection and provided the impetus for the hapū to pursue Ngāti Tāwhirikura rangatiratanga as a foundation for wellbeing.

For Ngāti Tāwhirikura, validation of their identity and presence came from their histories and those of surrounding hapū including the peaceful actions of resistance exemplified by Parihaka. This provided a motivation and overarching context for an aspirations framework to guide practices. While the aspirations framework provides an important anchor for the hapū

and its development, it also sits within a broader story about resistance and solidarity. In doing so they provide insight into the peaceful traditions of their tūpuna before them, and a broader lens on parts of Māori history that sit outside of warfare and mātauranga. This healing approach involves embracing people regardless of hapū affiliation and reaching beyond Ngāti Tāwhirikura to seek out healing relationships with other hapū. Collectively these initiatives support the rebirthing of Ngāti Tāwhirikura rangatiratanga and, in doing so, use the impacts of colonial processes as a backdrop on which to seed and steadily grow agency. In a contemporary urban setting of increased population growth and housing development, this is vital to ensuring the histories and future of Ngāti Tāwhirikura remain firmly rooted in local landscapes.

LINK TWO

In Chapter 5 I told the story of how Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū turned their back on the tension and conflict of treaty settlement claims systems and processes and immersed themselves in the domain of Rongo. In this state they reconnected to their tūpuna practices of manaakitanga through the development and implementation of growing and sharing food. The development of Te Moeone mārakai was important because it was a statement of ongoing hapū occupation and use of the whenua, it enabled people to reconnect to the whenua and it created a community people could connect to. This was all a result of stepping away from conflict and recentring hapū activities into one of healing and growing their people. Considering the effects of historical depopulation combined with being invalidated through the treaty settlement system, Ngāti Tāwhirikura have been on a journey to reinsert the name of their tipuna back onto the whenua. A key part of this has been to re-validate their existence and agency as a distinct hapū of Te Atiawa iwi.

In Chapter 6, which I co-authored Chapter with both of my supervisors, we use the impacts of depopulation on Ngāti Tāwhirikura as a backdrop for the journey back to reclaiming their rightful place as mana whenua at Tārereare. In doing so we further explore healing through conceptualising the mārakai as a symbol of ongoing occupation of the hapū on the whenua – regardless of whether this was physically visible beforehand or not. Ruakere Hond supported the development of the conceptual work in this article by providing in-depth explanation and kōrerorero on ahi kā being about the uncovering of a smouldering fire as the basis of occupational rights to whenua.

Development of the mārakai and the reconnection of people to whenua through whenua-based initiatives, is symbolic of the uncovering of a smouldering fire which the hapū and others have gathered around. The symbol of a smouldering fire is an apt image of the rangatiratanga and agency of the hapū to maintain control of their environments and resources in a way that

celebrates hapūtanga. The article was submitted on 21 March 2021 and was accepted for publication pending minor revisions. It was resubmitted in July 2021 and is waiting for publication.

Taiapa, K., Moewaka Barnes, H., & McCreanor, T. (2021). Mārakai as Sites of Ahi kā and Resistance. *MAI Review Journal*, *10*(02), 148-158.

CHAPTER SIX

Mārakai as Sites of Ahi Kā and Resistance

Abstract

Colonising processes which led to the removal of many hapū and iwi from their whenua through conflict and dispossession, significantly altered Māori relationships with environments and associated tikanga. Mārakai, as a manifestation of ahi kā, formed an important part of Māori resistance efforts to maintain occupation of their whenua. Largescale disconnection of tangata whenua from whenua severely undermined their wellbeing and ability to maintain nature-culture relationships through continued practice of ahi kā. Today mārakai provide pathways for re-centring kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga and forming connections through the reoccupation of whenua. Through this, ahi kā are being uncovered and reignited, to demonstrate continued occupation of whenua in ways that revitalise culture-specific food practices. This paper follows the development and implementation of Te Moeone mārakai developed as a vehicle for Ngāti Tāwhirikura, a hapū in the Taranaki region, to pursue their aspirations.

Colonising Processes and Depopulation of the Taranaki Region

Following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, Aotearoa New Zealand borders were increasingly open to migrant flow as settlers arrived from Britain. The coastal area of New Plymouth in the West Coast region of Taranaki was particularly desirable due to its coastal access and fertile lands for argicultural production, and as a result became the focus of Crown attention in its bid to acquire land. Aggressive moves by the Crown in the 1860s led to ongoing conflicts up until the 1880s, in a ruthless attempt to take control of and extinguish ahi kā of tangata whenua in the region (O'Malley, 2016). Subsequent land confiscations by the Crown in 1865 as punishment to Māori, regardless of their involvement in resistance efforts, left little question Crown intentions (Allen, 2009;

O'Malley, 2019; Te Kupenga Mātauranga o Taranaki, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). In Taranaki and further afield, widespread loss of whenua disrupted Māori relationships and tikanga associated with occupation of whenua.

Despite the renown peaceful traditions of Parihaka, Taranaki also has a long history of conflict among iwi and between iwi and the Crown (Te Kotahitanga o Te Atiawa, no date; Te Kupenga Mātauranga o Taranaki, 2011). Inter-iwi conflict in the Taranaki region from the 1820s onwards combined with the effects of settlement significantly changed Māori relationships with whenua. Musket raids from Ngāti Whātua, Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Maniapoto led to a mass exodus of hapū and iwi south to areas such as Papaioea, Pōneke, and Te Tau Ihu in search of safety (Taranaki Iwi, no date; Te Atiawa o te Waka a Māui, no date). Depopulation took its toll on many hapū and iwi, resulting in diminished numbers of people on the ground. For Ngāti Tāwhirikura, one of eight hapū that collectively make up Te Atiawa iwi, and who maintain mana whenua on the northern boundary of New Plymouth city, this meant many of those who stayed behind were absorbed into their other hapū affiliations. Their identity became that of other hapū at the expense of their own (R. Hond, personal communication, 18 January 2020). This lack of visibility saw disruptions to taunahanaha, naming practices that enable people and events to be remembered in landscapes. The names, histories, and stories of Ngāti Tāwhirikura were supplanted by those from the wider community and tūpuna names were erased from the whenua; their papakāinga becoming commonly known as 'Waiwhakaiho hill'.

While not unique to Ngāti Tāwhirikura, these changes along with a western socio-economic system underpinned by the notion of individual property rights, means the ability for hapū and iwi to assert ahi kā over whenua is increasingly challenging. One avenue is the treaty claims settlement system, which offers a mechanism for hapū and iwi to seek redress for historical injustices. For some, this provides an opportunity to reassert and reignite ahi kā on the whenua, with multiple approaches being undertaken to uplift wellbeing and assert mana

whenua. For Ngāti Tāwhirikura, however, this system and its adversarial nature further challenged Ngāti Tāwhirikura identity with whenua (Taiapa et al., 2021).

In this paper we discuss ahi kā followed by an overview of conflict and resistance in the Taranaki region as a background to the story of Te Moeone mārakai, a papakāinga-based community garden in New Plymouth. Following the development of the Ngāti Tāwhirikura aspirations framework in 2012, Te Moeone mārakai was developed as a vehicle to pursue the aspirations articulated in the framework. In this context the mārakai was an act of resistance to the conflict of treaty claims settlement negotiations and a statement of ongoing occupation of the whenua. Here we present the voices of participants in the mārakai initiative, following their stories from development to implementation and wider.

The first author wrote this paper as part of his doctoral study. Although of Ngāti Porou and Rongowhakaata whakapapa, he is also a tama whāngai to the Waireina Watene Taungātara whānau of Te Atiawa. The doctoral study emerged from the relationship he and his whānau have with the hapū, and partly through being kaimahi in the mārakai. The second author is Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu and director of Te Rōpū Whāriki, a Māori led research group where the doctoral study was based. As primary supervisor she met with the hapū over several years. The third author is a secondary supervisor and longstanding Pākehā member of Te Rōpū Whāriki. The hapū is now a partner in a research project with Te Rōpū Whāriki.

Ahi Kā and Resistance

Ahi kā refers to those who keep the home fires alive; ahi meaning fire and kā to burn. Ahi kā keep places warm through human presence. Burning fires provide literal and symbolic warmth and maintain claims to whenua for those who are not physically present. When people left their whenua for a period of time, a large log was burnt in a pit then buried so that it smouldered for a couple of months. If a challenge was made that the whenua was unoccupied the smouldering log would be unearthed to demonstrate occupation. Therefore,

ahi kā encompasses the idea of uncovering a fire and reigniting the flame (R. Hond, personal communication, 22 October 2020). Today it commonly refers to tangata whenua who live in close association with their whenua. For hapū and iwi, ahi kā is the platform on which mana whenua is affirmed and the growing of food on whenua is validated (Te One, 2018). This practice was highly evident in Māori settlements from 1500AD onwards with the building of pā oriented to conditions that optimised food practices. Typically this included north-facing sites, fertile soil conditions and mild winter temperatures (Allen, 2016; Envirohistory NZ, 2010). In this context Māori geographies and food practices (Panelli & Tipa, 2009) were predominantly shaped by the need for survival and were heavily imbued with cultural values, expressions of identity and collectivity. At the heart of these relationships is an intimate understanding of the intersections between culture, nature and human health (Hutchings, 2020; Panelli & Tipa, 2009), also articulated as 'ki uta ki tai', meaning an interconnected, 'whole of landscape approach' (Harmsworth & Roskruge, 2014, p. 115). This philosophy is grounded in place-based relations, the observation of tikanga and the generation and application of mātauranga that positions Māori as 'co-producers of nature' (Hutchings, 2020, p. 47). Through nature-culture relations (Panelli & Tipa, 2009) values such as kaitiakitanga ensure human interactions with whenua and food systems are respectful (Hutchings, 2020; Panelli & Tipa, 2009). To do so honours the value and identity connections that Māori and other indigenous peoples form with whenua that provide spaces and places of wellbeing. For Māori these are recited in forms such as pūrākau, waiata and pepehā (Panelli & Tipa, 2009).

Ownership and Occupation of Whenua

The whakataukī, *He pukenga to Tū he pukenga to Rongo* - that which is produced through conflict and asserting yourself, and that which is produced when you stay home and focus on hospitality – reverberates for many hapū and iwi across the nation. New Zealand's

colonial history is replete with examples of Māori resistance to land confiscations and conflict perpetuated by the Crown on Māori to facilitate settlement (see for example, Belich, 1996; Kawharu, 2000; Salmond, 2017). Although history tends to focus on more aggressive actions Māori undertook in response, Māori have an enduring history of multiple forms of resistance, including hīkoi, petitions and other political fora (O'Malley, 2019).

Peaceful resistance rose to prominence in the 19th century at Parihaka, a settlement in the Taranaki region of the West Coast of the North Island in Aotearoa New Zealand. It was here in the 1870's that prophets Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi resisted Crown actions by remaining on their whenua and immersing themselves in the domain of Rongo (Hond et al., 2019). Central to this movement was the role of manaakitanga, which ensured manuhiri who came to support or sought refuge were welcomed into a social and cultural system of cooperation and collective resistance. As people transitioned from manuhiri to tangata whenua they were afforded rights and obligations of maintaining the kotahitanga that was necessary for working together on peaceful resistance to land alienation and other colonising aggressions. The planting and maintenance of mārakai was essential to survival and assertion of ahi kā at Parihaka.

Mārakai are an important aspect of mahinga kai, a broad and inclusive term related to all aspects of 'food work'. Mahinga kai is central to identity and survival (Hutchings, 2020; Panelli & Tipa, 2009) and has become a focus or key area of claims to the Waitangi Tribunal and to approaches taken to reassert ahi kā. In summarising associations between people and food, Panelli and Tipa (2009) situate ahi kā within embedded relationships and responsibilities, reflecting deep associations between people and place that mahinga kai practices are able to reignite and maintain.

Mārakai

The creation of mārakai symbolises the ability of hapū and iwi to enact their tikanga and be more self-determining in relationships with environments and natural resources to ensure the wellbeing of ecosystems and communities. Mārakai on marae such as Matikotare (Watson, 2014), Waipatu (Hawke's Bay Today, 2015), Ruapotaka (Tamaki News, 2015), Takahanga (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2013), Pehiaweri (Fenton-Coyne, 2015), and others provide important opportunities for the expression of ahi kā that also entails reclamation of knowledge and tikanga to reassert occupation and connections to whenua. They enable a practical platform where "indigenous community gardening represents an ordinary and everyday activity that can fulfil both cultural and collective wellbeing requirements to foster holistic family and community health" (Raerino, 2017, p. 66).

Literature around food and health often takes a relatively narrow approach; for example, framed as related to health and wellbeing through physical activity, access to kai and social functions (Raerino, 2017). Panelli and Tipa (2009) argue indigenous geographies can contribute to conceptual moves by exploring intersections between social structures, contexts and interactions. Exploring examples of food practices are embedded in identity and wellbeing and, in some cases, resistance. They argue indigenous geographies have "… established the significant ties that involve indigenous people in mutually constituting relations with their environments such that divisions between people and non-human life, or culture and nature are foreign aberrations" (p. 457).

As mentioned earlier, resistance is evident in the story of Parihaka; however, there are many recent examples. The occupation of Ihumātao in South Auckland, beginning in 2016, by ahi kā and supporters, saw mārakai forming one part of the resistance to proposed land development by corporate interests (McCreanor et al., 2018).

Similarly, Ngāti Tāwhirikura established mārakai at Katere-ki-te Moana in New Plymouth as an act of resistance to treaty claims settlement processes and as a statement of ahi kā. This

paper reports on findings from two haerenga kitea conducted with hapū and non-hapū participants at Te Moeone mārakai. The findings tell a story of revitalisation of hapū identity and tikanga through the mārakai, which continues to support the reassertion of Ngāti Tāwhirikuratanga on the whenua.

Methods

The research was conducted as part of a larger PhD project looking at the role and contribution of mārakai towards environmental restoration. Both the research and the PhD project were developed through existing relationships with the hapū, who offered their support and were part of planning and ongoing discussions. Qualitative methodologies guided by a Kaupapa Māori approach (Smith, L.T. 1999) were used to tell the story of Te Moeone mārakai, a papakānga-based mārakai open to the wider community. Data was drawn from haerenga kitea to provide scope and context on participant responses and insights. Haerenga kitea are a form of 'go along' interviewing and Photovoice (McCreanor et al., 2006) developed as part of a project on wairua and affect (see for example, Moewaka Barnes et al., 2017). Purposive sampling was used to recruit a group of hapū participants with whakapapa connections to the whenua. Although the initiative was hapū led, it attracted other community members with non-whakapapa connections to the whenua. For this reason, we recruited another group of non-hapū participants who grow food in the mārakai. Ethics approval was granted by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee however, we ensured these guidelines were consistent with hapū tikanga and research aspirations (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2009).

Data collection for the haerenga kitea involved the researcher 'walking alongside' (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2017) each group, talking and filming as they made their way around Te Moeone mārakai. Visiting different areas of the mārakai allowed participants to engage in kōrero and share memories and experiences of being in and working in the mārakai.

Participants in both groups gathered and ate food and pulled weeds from the mārakai while talking. In contrast to sitting in a room being interviewed, pauses and side conversations become more natural and comfortable. This led to multiple conversations between participants as they related to and built on each other's experiences.

One hapū aspiration was for their story to be told through the research. To address this, a pūrākau methodology was used to group participant meanings and experiences of their involvement in Te Moeone mārakai. Pūrākau is a conceptual and methodological approach enabling stories to be told within a Māori worldview (Lee, 2009). Data analysis began with reviewing transcripts from each haerenga kitea and gathering excerpts that spoke to what happened in the mārakai and why. Excerpts were put on separate pieces of paper and roughly grouped into a chronological order of pūrākau. Narratives were placed around verbatim quotes to clarify and expand on the story of the mārakai.

Pūrākau – Telling the Story of the Mārakai

We present the data in sections, structured to tell a story, beginning with, *Starting the Journey*, which describes how and why the mārakai came to be. Following this, people began the mahi, coming together to grow knowledge and kai. As time went by the mārakai grew and, as the hapū reached out, associated activities and networks increased in scale and reach. The pūrākau concludes with reflections on what was achieved and hopes for the future. Through the pūrākau we gain insights into how the interwoven concepts of mārakai, manaakitanga and ahi kā reassert occupation of whenua.

Starting the Journey

Participants knew parts of the stories of their hapū and reflected on the impacts of colonisation and settlement. Memories of these times were held in physical markers of conflict. The stories speak to loss as a hapū and reflect connections throughout the rohe,

including the story of Parihaka. Many of the hapū left and, although some returned, there were ‘only a few families left ‘to carry the torch’.

> We lost our political face and capacity in the times the land league was happening. So, if you go down to the bottom of Smart Road you’ll see the pou tutaki and when all that stuff was happening with Te Kekeu[4] and those other tūpuna who were trying to manage their way through the conflict and pressure of the Crown and the new influx of Pākehā coming to live in this area and with the subsequent ransacking of Parihaka and with all of the confiscational activity … most of our people moved away. They moved down to Wellington, Papaioea and Te Tau Ihu o te waka o Māui. So, there were only a few families left just to carry the torch; I mean even our family went down and then they came back, and we had lands down there and they came back. It’s a long story and I only hold part of it. (Eruera)

In a desire to reassert occupation and reunite the hapū, various strategies were explored. The establishment of a mārakai was settled on as a way of (re)connecting people and whenua. Hapū members identified what was needed and put out the call.

> Hākoakoa, tū mana motuhake, knowing self and being strong in identity, feeling confident to tohe this one and that one for the things that we need and things that need to come back. That’s a āhuatanga in itself and I reckon Tāwhirikura has got that, pērā te mahi tuakana mo ngā iwi o Taranaki. (Ripeka)

Initially Te Moeone was a paddock overgrown with kikuyu, dock and fennel and it required a collective effort to transform it into a mārakai. As others responded Ngāti Tāwhirikura gained greater confidence in enacting its tuakana role. As well as local support, tautoko came from wider organisations such as Massey University and Tāhuri Whenua.

[4] Hone Te Kekeu Ropiha was a local rangatira of Ngāti Tāwhirikura descent

> … in terms of those taonga and the things that have been passed down, you know that mahi that was done at Massey, the tautoko Tamati (a former member of the hapū leadership responsible for developing the mārakai initiative) and others received from Tāhuri Whenua and some of those organisations too i whakamana ana tēnei mea i te mahi whenua, just really good timing that those things were around to tautoko what the aspirations were for this piece of whenua. (Ripeka)

Resources, both people and material, not only supported the establishment of the mārakai, but also boosted the hapū in its journey.

> … just nice knowing there were people supporting Tamati and that's not just through āwhina a kōrero but through pūtea as well because you know he utu … and just the relationships that Tamati was able to connect with in this area for our tipu, Colson Road would give us all their leftover kānga … the matua was bringing compost and we were able to get some machinery and pull these fellas in to shuffle things around. That was the beginning of this kaupapa. (Ripeka)

Beginning the Mahi

Although Tamati was a driving force, in the mārakai people needed to come together and take on various roles.

> I like the idea of gardening together to share the jobs and I'm sure Tamati will appreciate that – someone digging, someone taking the rubbish, someone taking the good produce; it's more efficient and hapū style living you know you have your job, you do that one good. And the binding with your peers, and whoever's working with the children. It's finding time, whether 'yeah I've had a bad day or gossiping about Aunty so and so', or whatever it might be, it's all binding and real and raw. (Vivian)

This underlined the mārakai as a hapū approach with collective and complementary effort needed to build momentum. According to Simone, "I like that this shows what people can do

when they come together. And again, in that diversity, the unity in diversity just as in the garden shows us as well. Working together."

> It probably makes it more traditional as far as the māra goes because it wouldn't have been everyone side by side doing this, it would've been roles for everyone, and it all ends up done. … It does operate best like that – everyone takes on their own task and at the end of the day all these things are done. (Michael)

Being present on the whenua was celebrated. Alongside this, as people gathered and worked in the mārakai they came to learn hapū stories and regional connections.

> I was thinking about the stories Tamati tells sometimes when you're working in the garden. Like when you're planting and you get talking or something doing the kūmara plots, you know and talking about the histories and stuff. That for me is … massive for me. And he pointed out down there the track that the carts used to go on past here to collect the food to go out to Parihaka. You know all of those and stories, and you just think 'far out, I'm here'. (Hēni)

Tamariki were an important part of the journey. They learnt through experience and alongside adults who valued the physical mahi and having 'hands in the ground'.

> … te hari o ngā tamariki, even just exposing our tamariki to those real traditions of ours; pono, tika, aroha, but then there's mahi. And there's actually getting your hands in the ground and for our tamariki to see that and be a part of that, he tino taonga tērā (Ripeka).

The mārakai became a place where people connected, built relationships, and learnt. Knowledge sharing and learning did not focus solely on 'gardening' but was embedded in a broader system of mātauranga. For Eruera, "It's about capacity building, it's about building relationships, building a knowledge system, where you're sharing knowledge, where you're sharing kai together and that's really valuable too".

Building and maintaining the mārakai was a labour-intensive process. Due to the demands of working 40-hour weeks, raising whānau and other commitments it was sometimes hard for whānau to participate. Although there were times when people came together, a lot of the work fell to a single person.

> I think people bring different experiences with them and different knowledge systems with them. You know what I think is valuable is creating a network, the problem is that when you've just got one person growing the garden invariably it becomes labour intensive; it becomes really problematic. But with teams of people, you know when a harvest presents itself of whatever kai that's been planted you know you're not just working your own garden. You might be putting stuff in there one time and other people come and help you, and then when it comes times to harvest like last year there was like tomatoes for Africa, everyone just took what they needed and there was still just tomatoes rotting. (Eruera)

Growing and Expanding the Mārakai

As the mārakai became established, connections and learnings were strengthened. Harvesting saw the realisation of effort as well as satisfaction at what was produced.

> I think it's definitely a great way to connect people to land because when you're here you get to learn about how each plant grows and you get to feel that feeling of accomplishment once it's on your plate and you can say 'oh I know where that vegetable came from, and I watched it grow'. … I like learning off of other people. Like if I'm there trying to grow broccoli and I do it the same way I always do it, there's nothing really exciting about that, well its exciting but not as exciting as if someone else says 'well if you do it this way, you'll get a better yield', or 'I do this', and actually having the space to try different varieties is really cool as well. (Simone)

The mārakai became a learning space for different generations, where knowledge and life-long practices went hand in hand.

> Just to watch the kids so that right through life now they can take something to any table as far as knowledge goes and not need to rely on people to survive. They're always going to have one tool, if someone else is good at something else, they've got their tool to take to the crop swap. No reason to go without. (Simone)

Growing kai as a hapū demonstrated 'a whole worldview' for tamariki on how to work, learn, teach, and share in a collective setting.

> And you're socialising our tamariki into the same expectations in that they know where food comes from. It's kind of a whole worldview. And where do you see people working collectively together for a common goal? You don't see it anymore; it doesn't happen anymore. It's hard to put words around that but it's actually a really strange … fulfilment. (Eruera)

> It's nice to be just normal for the kids too, that's a big thing for me that its normal and natural to grow your own food and that you're doing it for other people; you're not just doing it for yourself – you're giving. That's a big thing for me, the reconnecting of people, in terms of … reconnecting with my kids, the skills and the whenua and those values of giving. (Hēni)

As explained by the above participant, the mārakai recaptured and reasserted Māori values and knowledge by normalising practices associated with mārakai.

The Hapū Reaches Out

With the development of the mārakai, spaces were made for whānau to grow their own vegetables and for a bigger communal mārakai. The relatively large-scale mārakai had the potential to produce large amounts of kai for whānau and the communal space grew kūmara

for supply to Parihaka. According to Aaron, “At this scale like this is a lot of food so it can’t help but be for many mouths”. The scale of the māra created opportunities and successes as well as challenges, particularly in workloads.

> Just bonding and job-sharing because it’s quite intimidating and daunting gardening even just at home but at this scale it’s just like ‘Woah!’ You need an army to help you here. Tamati does do a good job, but more people and share the load and kick back afterwards. (Vivian)

Alongside working bees, other strategies to address workloads included outreach through networks and linking into common kaupapa. Networks provided knowledge and resources to help with the mārakai and enabled others to connect into Te Moeone. Kūmara growing workshops held at the mārakai generated high community interest and attendance from people wanting to learn how to translate learnings into their own mārakai. Ripeka recalls, “So many manuhiri through the māra, you know we’ve had, Tamati’s done kūmara workshops, we had the māra trail, the sustainable backyards”.

Ka mua ka muri – Looking back in order to move forward.

Reconnecting with whenua through growing kai resonated with the whakataukī ‘*Ka mua ka muri’.* This whakatauki honours the role of ancestral wisdom as a guiding beacon for how we as Māori plan our futures. Doing so enabled hapū members to uncover the smouldering log and practice what it means to be tangata of their whenua. The mārakai activities were clearly seen as part of a broader purpose and experience. For Eruera, “It’s actually about rediscovering ourselves again and coming from a space, it’s about flourishing”.

> I think it’s an opportunity to think back and think about them and really honour them and honour their taonga and really just get involved in being who we are as tangata whenua and you know you can’t get that at all marae. …. Koirā te painga o tēnei

> whenua, and I think that's what's driven me to stay connected, it feels good, he ngākau aroha o roto … That's resisting and being here hei āpōpō. He tino taonga. (Ripeka)

Hapū members saw pathways that followed the footsteps of their tūpuna, not only at Te Moeone but also through connecting their whānau and hapū to Parihaka and the rohe (region) in general.

> It connects people, way back when this māra used to connect people to Parihaka and today it connects our whānau to Kātere and back to the land and connects us back to our tūpuna, the kai connects us at present. (Tory)

> … the stories that I've been told about this whenua is that that was very much a part of the mahi on this whenua, was a place where our whānau from Mutunga and those moving to Parihaka, was a place to stop and gather and come together and he āhua nei mā te katoa. So, it's important that we maintain that tikanga and continue to invite people because you're right it's potentially the model of āpōpō because there are tokoiti o tātou. (Ripeka)

Participating in the mārakai gave a sense of inclusion on a journey. It was not a singular activity or purpose but honoured the past and connected to a more hopeful future. For tamariki, it was part of a life journey that supported tamariki to continue paddling the waka. For Dean its, "So, we can do what we want for our kids and it carries on like the circle of life".

> It is a privilege and safe both from knowing that there's food out there and to also knowing that like you say that you've been invited and you're on this waka and you're doing the māra together. It's important to me and it gives me hope too Simone and it makes me feel hopeful for the future. (Hēni)

As increased hapū presence was established on the whenua, it became a grounding point to celebrate connections between people, whenua and the past, present and future. For Tui, it's about "Our resilience as a people – we were here a long time ago and we're still here. This place is our past and it's our future as well".

Discussion and Conclusions

The journey of recovery from the treaty settlement process was sparked by a re-awakening of whānau and a desire to uncover the smouldering fire and reassert occupation of whenua. Participants spoke of ways the inter-related concepts of manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and ahi kā were enacted to reconnect with tūpuna practices. The mārakai provided a platform for working collectively in ways that nurtured people and was a vehicle for hapū aspirations of reconnection and the invigoration of hapū identity. Participants spoke of significant shifts, such as responding to the conflict of Crown-imposed processes to self-determination and community outreach. Feeling invalidated through a long tail of historical events sparked a reawakening that resulted in reoccupation of whenua as a statement of resistance and continued ahi kā through mārakai practices and values. For Ngāti Tāwhirikura this was about reoccupation of spaces that promoted self-determination and identity, with the mārakai providing ways of asserting ahi kā through being present on the whenua. The connections and collaborations activated through the mārakai are part of the hapū story of revitalisation beginning with uncovering the embers of ahi kā and reoccupying whenua. While reoccupation of whenua is a tangible outcome, the reoccupation of mind, spirit and tikanga is a significant domain of transformation for the hapū, evident in participants' kōrero.

Like Parihaka, at Kātere-ki-te-Moana, Ngāti Tāwhirikura created a sense of community based on the principles and actions of Rongo, which enabled them to activate hospitality as a manifestation of resistance and ahi kā. As an act of resistance to Crown imposed processes, developing the mārakai through collective actions enabled them to continue

rebuilding their identity based on their terms and aspirations. Te Moeone mārakai provides an important context where culture-nature relations are nurtured through connections to community, kaupapa and whenua. Community action enabled through the manaakitanga of hapū supported connections to whenua in ways that affirmed identity, reclaimed and utilised whenua-based practices and enabled them to be a part of the story.

Ahi kā and mārakai are conceptual and practical and are interwoven acts of reassertion and resistance. Mārakai are one increasingly common way to reoccupy whenua and bring people together. They provide kai, and often this is a key focus (Raerino, 2017), but they do much more. The stories told here demonstrate Panelli and Tipa's (2009) argument about the ability of indigenous geographies to move conceptual thinking about foodscapes. The supposedly simple act of producing food through collective gardening is about more than learning and harvesting. The pūrākau here speaks to honouring tūpuna, identity and occupation of whenua in the context of kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga and kotahitanga. As a counter to western approaches, it is one way to assert ahi kā and revitalise mātauranga and tikanga through relationships with whenua.

LINK THREE

In the next chapter *Mārakai: healing across time, place and space* I shift the lens away from conflict and focus on healing. I discuss the strong interconnections between people and whenua by highlighting the significance of place on wellbeing and its contribution to healing. I looked beyond the physical health aspects of mārakai and focused on less tangible aspects that are embedded in our indigeneity, such as wairua and rangatiratanga.

The data was drawn from two haerenga kitea conducted to explore how participants felt about the mārakai and some of their experiences of being in it and part of it. Responses and reflections highlighted the healing that occurs through human/whenua relationships in the context of mārakai. These are canvased on an integrated hauora view of health to illuminate the breadth and depth of healing pathways embedded within whenua. My primary supervisor had input into the conceptual development of the paper, aligning it with the notion of tangata whenua tangata ora. We co-authored this paper as a chapter for an edited book by Leonie Pihama and Linda Smith on indigenous healing as we felt this provided some locally grounded insights into the healing potential of indigenous relationships with whenua. The article was submitted for peer review on 30 March 2020, and was accepted without any revisions and is currently awaiting publication.

Taiapa, K., & Moewaka Barnes, H. Mārakai: healing across time, place and space. In Pihama, L., & Smith, L. T. (2021). *ORA: Healing Ourselves –Indigenous Knowledge, Healing and Wellbeing*. Huia Publishers. In Press.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Mārakai: Healing Across Time, Place and Space

Abstract

Through human whenua relationships and interconnections grounded in indigenous concepts and approaches, whenua initiatives can directly contribute to healing. By reconnecting people with whenua and by the nature of the initiatives they also contribute to human survival by uplifting the wellbeing of whenua - tangata whenua tangata ora. International indigenous research indicates that, central to improving health and wellbeing for indigenous peoples, is the need to reconnect to critical cultural relationships with increasing focus on the importance of place, belonging and relationships with environments. This article focuses on a mārakai hapū-driven community gardening initiative at Kātere ki te Moana in the Taranaki region. The initiative goes beyond facilitating physical activity and providing food to being an expression of values, occupation and ownership. Drawing on interviews with hapū and non-hapū participants, we explore multiple healing pathways that demonstrate connections across time, place and space.

Introduction

Colonisation has seen the foundations of indigenous wellbeing (the land, water and environment) destroyed, appropriated and polluted (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2018). The dominant ideology that people and land can be treated as separate is challenged through indigenous knowledge frameworks that demonstrate the inextricability of human wellbeing from the health of our lands, waters and environment (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2018; Simpson 2017).

Tangata whenua encompasses the commonplace meaning of indigenous people with particular rights and responsibilities, but also critically expresses the inseparability of humans

and environments (Marsden, 2003). By contrast, the predominant models of public health derive from western concepts and practices of western public health, whose origins can be traced to 19th century England where the first known study of epidemiology was conducted to determine the cause of communicable diseases such as cholera, which were rampant at the time. The identified source of the outbreaks were a combination of polluted waterways, a lack of infrastructure to manage population growth, and a limited undertanding of the link between healthy environments and healthy people. Following on from centuries of unsustainable growth, long accepted models of development have continued to exploit and deplete natural resources, pollute environments and change climate and other critical life sustaining systems to the point of large scale collapse (Flannery, 2010; McMichael et al, 2003). Failure to acknowledge and address such unprecedented environmental decline undermines the symbiosis of all living systems on planet earth. As a result, there is increasing awareness that the state of the environment poses the biggest threat to human health (IPCC, 2018; McCoy et al, 2014).

Conceptualising Hauora and Health

In colonised societies dominant ideologies of health are based on the theory and praxis of the western bio-medical philosophy of diagnosing and treating biological dysfunction (Fabrega, 1990). In this context, where health is considered the absence of disease, analytical processes focus on the role and function of human biology in isolation of other components. To do so means that the effects of other influences on health, such as economic, cultural, and environmental determinants, remain largely unseen. From this perspective, human health and whenua are separated and treated as discrete components, a notion that is at odds with indigenous knowledge systems. Consequently, indigenous peoples living in colonised societies are forced to engage with health demoting systems void of relevance. These approaches to health are being increasingly challenged by a growing body of indigenous work

that explores and emphasizes the health-giving relationship between people and natural enviroments (Hond, Ratima & Edwards, 2019; Kimmerer, 2013; Schultz et al., 2016; Simpson, 2017, Moewaka Barnes & MCCreanor, 2019).

For Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, health is a more holistic state of being, nuanced by the experiences, realities and the contexts in which they live. These holistic understandings are illustrated and communicated through metaphors that emphasize an inter-related view of health. Such an approach shifts the lens from focusing on fragmented individual components and are instead conceptualised in a broader context of relationships where the whole is more than the sum of its parts. Durie (1998), for example, uses the metaphor of a house with four walls to identify the core components required for health and wellbeing, while at the same time underlining their collective function towards maintaining the integrity of the overall structure. Similarly, Pere (1991) uses the intertwined tentacles of an octopus to illustrate the interplay of these components towards achieving and maintaining health. Through expanding how we conceptualise health and respond to ill-health, these models support decolonising efforts towards more effective treaty-based relations and equitable health outcomes.

Māori, like other indigenous peoples, have deep rooted connections to the whenua and the natural environment (Kimmerer 2013; Schultz et al., 2016; Simpson 2017). Terms like tangata whenua, (people of the land), and creation narratives articulate a whakapapa, or genealogy that is intrinsically connected to the environment (Marsden, 2003; Hond, Ratima & Edwards, 2019; Moewaka Barnes, et al., 2019). Mātauranga Māori, developed over generations based on these whakapapa connections has played an integral part in shaping Māori worldviews, values and how we interact with the environment (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013).

Hauora Whenua Initiatives

Despite colonising processes that sought to assimilate Māori knowledge systems and commodify Māori land (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2018), the link between land, identity and wellbeing remains a cornerstone of Māori worldviews and an important determinant of Māori health and wellbeing (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013). Māori health promotion aspirations "…to increase Māori control over the determinants of health and strengthen cultural identity, and thereby improve the health and position of Māori in society" (Hond, Ratima & Edwards, 2019:44) have created an impetus through which the healing potential of human/whenua relationships can be further explored. Although it is strongly and consistently argued that connections and belonging to ancestral lands are important to Māori health and wellbeing (e.g., Durie, 2003; Mark & Lyons, 2010), what this means in our current and changing world, how to connect people and what effects this might have are not well understood. When we damage our connections with and access to health promoting environments and places of belonging, we lose more than component parts of wellbeing (Astell-Burt, 2017b; Mark & Lyons, 2010; Markevych, 2017; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2018). Walters (2007) and Braveheart & DeBruyn (1998) argue that healing historical trauma is essential to the wellbeing of indigenous communities. Processes to heal collectives is a critical pathway that needs to be explored in order to intervene in the collective health disparities faced disproportionately by Māori (Smith & Wirihana 2014; Pihama et al 2014; Walters et al., 2011).

The steady growth in whenua initiatives that honour existing place-based linkages and create new connections provide community-based pathways to healing and health gains (Hond, Ratima & Edwards, 2019; Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). Embedded within significant places these interventions can transform physical, emotional and mental wellbeing for our whānau (see Le Grice & Braun 2016; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2018; Pihama et al., 2017; Simmonds 2016). Attachment to place and the power to govern and manage environmental practices are also integral components. Providers are increasingly encompassing these

understandings in approaches to health and wellbeing; for example, for 2018 Mental Health Awareness Week, the Mental Health Foundation and Hapai Te Hauora selected the theme Let nature in, strengthen your wellbeing – *Mā te taiao, kia whakapakari tōu oranga!* (Mentalhealth.org).

Understanding Healing

The more researched and recognisable health impacts of our changing relationships with the whenua include disruptions to food safety and security and reduced opportunities for recreational and other physical activities. Increasing research is exploring links between relationships with nature and obesity (Astell-Burt, 2017b) and mental health, considering buffers and protective factors. Stress is one condition suggested to be alleviated by contact with 'nature' and greenspaces. Findings are emergent and often inconclusive; for example, there is some evidence, particularly in urban spaces, to suggest that community gardens may have benefits in relation to obesity and physical activity (Cushing et al., 2017). An overview (Markevych, 2017) of the evidence linking greenspaces to health found little evidence that harm was reduced through decreased exposure to pollutants; some experimental studies demonstrated restorative effects, including contact with greenspaces reducing stress and there was mixed evidence on building capacities, such as encouraging physical activity. Little research was found on social cohesion as a potential mediator.

Most studies focus on urban areas and, as Astell-Burt (2017a) argues, "not all green spaces are the same". We argue that not all *relationships* with greenspaces are the same and, for Māori, this sits within a framework of intergenerational trauma, grief and the desecration of wairua and mauri. As an emerging but increasingly important field of research, it is apparent that there are many nuances and variations.

Health and education overlap in nature-based education, including impacts on physical activity, mental wellbeing, social wellbeing and other aspects of holistic health, including the

suggestion that spiritual health can be improved (Kahn & Kellert, 2002; Schaffer & Kraftl, 2017). Although reservations have been expressed in relation to removing children from their everyday settings, within an indigenous context, initiatives are about connecting with whenua in different ways and reconnecting rather than a total departure from the everyday. Emerging studies argue that research has much to contribute in informing the design of built environments and children can be important change agents in this process (Eubanks Owens, 2017).

Mārakai Initiatives

In this chapter we present some of the healing and gains in wellbeing experienced through Te Moeone, a mārakai initiative, in Taranaki, Te Ika a Maui (North Island), Aotearoa. Although there are well-functioning marae and community-based mārakai initiatives embedded within communities, there is a paucity of academic literature in this field. As a result, there is a gap in our understandings of the health and wellbeing and other benefits achieved through reconnecting people to whenua through mārakai. One key study by Hond (et al., 2019), analysed data from interviews conducted with seven leaders of mārakai initiatives. The study described mārakai as important sites for community development. They foster identity, connection to land, intergenerational relationships, knowledge, practices and processes, and:

> Importantly, hands-on collective activity with shared decision-making, which is characteristic of māra, fosters social cohesion and collective efficacy. (Hond et al., 2019:44)

Built on aspirations to empower collectives Hond (et al., 2019) argue that mārakai fit within the parameters of Māori health promotion. In recognition of the health gains associated with mārakai initiatives, resources have been developed to build the capabilities of people and communities to engage in mārakai; these include, step-by-step guides (Toi te Ora Public

Health, 2018), funding (Te Puni Kokiri, 2020; Matahi Hauora, n.d.), education, coaching and networking (Te Waka Kai Ora, n.d.).

Te Moeone Mārakai Initiative

Kātere ki te Moana is a papakāinga block on the fringe of New Plymouth City (Taranaki District, Te Ika a Maui, west coast North Island) overlooking industrial development out to the Waiwhakaiho river mouth to the north-west, and a mixture of industry and farmland to the south. Bordering the road is Tārereare, a 1.5-acre site, including a relocated house that serves as a whare for the mana whenua, Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū; one of eight hapū that collectively make up Te Atiawa iwi. At the rear of the site is Te Moeone, an additional acre of land no longer owned by the hapū that has been converted into a mārakai. Along with a papakāinga building, the land is predominantly in grass with pockets of low-lying shrub. For the past couple of years, the hapū have put significant energy into reaffirming their kaitiakitanga over their natural environment. One of the primary methods for achieving this has been reconnecting hapū through the ongoing development of the mārakai and related initiatives, including raising, planting and harvesting kūmara tipu, pumpkin, garlic, taro and onions along with other green leaf crops. All vegetables on site are grown in alignment with organic principles and methods.

As a domain of Rongo-mā-tāne the mārakai enabled the hapū to step away from the tension and trauma of treaty settlement processes, and instead redirect their energies towards caring for their people and their land. This open expression of manaakitanga is also a statement of their ongoing occupation of their lands and a basis for re-establishing their hapūora.

Methods

This research is part of a doctoral study[5] by the first author exploring the relationships between community action in a hapū development context and environmental restoration. The study is

[5] The primary and secondary supervisors are Professors Helen Moewaka Barnes and Tim McCreanor.

part of Te Aho Tapu, a project funded by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, exploring hapū aspirations within multiple sites across Aotearoa. In this chapter we draw on data from haerenga kitea, an adaption of 'go along' interviewing and Photovoice. The haerenga kitea were conducted on September 2019 in Te Moeone Community Garden, Kātere Marae New Plymouth. Haerenga kitea has proven to be a highly successful form of visual documentation in the form of go-along interviewing (McCreanor et al., 2018; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2017). Haerenga kitea involve visually (still photography/video) capturing moments as determined by participants to record their immersion in the events and experiences of places.

The purpose of the haerenga kitea was to explore the dimensions of place-based wellbeing for participants through their involvement with the garden. Purposive sampling was used to recruit two groups of participants; a hapū group with whakapapa connections (six participants) to the land and a non-hapū group (seven participants) who grow food in the gardens. All hapū group members were Māori and the non-hapū group was made up of five Pākehā, one Cook Island Māori and one Māori. Each haerenga kitea took one hour and involved a researcher accompanying the groups on separate occasions as they walked through Te Moeone community garden visiting sites of significance and sharing stories, experiences and aspirations for the garden. The role of the researcher was to film the process, support the flow of dialogue and record verbal and non-verbal responses from participants. To do so effectively it was important for the researcher to follow the dynamics of each group; knowing when to step back from the conversation when to turn the camera off and when to film unobtrusively.

Analysis involved viewing both recordings multiple times and identifying excerpts that provided context and illustration of participant thoughts and perceptions of the garden in relation to wellbeing. This required going beyond focusing on verbal communication and paying attention to other non-verbal cues such as facial expressions, gestures and body language as well. Together these gave us better insight into the wellbeing connections that participants formed by virtue of their whakapapa to the land and for others through being active in the gardens.

We grouped participants' talk into five themes, which we report on below; tikanga, tinana, mātauranga, wairua and rangatiratanga.

Tikanga

Participants spoke about hapū moving away, due to Crown conflicts, land confiscation and various pressures. The mārakai initiative was seen as one part of '*the journey of restoring Tāwhirikura back on its whenua'.* The initiative could be seen as primarily economic but, as this participant explains, it is a tangible enactment of tikanga. Its establishment promoted hapūtanga and reclamation and restoration of a key site. It works as a reminder and application of values and principle.

> *…the māra has got nothing to do with money, although it's got to do with economies, it's got nothing to do with money. It's actually the opposite of it. So, you know when you go back to those fundamental values this place is really, really important because it's actually the ngako of a whole series of pa sites here which is the heart of Tāwhirikura. And that's about, we actually had some deep discussions about being honest about being pono you know about some really normal things that sometimes our people forget about. So, this land is, even though we've been kind of built out, this land you know – ahakoa he iti he pounamu. It's just a small thing but it's been funny when you look now in just 30 years Tāwhirikura is now starting to lead the hapū space simply because I believe that the people that we've got here firmly hold on to their principles. It's the principles that drive them before any other stuff that gets in the way.* (Eruera)

Economies, enacted as broader and deeper than monetary, were seen as one of the key practices demonstrated by the collective practices and values underlying the māra initiative.

> *It's nice to be just normal for the kids, that's a big thing for me that its normal and natural to grow your own food and that you're doing it for other people; you're not just*

doing it for yourself – you're giving. That's a big thing for me, the reconnecting of people, in terms of … reconnecting with my kids, the skills and the whenua and those values of giving. (Hēni)

Figure 1 Tamariki harvesting carrots in the mārakai (own photo)'

Underlying values were transmitted to tamariki through observation of values in practice as well as by the physical act of gardening; this was seen as important for future wellbeing.

…even just exposing our tamariki to those real traditions of ours; pono, tika, aroha, but then there's mahi. And there's actually getting your hands in the ground and for our tamariki to see that and be a part of that, he tino taonga tērā. That's resisting and being here hei āpōpō. He tino taonga. (Hine)

Tinana

As could be expected, benefits of the initiative covered physical activity and healthy eating. Being able to access fresh food easily was noted …

Te Ao Turoa is another one for me like coming here and recognising how things have changed over the years. Tomatoes last time I came and carrots like when we picked them but there were carrots over there exactly the same like weeds just grab one and have a kai. It's good it's what it should be. (Taine)

… along with the quality and health benefits of the produce:

This is grown from the earth and got all those nutrients, because like Eruera said, that kūmara that he's talking about my partner she's been using it for her breastfeeding and its worked, she's had heaps and heaps of milk, with our last baby she sort of dried up. So, it's been working. (Taine)

Learning about work and what was needed in the garden was seen as a positive, particularly for young people.

It's a good way to keep the young ones off those play stations – come down here and learn what a good day's work is. (Kara)

I like the idea of gardening together to share the jobs… someone digging, someone taking the rubbish, someone taking the good produce; it's more efficient and hapū style living you know 'you have your job, you do that one good. (Kara)

The physical health of the whenua was also mentioned.

Putting good nutrients back into the soil, this isn't mono-crop, this isn't paddocks and paddocks of broccoli or cabbage where all it's got is nitrogen in it and all they're trying to do is make it grow massive. (Taine)

However, physical health and other more obvious benefits were not a strong focus of participant reports, perhaps because these are more expected healing aspects. Participants emphasised that the initiative reached much broader and deeper.

> *It gives me hope that we can, you know thinking about we've all kind of gathered here and organically we've found ourselves here and trust that will happen and that call will get stronger inside of people and that and that gives me hope that this is not just the people making conscious decisions to be in health in all parts of who they are, and that this space can provide that for people that want to come back and reconnect with whenua and to marae and that the kaupapa is so strong in the māra here that hopefully that will bring healing in many ways.* (Jackie)

Mātauranga

Moving beyond more immediate impacts, participants spoke about the learnings afforded by their engagement in the māra. Sharing knowledge was both a social activity and a way of learning and connecting with whenua and kai.

> *I like learning off of other people. Like if I'm there trying to grow broccoli and I do it the same way I always do it, there's nothing really exciting about that, well its exciting but not as exciting as if someone else says 'well if you do it this way you'll get a better yield, or I do this' and actually having the space to try different varieties is really cool as well. Being with people you can just banter and have fun and share that load and see that bigger picture of what we come back to.* (Jackie)

> *… when you're here you get to learn about how each plant grows and you get to feel that feeling of accomplishment once it's on your plate and you can say 'oh I know where that vegetable came from and I watched it grow.* (Cassie)

For hapū members, knowledge went beyond simple learnings to involve intergenerational knowledge transmission and understandings.

> *It's about capacity building, your building relationships, you're building a knowledge system where you're sharing knowledge, you're sharing kai together and that's really valuable too. You're socialising our tamariki into the same expectations so that they know where food comes from. It's kind of a whole worldview.* (Eruera)

Others spoke about learning te reo, hearing local stories and other opportunities.

Figure 2 Tamariki and a kūmara harvest (own photo)

Wairua

Both hapū and non-hapū participants spoke of the feelings induced by spending time in the māra. The words and phrases non-hapū participants used included 'spiritual' and 'magical'.

It's a feeling you get I guess, I love it I love it now, I never used to but I just love gardening – happy, sad, angry – take it out on the garden. … I guess it's a spiritual thing. It just is. (Kara)

For hapū members joy was mixed with sadness as they reflected on change, loss and reclamation.

Regardless of it not being in ownership of Tāwhirikura, I tona wā, ko Tāwhirikura no tēnei whenua, so it is sad to look around and I think I agree with Eruera – it is what it is now when you come up to Kātere. But then there's this other piece of me that's excited that there's actually something happening here, and that even if we only have a small piece and we are surrounded by all this āhua of this other world – te ao Pākehā – ka taea tonu atu tātou. He mihi ana ki tērā. (Hine)

The māra provided both an escape from everyday pressures and a place of peace and 'fulfilment'.

Looking out at it though this place is like comfort from those everyday pressures. The few times I have been up to the māra to do some work and do some mahi, it's just like leaving that at the door and coming in and just focusing and being in a place and feeling like you belong in that place. Everyday pressures can follow you around, so leaving it behind for a bit. (Hine)

Figure 3 A kaimahi weeds lettuces in a whānau mārakai (own photo)

> *I liken it to a doorway in many ways, metaphorically it's a doorway for me to escape all of the outside pressures and it's a doorway back the peace that I think comes from having your hands in the land – there's a peace that comes with that. Someone said it before where it's a kind of completion of a circle.* (Eruera)

Participants used a number of concepts to explain how they felt and what the māra meant to them and their whānau. This included references to mauri and mana and ways people were connected to whenua.

> *There's a lot of things especially with mauri like with my mauri whenever I come here I feel good, like everyone has said. You see it in the kids but they don't know, the way they run around and how happy they are. Like my kids they were scared to get out of the car, they didn't know where they are but you know it's the mauri, the mana, get back to your pride and be proud of yourself and your family and friends.* (Taine)

> *… like that kōrero around 'Whenua tōmua tangata tōmuri', the importance of knowing where we sit and where we're placed in that picture. E hara you know we're not up*

there, we're part of this environment and the environment will be here long after us and so we have this time to connect with it and it's a nice environment up here. (Hine)

Revitalising the māra was seen as a way of honouring tūpuna, realising their aspirations, following in their footsteps, connecting with atua and enacting what it means to be tangata whenua.

… her nanny was there and so to take some of the kūmara from this garden and take it down there for the harikai, that was actually really cool to go to her and say 'Hey this is the kūmara that was grown this year out of your great, great grandmother's māra.' Bro that was quite a moving moment aye… And in some ways it gives you the chance to walk in the footsteps of your tūpuna so that you can realise the same visions that they had. They're not grand gestures, they're just living. (Eruera)

I think it's an opportunity to think back and think about them and really honour them and honour their taonga and really just get involved in being who we are as tangata whenua and you know you can't get that at all marae…you can see Tangaroa and you can see there's just so much space for potentials; for opportunities. Koirā te painga o tēnei whenua, and I think that's what's driven me to stay connected, it feels good, he ngākau aroha o roto, te hari o ngā tamariki. (Hine)

Rangatiratanga

Involvement in the mārakai was described as 'binding' people (children and adults) and promoting unity through shared activity.

Connecting here, we are privileged and honoured to be invited here with open arms. My husband and I aren't from Taranaki we were born and raised in Porirua and being part Cook Islander, well we're from everywhere I guess, and the children get to be involved in a marae setting very often. So, us coming here, yeah thank you for inviting

us and accepting us and as you see they play, they're not shy they feel at home and we feel at home. (Kara)

Participants also described how the māra connected them to tūpuna and to other sites and other times.

It connects people, way back when this māra used to connect people to Parihaka and today it connects our whānau to Kātere and back to the land and connects us back to our tūpuna the kai connects us at present. (Hana)

Interweaving people and interweaving people with the land brought people back, promoting hapūtanga and mana. A key aspect was the assertion of rangatiratanga in determining the hapū direction and asserting and rediscovering their identity and presence.

It's been instrumental for us to actually pull our family back together again and what's cool about it is we've actually got the freedom to figure out what that looks like. Like we don't have the inherited marae-model that we've had throughout the rest of our other marae…so this is an opportunity for us… speaking our tupuna name, Tāwhirikura's name and restoring it back on the land again… It's actually about rediscovering ourselves again and coming from space it's about flourishing. If you look at the māra just over the last few years it's growing bigger and bigger and more people are coming back, but he oranga tērā. (Eruera)

Conclusions

The whenua supports all aspects of human life, from air, food and water to opportunities to be physically active and participate in society. While the state of whenua may mean human life will be radically altered or no longer sustained, whenua can heal and be healing. Through human whenua relationships and interconnections, founded in indigenous concepts and approaches whenua initiatives can directly contribute to healing. These initiatives, by

reconnecting people with whenua and by the nature of the initiatives uplift the wellbeing of whenua - tangata whenua tangata ora (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019).

International indigenous research argues that central to improving health and wellbeing for indigenous peoples, is the need to reconnect to critical cultural relationships with increasing focus on the importance of place, belonging and relationships with environments. In Aotearoa, healing and health promoting initiatives, particularly those developed and run by Māori show a range of interconnected healing potentials.

Māori and other indigenous peoples have relationships and approaches that can mobilise and lead the way. Initiatives such as the mārakai are intrinsically respectful of whenua, involve kaitiakitanga practices and are vehicles that directly impact on participant and community healing. To fully embrace the holistic healing potential offered by these approaches, government agencies and non-Māori driven organisations need to shift their thinking and practices around health and interventions, through integrated ways of looking at hauora and the role of whenua in healing and promoting health. Such understandings place whenua at the centre of approaches to healing.

In this chapter we focussed on a mārakai initiative run by Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū in Taranaki. The initiative crystallised the ability of hapū and iwi to be self-determining in their values, environments and natural resources to ensure the wellbeing of their whenua and people. Measuring health gains centred on (in western terms) ‘tangible’ outcomes around lifestyles and narrow ideas of health, limits how healing initiatives are conceptualised and how healing is experienced. For the mārakai participants, the healing that took place was articulated in relation to physical wellbeing but, even more strongly, in relation to tikanga, mātauranga, wairua and rangatiratanga. We argue these gains are about who we are as indigenous peoples and about more sustainable healing than more singular lifestyle changes.

The mārakai provided a context where hapū and non-hapū participants connected to the whenua through the common kaupapa of growing healthy food using sustainable methods. As well as engaging in physical and social activities that increased the availability and sharing of healthy foods, the mārakai provided learning opportunities within and between generations. Beyond the more expected outcomes, wairua was central to participant experiences. The māra connected and grounded people through time, space and place by providing a shared activity where tūpuna could be honoured and their aspirations pursued and where mana and mauri were restored and rebalanced. The establishment of the mārakai was a tangible expression of rangatiratanga, rediscovering and asserting hapū identity and presence.

LINK FOUR

The previous chapters developed the story of Te Moeone mārakai through the experiences of hapū and kaimahi. They discussed the healing potential of being connected to the mārakai, whether through whakapapa or by kaupapa. These experiences and perspectives were important for understanding and recovering from the hurt and healing threaded throughout the hapū story. The reassertion of mana whenua helped us to better understand the healing mechanisms that are activated through reconnecting to whenua.

While the mārakai was an outward expression of rangairatanga, kaitiakitanga and kotahitanga, there were a number of deeper internal developments and changes that also took place like the affirmation of identity and the revitalisation of mātauranga that were equally important to supporting hapū transformation. Rather than a linear process this was a journey of learning dictated at times by lunar timeframes linked to the maramataka and by the availability of people to be present on the whenua to help with working bees. Our use of the whakatuaki 'Ka mua ka muri – looking back to move forward' was acknowledgement of intergenerational timeframes that influenced the mārakai development. This was a case of the hapū standing on the shoulders of their tūpuna to (re)connect with whenua to grow food and manaaki others through their mana whenua. Revitalising these whenua-based tikanga practices was also for the purpose of ensuring future generations of Ngāti Tāwhirikura have access to their whenua, place-based tikanga practices, and their collective identity.

In the next chapter, the story turns to the hapū aspirations framework that provided inspiration for broader conceptual thinking that led to the development of the mārakai. In Chapter 8, I provide an overview of the Ngāti Tāwhirikura framework and its content as well as an exploration of the outcomes achieved against the mārakai and related initiatives to date. The purpose of doing so is to contextualise the hapū journey and story according to the aspirations

and indicators of change set by the hapū. To do this Helen and I worked with Glen to discuss what had occurred and the role of the mārakai as a vehicle for the desired outcomes.

The chance to drill down into the framework enabled insights into the theorising and conceptualising used in its development to help guide the hapū away from the treaty settlement process and towards reassertion of rangatiratanga and agency. Through this Glen realised that, while hapūtanga is a desirable goal, it was also a destination that required indicators for guidance and monitoring of progress. Therefore a key purpose of the framework was to provide a roadmap of the journey to achieving hapūtanga so the hapū could know if they were on track and what their destination looked like. For Glen this was a process of looking into other frameworks and approaches to find parallels, and then adopting these to create alignment with the hapū context. The notions of power and control were central to the conceptual development of the aspirations framework as they formed the context for its development.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Hapū Aspirations Framework

Telling our stories

> *'In Crown processes we won't get to tell our story - they will find someone else to tell it for us.'* (hapū leadership)

Our purpose is to have a presence, an influence and create positive change. We will do this by retelling our stories, walking the talk and raising rangatira. We will support each other to rebuild the health and wealth of our community (Ngāti Tāwhirikura Hapū A Trust Aspirations, 2013).

Every journey requires a destination. For Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū, choosing to walk away from the tensions, conflict and competition of the treaty claims settlement system was the beginning of a healing journey. For this journey hapūtanga is the destination and preparations included development of shared values, purpose and guiding pou. This chapter explores the Ngāti Tāwhirikura Aspirations Framework, reflecting on the findings of the study and how it aligns to and illuminates the hapū aspirations expressed under the four pou. As described earlier, the mārakai initiative provided a safe space for whānau and hapū as well as meeting multiple objectives. Some were specific and direct such as providing kai and having a clear and active presence at Tārereare and some were less direct, such as the exercise of rangatiratanga. Although there are multiple overlaps, the following section groups mārakai activities and research activities under each pou. An overview of findings from the previous chapters are provided under each pou. I conclude with discussion and ways forward articulated by hapū leadership.

Process

In order to explore the four pou and their related activities and measures, I looked through each chapter and the research records to identify activities aligned to the aspirations framework. I also drew out themes from the findings chapters of the thesis and looked at these against the pou. As described earlier, the pou provide strategies and a more practical way of looking at realising the four values and guiding principles articulated in the framework: mana motuhake; tiakitanga; rangatiratanga and; tuturutanga. My supervisor and I discussed these themes and the intention of the chapter with one of the hapū leadership participants from the PhD research. The chapter was also sent to a number of hapū members for feedback and review and a follow up hui was held with hapū leadership.

The Pou Aspirations, Activities and Outcomes

Pou Tuatahi: Voice

We will develop and refine our story and we will use our voice to tell it clearly and positively. Tārereare, Te Rewa and whānau will be at the heart of our story and our places will be used for projects, groups, workshops and events to raise our profile. Our key partners and community will know our story.

Mārakai and Related Activities

- Development of Te Moeone mārakai funded through Te Puni Kōkiri.
- Kūmara planting, growing and harvesting workshops: repatriating the genetics and knowledge of kūmara in Taranaki.
- Sustainable backyards: Te Moeone mārakai was listed as a destination for the Sustainable Backyards trail, where the community were able to visit and learn about the sustainable food growing practices being used in a hapū mārakai context.

- Future research hui: Ken, Helen and hapū members discussed future research opportunities aligned with hapū aspirations.
- Conference Presentations: Glen and Ken shared the story of Te Moeone mārakai and the use of Kaupapa Māori research methodology to tell the hapū story at a range of conferences (Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, Tu Tama Wahine Kaupapa Māori Theory and Māori methodologies workshop, He manawa Whenua, WITT Research Symposium, Whāriki Research Seminar).
- Oceania Planetary Health Forum 2018: with permission of the hapū, Helen Moewaka Barnes presented on hapū and community initiatives and solutions to an international audience.

Outcomes

The story of the mārakai is one of resistance, reassertion, and particularly the uncovering of ahi kā through reoccupation and relationships with the whenua at Tārereare. The decision to give voice to the story was an expression of the values of mana motuhake and rangatiratanga, through 'leading the way and preserving the hapū position' and 'taking leadership'. Community and key partner relationships, as aspired to in pou tuatahi, were developed and consolidated, further placing the hapū within its story as a tuakana hapū.

As an expression of hapū rangatiratanga and values, Te Moeone mārakai became a gathering point for whānau and others. The working bees, workshops, presentations, and other related activities served as vehicles for people to come together, share skills and knowledge, connect with the hapū story and, in turn, be a part of the unfolding story.

Voice is woven throughout the activities and expressed in the kōrero of participants, contributing to the first objective of the thesis: *'to tell the story of the Ngāti Tāwhirikura mārakai initiative'*. Through the range of inward and outward-facing community engagements the story shared was through the lens of the mārakai. Each engagement provided a platform for the

articulation of the hapū story through the voices of the hapū and their supporters. Hosting workshops and hui at Te Moeone and Kātere ki te Moana familiarized people with the whenua as the context for hapū wellbeing in the past, present and future.

Sharing the hapū story extended beyond place-based initiatives. At regional and national levels Glen and I gave a number of joint presentations on Te Moeone and the PhD research in a number of conferences, symposiums and hui. This extended further abroad with Helen discussing Te Moeone mārakai in the context of Māori initiatives and solutions with an international audience. As a result, the story made a contribution to the re-emerging celebration of indigenous relationships to the whenua and the role of place-based knowledge systems supporting these developments.

Pou Tuarua: Rebuild then Grow

We will connect with whānau of Tāwhirikura and with like-minded people. We will develop and expand our skills and assets for future generations.

Mārakai and Related Activities

- Working bees: people from the wider hapū community were invited to help with weeding, garden preparation, planting, harvesting and maintenance.
- Kūmara planting, growing and harvesting workshops: repatriating the genetics and knowledge of kūmara in Taranaki.
- Future Research hui: Ken, Helen and hapū members discussed future research opportunities aligned with hapū aspirations.
- Whānau mārakai plots: both hapū and non-hapū people with similar interests and values in growing fresh healthy food were given designated areas within the mārakai to grow their own vegetables.

- Sustainable Taranaki/Seed Savers: Glen networked with other growers to access and share vegetable seeds and food growing techniques.
- Community science initiative: a collaboration with Tahuri Whenua, Nick Roskruge and Massey University to test the nutrient density of different kūmara varieties, supported with Curious Minds funding.
- Conference Presentations and hui: Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, Tu Tama Wahine Kaupapa Māori Theory and Māori methodologies workshop, He manawa Whenua, WITT Research Symposium, Whāriki Research Seminar, Oceania Planetary Health Forum, Fiji.
- River restoration project: a rangatahi focused project planting native trees along the banks of the Waiwhakaiho river to restore the health of the river and its habitats.

Outcomes

Across the mārakai activities, connections were forged and maintained. This began with whānau and hapū but also extended to non-hapū community members and to the wider rohe and people with aligned skills and aspirations. Common kaupapa, learning opportunities, sharing kai and working and socializing together in Te Moeone mārakai and other mārakai grew and maintained connections, skills and expertise.

Connections with the whenua through engaging with the mārakai and related activities underpinned collective action, a sense of community, and feeling connected and grounded through space and place to each other, to the mārakai and to Tārereare. The mārakai and related activities presented opportunities for the hapū to reclaim the tikanga practice of manaakitanga to those welcomed onto Tārerare and into Te Moeone mārakai.

Miriama, a hapū member who developed the rangatahi river restoration initiative reflects on the inspiration and learnings that were drawn from the mārakai:

I saw what could be achieved in the mārakai and it showed me we can be creative and practice things for the hapū. It made me realise that we could be pro-active in how we care for our tai ao.

For her, development of the mārakai and seeing how it worked provided a template and gave her the confidence to progress the rangatahi river restoration initiative into action. The aim of the initiative is to support the mental health of rangatahi through involving them in the propagation and planting of native trees and shrubs along the bank of the Waiwhakaiho river, beginning at the river-mouth and finishing at the source of the catchment on Mount Taranaki. Although not all the rangatahi involved with the initiative are of Ngāti Tāwhirikura descent, they are welcomed and embraced within the mana whenua regardless. To date the project has been supported with funding and other resources from DoC, Te Whenua Tōmuri Trust, Ngāti Tāwhirikura Hapū A Trust, Dominos, Whyora, Project Crimson, Trustpower, Department of Internal Affairs, and Tui Ora. The rangatahi river restoration project is another avenue through which the pou and hapū values are being achieved and are contributing to a context of ahi kā.

The hui with Ken and Helen to discuss future research opportunities also created new pathways for regrowth based on collaboration with other like-minded people and organisations. A Health Research Council (HRC) Programme proposal exploring whenua as a determinant of health with Ngāti Tāwhirikura as partners was submitted and was successful. Through this research Ngāti Tāwhirikura will work in collaboration with 4 other community-based sites and will be part of an international indigenous research focus. Research plans and activities and plans going forward will see resources based with the hapū and research generated and owned by the hapū.

Through increasing the knowledge, skills, networks, health and well-being of participants the mārakai and related activities provide a setting in which human potential and capabilities can continue to be nurtured and bought forward. The linkages created through this approach are

consistent with the practice of manaakitanga through ensuring their people are the best people to grow the hapū into the future.

Pou Tuatoru: Hapū Ora

We will build our knowledge, skills, networks, health and well-being to lead effectively and with ease. We will have the capability to provide leadership to our hapū and to the wider community in a way that sustains our energy and passion.

Mārakai and related initiatives

- Kūmara planting, growing and harvesting workshops: repatriating the genetics and knowledge of kūmara in Taranaki.
- Te Moeone mārakai activities, including sharing and eating freshly grown kai.
- Sustainable backyards: Te Moeone mārakai was listed as a destination for the Sustainable Backyards trail, where the community were able to visit and learn about the sustainable food growing practices being used in a hapū mārakai context.
- Sustainable Taranaki/Seed Savers: Glen networked with other growers to access and share vegetable seeds and food growing techniques.
- Future Research hui: Ken, Helen and hapū members discussed future research opportunities aligned with hapū aspirations.
- Conference Presentations and hui: Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, Tu Tama Wahine Kaupapa Māori Theory and Māori methodologies workshop, He manawa Whenua, WITT Research Symposium, Whāriki Research Seminar, Oceania Planetary Health Forum, Fiji.
- River restoration project: a rangatahi-focused project planting native trees along the banks of the Waiwhakaiho river to restore the health of the river and its habitats.

Outcomes

Development and implementation of Te Moeone mārakai provided opportunities for sharing mātauranga, tikanga and hapūtanga. Hands on experiences of the mārakai translated concepts and approaches into community and whenua healing. As well as uplifting the wellbeing of whenua and tangata, the mārakai activities listed above provided physical and social opportunities for participants, which resulted in healthy kai that could be shared to support the health and wellbeing of the broader community.

As a focal point for activities the mārakai was highly effective at drawing in the broader community and facilitating the exercise of Ngāti Tāwhirikura rangatiratanga. Building networks and learning to work together were challenges as well as learning opportunities. The mārakai and related activities created a vehicle for sharing information and increasing capabilities inside and outside of the hapū. As a visible assertion of ahi kā and rangatiratanga, it provided a hub through which hapū leadership could be fostered and demonstrated in strategic ways that contributed to achieving hapū ora.

Figure 4 Kaimahi prepare whānau beds in Te Moeone mārakai (own photo)

Pou Tuawhā: Cultural Strength

We will re-learn our place between Ranginui and Papatūānuku and celebrate our identity. Our culture is our strength, at the heart of our identity; reo, tikanga, rangatiratanga, mana whenua, mana moana and whānau.

Mārakai and related initiatives

- Development and implementation of Te Moeone mārakai - funded through Te Puni Kōkiri.
- River restoration project: a rangatahi-focused project planting native trees along the banks of the Waiwhakaiho river to restore the health of the river and its habitats.
- Māra reo programme: funded through Te Mātāwai Māori language fund to develop and deliver a māra reo programme at Te Moeone and Ahuahu mārakai.
- Conferences and hui: Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, Tu Tama Wahine Kaupapa Māori Theory and Māori methodologies workshop, He manawa Whenua, WITT Research Symposium, Whāriki Research Seminar, Oceania Planetary Health Forum, Fiji.

Outcomes

The mārakai was a celebration of identity on multiple levels as it supported the revitalisation of Ngāti Tāwhirikuratanga because it enabled connection to whenua, tikanga and manaakitanga. By providing a context in which Māori concepts such as ahi kā, mana whenua and rangatiratanga, could be acted on, it provided a greater understanding of what it meant to be a part of the hapū - past, present and future. Participants understood their place within the hapū and the hapū place within the rohe. Through increased feelings of belonging and hapū identity, they formed closer relations with the whenua.

Activities were extended to include opportunities to learn te reo in a non-threatening environment, where collective mārakai activities rather than instruction were the focus.

Through the māra reo programme and other working bees, participants were taught place-based tikanga such as karakia, the maramataka, and manaakitanga in order to learn and understand the significance of the whenua at Te Moeone. Combined with learning about the history of the whenua and the actions of tūpuna at Tārereare, this increased the sense of belonging for the hapū and provided a space where cultural strength could be nurtured.

Reflections on the Aspirations Framework

The Researcher Reflects

The activities undertaken as part of, or aligned to, the mārakai initiative intentionally sat across the four pou. As commonly seen in Māori driven initiatives, this enables a holistic approach not centred on 'problems', but building on strengths in inclusive ways. The pou, as strategies and a more practical way of articulating what the hapū might do to realise their vision, were clearly relevant to the mārakai initiative, which supported all four pou in significant ways.

A key driver of this study was to tell one part of the hapū story - the mārakai. As such, it is hoped the thesis and related activities, such as hui and presentations (particularly joint presentations with hapū members) give voice to and honour the mana of the hapū. The joint presentations were an effective way of reflecting on the story and putting it into a pūrākau so that it could be shared, and people could connect to it. This enabled others to see into the strategising, events and relationships on which the mārakai was developed.

Each of these presentations were part of the transformative praxis through manaakitanga that is woven throughout the Ngāti Tāwhirikura story. Through writing this thesis and giving presentations on its progress I realised that sometimes telling a story is more than just writing words on a piece of paper and reciting them. Instead it was a process of reaching beyond the veil of common understandings and perceptions of a community garden to show the depth of human/whenua relationships in a hauora context.

A key part of this was providing insight into the domains of hauora that are activated through a mārakai as opposed to traditional public health outcomes around nutrition and physical activity. Instead it was about conveying the idea that mārakai are sites where identity and belonging are intrisically infused with expressions of rangatiratanga, ahi kā and mana whenua.

Through the abstract thinking process for writing the thesis and developing presentations I came to realise the interconnected healing potentials of connection to whenua through mārakai. My rational was that if colonisation was based on the separation of tangata from whenua, then mārakai are one part of the antedote for healing the associated traumas. They offer us the chance to explore and practise healing based on our own holistic understandings of our relationships to the whenua and our own stories embedded within it. As I came to learn from Ngāti Tāwhirikura, rebuilding and fostering identity connections and belonging linked to whenua is about having the ability to make our own decisions on places of significance and the environments within. Partly this was about resisting the health demoting impacts of dominant western imposed systems which continue to devalue the identity connections to whenua for Māori and our longstanding knowledge systems related to it as a source of our collective wellbeing.

Initially the mārakai was an experiment to test the original hapū aspirations framework, it had wide reaching effects, some visible other not. The connections to whenua and the tikanga reclaimed from this process have been important for creating a context where the mana whenua of Ngāti Tāwhirikura is now taken for granted, as seen by the range of stakeholders engaging with and supporting the hapū in the mārakai and beyond. With a growing resource base and increased capabilities through strategic partnerships they are now reaching a place where they can revisit the development of the framework and create strategies for how it is immersed in all hapū initiatives.

The Hapū Reflects

Development of the Aspirations Framework happened over time, and the four pou were developed after the framework development began. We started with ideas and aspirations and the pou were more about how we were going to do things and plan. Now, with over a decade of projects we would like to go back and analyse our projects via the original framework, but we don't want to go back and dwell on conflict. It is more complicated, and we wanted an uplifting place for us.

The empowerment wheel was a wide-reaching framework that enabled a broader scope, whereas the pou were made for us; they were entirely situational for us at that time and in those circumstances. The four pou were more readily understood and are more of a Māori framework than the empowerment wheel. If another group wanted to pick up some of the framework they might not choose those four pou, something else might drop out, or they might start at four pou and not know why or how to use them.

When we considered the historical and contemporary actions of the Crown, through the disempowerment wheel framework, the things that have the biggest negative impact on our hapū are the ones that light up multiple sectors; that is systemic racism – a disempowerment framework which is super destructive. It is constantly moving, so the whole point of our projects are to do things that light up as many squares as possible in our empowerment wheel. We need our own systems, with multi-dimensional impacts. If we have no framework to describe or recognise disempowerment or empowerment, how do we know what it lights up? Our own values and purpose are central, so that we aren't just endorsing mainstream processes and outcomes.

It could have been any project that brought the framework to life. The mārakai initiative didn't include any specific talk about the aspirations framework because that would have politicised and complicated our hapū kaupapa. To achieve the aspirations, we needed to learn and

practice how to come together practically and as a hapū. The activities aren't just activities, there is so much more involved in each; for example, harvesting requires working with each other setting tasks, and distributing kai. We struggled to share our excess kai initially. Distributing kai means building trust, growing a network, and going outside of ourselves to create that network.

There are things we expect when we think about a tikanga driven kaupapa. For mārakai, we expect for example people will greet each other, kai will be shared, knowledge will be shared, and a safe and respectful space will be maintained. We need to think about the tamariki and take on the aunty and uncle roles. People do what they can and have a role; it might be in the mārakai, it might be in the kauta. We model what we can and encourage our tamariki; for example, through karakia mō te kai.

If the framework survives and works for us it creates impact. We will further develop our karakia and manaakitanga that we already have a foundation of action and learning through our mārakai. We will develop our maramataka and this will extend beyond the mārakai. That is the hua of the mārakai, it was one idea and one experiment that worked, and now we want to formalise the framework so we can do every initiative through it.

Where to next

Reconnection to whenua through the mārakai was an outcome of strategic planning that helped to broaden thinking and create pathways and opportunities for the hapū to heal and have a presence on the whenua. Strategically the values and four pou provide a hapū-based framework through which development and potential opportunities can be assessed to determine alignment with the hapū aspirations and how many values and pou they can 'light up'.

The aspirations framework is dynamic, however, it was not developed and socialised through the hapū to the extent the hapū leadership at the time would have liked. On the other hand,

the strategising was not something that necessarily needed to be placed on others and the mārakai initiative attracted people without the framework being an explicit part of the activity.

There is an intention to re-engage with the framework and finish its development as a useful tool for the future. Part of this will involve reflecting on, updating and operationalising the framework through further hapū initiatives. Possible ways forward expressed by the hapū include turning the framework into more of a tool that can be used to build and support the rangatiratanga of the hapū at the individual level so that it becomes normalised in the minds and actions of whānau.

There are a number of projects underway and for the first time the hapū will have employees. This means food on the table and a roof over their heads, but it also about how these opportunities can support the reconstitution of hapūtanga and identity; it is about people realising their potential. Employment and connectivity will provide decolonising opportunities and ways of demonstrating and strengthening values. The hapū are reaching a new level of capacity, providing a strong pathway for pursuing their aspirations.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusions

The story of Ngāti Tāwhirikura and Te Moeone Mārakai

This thesis explored the journey of Ngāti Tāwhirikura from their involvement in the treaty claims settlements processes, to the development of an aspirations framework and the expression of this through the vehicle of Te Moeone mārakai, established on their whenua. I describe the whenua as theirs because of longstanding ahi kā and mana whenua relationships, Pākehā property concepts notwithstanding. The study provides one practical example of the healing and connections that can occur through whenua initiatives.

Ironically, the treaty claims settlement system, established and imposed by the Crown to acknowledge and compensate for the unjust dispossession of whenua Māori and resources by the Crown, was a source of conflict, competition and tension for Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū. It bred tension and conflict between and within whānau, hapū and iwi. By only making limited resources available for settlement, and by choosing to deal with selected people and groups in particular ways, the treaty claims settlement system is discordant with inclusive redress.

This is exacerbated by the absence of tikanga that could provide pathways for working through the systems and processes of treaty settlement claims, alongside multiple layers and levers of historical trauma. Instead of being the desired forum for healing, Ngāti Tāwhirikura were left to fight for recognition and validation from the Crown and a place at the negotiating table. As a result they were left having to defend themselves, at times against their own relatives and other neighbouring hapū from being ‘taken out’ of settlement negotiations. In this thesis I attempted to focus on the ways Crown processes created and exacerbated tensions, rather than individual responses to the situation. Because these tensions are apparent across many hapū and iwi experiences, the system needs scrutiny.

Despite this, Māori have tikanga to draw on that can guide us through the aftermath of this system. Pūrākau of Tūmātauenga and Rongo-mā-tane enable us to conceptualise the nature of conflict and find our own responses based on our understandings and tikanga. The scale of these tensions highlighted the need for healing pathways to enable Ngāti Tāwhirikura to recover from the trauma inflicted from engaging with this process. Their story provides insights into the whakatauki ‘He pukenga to Tū he pukenga to Rongo’, *that which is produced in the time of conflict and that which is produced in the time of peace.* Rather than continuing to engage with the domain of Tū through the treaty claims settlement system they chose instead to refocus their energies on healing. The hapū leadership embraced the realisation that, when they were pre-occupied with fighting for validation in an oppressive Crown-imposed structure, they lost their ability to imagine futures for themselves. In this context, the journey of recovery for the hapū was sparked by a reawakening of whānau, and a desire to reassert rangatiratanga to uncover the smouldering fire of their ahi kā embedded within the whenua.

The desire to bring the hapū together and assert rangatiratanga motivated the development of the Ngāti Tāwhirikura aspirations framework in 2012, a process of resisting conflict and creating space to both remember the actions of their tūpuna, reassert rangatiratanga, and plan for the future wellbeing of their people. Te Moeone mārakai was implemented as a vehicle to support a transformative process for the hapū. Coming from a place of Rongo, it was a direct act of resistance to the conflict and tensions and a way of promoting healing for the hapū. Te Moeone mārakai was a place to reconcile where values of manaakitanga and kotahitanga were grown through connecting to the whenua and having a presence on the ground. Like Parihaka, Ngāti Tāwhirikura opened their doors and welcomed people in. This was a transformative process into the domain of peace. It was also a space where people could connect with tikanga that provided healing and a sense of wellbeing through occupying and connecting to whenua. Kotahitanga gave people a sense of purpose under the common kaupapa of growing whānau, whenua kai, and more importantly for the hapū, the uncovering

of the still-burning embers of their ahi kā. In this context manaakitanga was an important part of a strategy of resistance, where caring for and embracing people was the basis of transformative praxis

The multiple networks and connections that were activated through this are an outcome of rangatiratanga and manaakitanga in action. Reclaiming ahi kā and Ngāti Tāwhirikuratanga through connecting to whenua, was part of a process of reclaiming their place in a larger collective identity intrinsically tied to mātauranga, tikanga, and belonging to place. As a papakāinga-based community garden Te Moeone mārakai is an example of a whenua initiative that heals and connects people and supports the integrity of the environment through kaitiakitanga practices. Through their relationships to time, place and space they facilitated healing on their own terms in ways that made sense to them and honoured their tūpuna and mokopuna. Through helping to tell the story of Te Moeone mārakai I hope this thesis makes a small contribution to the unfolding story of Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū, and provides further understandings on whenua as *the* determinant of health and the healing that can occur through whenua.

Whenua and Hauora

When viewed through the context of human–whenua relationships hauora is determined by the synthesis between humans and their environments. In this context, we as Māori and tangata whenua are able to promote recovery, healing and wellbeing through our understandings and relationships to place and belonging. This means creating spaces where mātauranga is used to construct our own aspirations, realities and frameworks for hauora and strategies for the future. In contrast, western extractive and capitalist framings tend to place emphasis on functional correlations between the natural environment and population health outcomes. This commonly frames interactions between humans and their environment in

terms of resource extraction and the negative impacts that climate change, pollution and mismanagement of ecosystems has on human health.

Connection to whenua through mārakai is one example that is creating conceptual and physical space where the revitalisation of place-based knowledge systems on growing food, and the application of living philosophies such as tikanga and manaakitanga are being enacted to support the occupation of whenua and the reaffirming of ahi kā. By nature, these initiatives are intimately tied to the reciprocal responsibilities and ethical practices associated with being tangata whenua (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Henry, 2021; Hutchings, 2020) and belonging to the land, as opposed to owning it. Indigenous interactions provide an alternative narrative to the colonial consciousness embedded within dominant land tenure systems and approaches to land use.

As the story of Ngāti Tāwhirikura and Te Moeone mārakai shows, rangatiratanga in this context means having the ability to exercise holistic decision-making frameworks to guide interactions with the whenua, based on our own concepts, values and meanings (Awatere & Harcourt, 2021; Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Henry, 2021). Doing so is also about developing and practising healing based on our own concepts of health and well-being. From this perspective critical relationships that recognise and honour the salience of place and belonging, continue to offer important insights on the interconnected healing potentials of whenua (Taiapa & Moewaka Barnes, 2021, in press).

The decolonising effects of connecting to whenua are increasingly evident. On a global scale there is a clear momentum towards an indigenising of human relationships with the environment. In Aotearoa it is present in the activation of our responsibilities as tangata whenua to uphold kaitiakitanga to ensure the preservation of the environment and its resources for the physical, cultural, and spiritual sustenance of present and future generations.

Through increasing awareness and understanding of place and belonging, the concepts and practices of indigenous peoples pose a direct challenge to dominant ideologies that maintain that land and people should be treated as separate. Instead indigenous knowledge, concepts, frameworks and approaches continue to demonstrate that human wellbeing remains inextricably connected to the health of the whenua, waters and environments that sustain us on planet earth. The interactions of indigenous peoples within these spaces show us that connection to place and belonging can provide important sites of resistance to the ongoing effects of colonisation, and unsustainable models of development. In this frame, whenua nourishes, it can heal and and it is transformational.

Where I Got To

This research was a journey that was based on, and guided by, relationships. The primary hapū relationship was with Glen Skipper, which began through my whānau and me helping at hapū working bees in the mārakai. Over time we were added to the communication network for the mārakai and we got to meet the Ngāti Tāwhirikura Hapū A Hapū Trust chairperson Ngamata Skipper, along with other hapū members through the working bees and hapū annual general meetings.

The basis of these connections was a shared interest in taking more control of the foods we grow and eat and being connected to a sense of place through reconnecting to whenua. Even though a mārakai working bee is a seemingly ordinary activity that involves pulling weeds, preparing soil and harvesting food, the wider relationships are activated and reinforced through this process nurture us. Reconnecting to whenua and the seasons that govern it enabled the hapū, my whānau and other kaimahi to express our kaitiakitanga through being gardeners and growing food, through being scientists and observing the maramataka and through being historians and learning about the history of the whenua and the hapū. All of this was enabled by the mārakai, the extension of manaakitanga from the hapū and the

strategic vision of the hapū aspirations framework. Through these connections we were able to make contributions towards the hapū story.

Through being immersed within the manaakitanga of Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū, and supporting hapū aspirations for the mārakai, my whānau and I continue to grow food in our whānau plot at Te Moeone. As members of the Friends of Tāwhirikura group, a formal body through which our connection to and support of the whenua and hapū is recognised, we are able to maintain these relationships and connections.

As a result of my relationship to the hapū and connecting to their story of loss and re-occupation of whenua, I was able to offer research as a tool for advancement through walking alongside them on their journey. Consequently the PhD was more than just an individual pursuit and was always grounded in the idea and practice of relationships. The relationships that were forged through the mārakai will go into the future.

Seemingly unrelated threads woven together exposed me, by virtue of relationships, context and using Māori-driven research approaches, to more than just the research. Being involved with the ongoing development of the mārakai sensitised me to a range of things such as growing food, connecting to whenua and being aware of what was on the whenua before it was modified. The histories of the whenua shared by Glen throughout this research, helped me to better understand the ahi kā and mana whenua of Ngāti Tāwhirikura as it was prior to colonisation and disposession; as a resident of the Taranaki region this added depth to my own sense and understanding of place.

Watching the connection of people to whenua through the mārakai, while also learning how Kātere ki te Moana was a haven for northern iwi travelling to Parihaka, provided a context for the smouldering embers of today. These connections also highlighted to me the ability for mārakai to maintain intergenerational links across time and space.

Following the completion of the PhD research, my whānau and I will continue to support the hapū, the mārakai and any other areas of their aspirations. Doing so is part of the process of rangatiratanga and the battle to decolonise common understandings on the development, implementation and evaluation of mārakai and whenua-based initiatives.

Challenges

The popular conception that a PhD project is an individual pursuit and achievement presents a challenge to the essence of this research and my values as a Māori researcher. Undertaking this research was always for a purpose broader than me. The PhD was never an end in itself but was part of a journey grounded in my relationship with Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū. In this context the PhD is a contribution to a bigger and ongoing story of resistance, aspirations and ahi kā.

Despite feeling comfortable in my relationship with the hapū, there was always a challenge of remaining on the periphery (Adler & Adler, 1987) as an 'outsider' looking in (see Merriam et al, 2001 for example). Compared to what could be done as an 'insider' this meant that, at times, my identity became a limitation to what I could do in the research, but as Smith (1992) has pointed out, researchers whoever they are usually bear the conflicts of being both insider and outsider. The divide between academic interest and community intent is a common challenge when conducting research with communities. As Māori academics we acknowledge that we have viewpoints and interpretative lenses that we bring into communities and through community engagement we align these with community aspirations.

The choice of Kaupapa Māori Research grounded the research in the hapū context and drove respectful relationships; this saw minimal methodological challenges. The only challenge in this area was that this was my first time using haerenga kitea and pūrākau methods of data collection and analyses. For the first haerenga I had to adapt to being more in the background and following participants as they moved through the mārakai, letting them control the flow of

the kōrero, while also filming key material. Even though this was a more natural setting for talking with participants about the mārakai, it took some adjustments. It felt like removing the four walls of a room and the shifting power dynamics between interviewer and participant left a void that was also a space for creation. I could feel the apprehension in participants to begin with as they looked to me to facilitate the kōrero, however gradually they took the lead as they shared stories and shared memories from within the mārakai. By the second haerenga I was more comfortable with the process and able to better follow the overall flow and dynamics in the group.

In seeking to tell the story of the Ngāti Tāwhirikura mārakai initiative, I saw my role as being about hapū voice, rather than lyrical interpretation. As such, my approach could be seen as a departure from more poetic understandings of pūrākau and storytelling. I offer it as a contribution to the experimental exploration of pūrākau, which Lee writes about as not involving prescriptive or fixed categories. It is, I hope, still a valid journey in the mutually agreed aim of telling the hapū story.

The sample size for the research is relatively small. However, in qualitative research, sample size is not necessarily an issue. The use of haerenga kitea enabled a more rich and nuanced insight into participant perspectives than what could have been achieved through key informant interviews inside a room and away from the mārakai. Although the sample size is small, the data are rich, grounded and deeply evocative and I believe the combination of haerenga kitea and pūrākau has easily compensated for this limitation.

At times I found using the pūrākau method of analysis was difficult. For many years I studied and worked in the academy trained in western methods such as thematic and discursive analyses to identify commonalities in verbatim data and describe how discourse is being used. I realised I was not used to the pūrākau method of analysis. Despite both approaches being forms of narrative-based inquiry, I struggled with changing from the thematic analysis

approach of attaching meaning to observable themes in data and researcher-led interpretations of data, to the story-telling methods where telling a story was more important. Through practical and conceptual support from my supervisors I was able to identify and follow the chronological ordering of the story from within participant data but still found it difficult to write into an article and chapter.

At different points of the research, time was a challenge. My time spent on the research was highly relational, which meant paying attention to multiple things like planning for the mārakai, conducting observations in the mārakai, preparing and planting tuāpapa, writing funding applications, attending hui, conducting research and writing research articles and PhD chapters, as well as working part time and partly home-schooling our son. This meant that, at different points, it felt I needed more time to better work through each of these.

A significant challenge to the research was the Covid19 pandemic and lockdown as it caused disruptions to the routines of people who participated in the mārakai. This meant fewer people came to work in the mārakai and gradually, over time, some stopped coming altogether., This altered the dynamics in the mārakai, as the dwindling size of the community also meant there was less to take note of for my research observations and reflections. This was compounded by other kaimahi who stopped coming because they learnt the skills to grow mārakai at their homes. Others stopped due to work commitments.

Research Journey Going Forward

This thesis is part of an ongoing programme of research on tangata whenua tangata ora, which gained momentum in 2009. I had just completed my undergraduate degree and started working part-time at the SHORE and Whāriki Research Centre, Massey University as junior researcher helping senior researchers on a range of externally funded research and evaluation projects. Projects included positive youth development, Māori health workforce development,

Whānau Ora, Māori heart health, and media and racism. This was my first introduction to applied research.

In the same year I undertook a 10-week summer studentship funded by Building Research Capability in the Social Sciences. It was here I got to first explore my interest in the relationship between environmental health and human health through conducting a literature review on Māori Values and Eco-Health. The purpose was to highlight the diverse usage of kaitiakitanga within local research and other contexts to scope the range and critique the use of the term in contemporary contexts and debates. Of particular interest was the relationship between kaitiakitanga and the use of agency by Māori to restore environments and work in collaborative ways with western organisations. Tim was my mentor and supervisor for this project and provided supportive critique and kōrero throughout the analyses of the data and the write-up of the final output. For me this was a starting line for one day conducting further investigations into this domain of health.

Over time, as funding for health research increasingly began to acknowledge the undeniable links between human health and environmental health, more opportunities for funding became available, which the SHORE and Whāriki Research Centre supported me to pursue. In 2017, I did a pre-doctoral 10-week summer internship funded through Te Tai Ao, a research theme area within Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. The purpose of the internship was to provide a guide to planning and strategising for the Te Tai Ao theme. The internship focused on reviewing kaitiakitanga activities in Aotearoa to gain an overview of the types of activities, sites of engagement and organisations, iwi and people involved. The data was obtained mainly from online searches and discussions with key people involved in the Te Tai Ao theme. Helen mentored and guided me through this project, providing ongoing kōrero, reflection and support as required. Both these projects were fundamental to developing a personal awareness of the field of kaitiakitanga as a contemporary expression of Māori agency and as part of the indigenous paradigm on reconnecting to and restoring the environment.

This PhD research was a continuation of the research experiences and relationships that allowed me to use research as a tool of enquiry. On the completion of this PhD, I will continue working with Ngāti Tāwhirikura as part of a post-doctoral research project linked to the Health Research Council funded Tangata Whenua Tangata Ora programme. As a site-based researcher my role will include working with the hapū and a hapū researcher as part of their site-specific research. This will be done with support from my primary supervisor and Programme Director Helen Moewaka Barnes and the wider Tangata Whenua Tangata Ora research team.

As part of the post-doctorate I want to develop research exploring other dimensions of Ngāti Tāwhirikura mana whenua in a contemporary context. Of particular interest is food sovereignty as an ongoing expression of rangatiratanga, and hikoi methodology as a participatory form of data collection to support telling the story of their river restoration works. This is consistent with honouring the whanaungatanga I have with the hapū and with furthering my interest in of the relationship between environmental health and human health - *tangata whenua tangata ora*.

Future Research

Based on my personal journey, I see research as being an important tool to continue telling the stories that link people and environments. For example, although the scope of this research did not include a formal evaluation of Te Moeone mārakai, there are learnings and outcomes evident that could be shared to support and encourage the agency of Māori and other indigenous community collectives to activate their own localised expressions of kaitiakitanga.

Further understanding of the impacts of mārakai and whenua initiatives could be achieved through exploring their contribution towards achieving food sovereignty within whānau, hapū and iwi. This would be significant, given uncertainties caused by the covid19 pandemic, which

have led to increasing usage of terms like food insecurity to describe food system breakdowns and the inability of dominant food production systems to operate under such restrictions. This presents an opportunity for further research walking alongside communities to determine what food sovereignty means to them, how it works in their context, and how whānau, hapū and iwi can reassert greater control over production of, and access to, healthy and nutritious foods.

I hope that this research contributes to understandings of the relationship between whenua and people in the context of a hapū aspirations framework. It will continue in the form of further collaborative work with Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū by exploring linkages between the health of people and whenua. From 2021 until 2025 Ngāti Tāwhirikura will be part of the Health Research Council of New Zealand funded Tangata Whenua Tangata Ora research programme. The research is a collaboration of Māori scholars working on whenua based healing initiatives with five Māori communities exploring health, people and te tai ao – *tangata whenua tangata ora*. The research includes community groups, iwi and hapū as well as indigenous researchers from Canada and the United States. Community researchers, including a Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū researcher will work with research teams as part of an interconnected knowledge and practice creation programme.

Final Words

Community-based researchers continually do the dance of knowing when to step forward as a researcher and when to step back as an outsider looking in. Knowing our place within this context is part of our responsibility as researchers to tread carefully and with respect when working with communities.

From a Kaupapa Māori perspective, this is best articulated in the whakatauki from which the Whāriki research group takes its name:

Ko tou hikoi i runga i tōku whāriki

Ko tou noho i tōku whare,

E huakina ai ōku tatau ōku matapihi,

Your steps on my whāriki,

Your respect for my home,

Open my windows and doors.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (1987). *Qualitative research methods series, Vol. 6. Membership roles in field research.* Sage Publications, Inc

Allen, M.W. (2016). Food, Fighting and Fortifications in Pre-European New Zealand: Beyond the Ecological Model of Māori Warfare. In VanDerwarker, A.M., & Wilson, G.D (Eds.), *The Archaeology of Food and Warfare* (pp.41-59). Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Allen, M. (2009). An Illusory Power? Metropole, Colony and Land Confiscation in New Zealand, 1863-1865. In R. Boast & R. S. Hill (Eds.), *Raupatu The Confiscation of Māori Land* (pp.115–120). Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

Amopiu, M. (2019). *A Kaupapa Māori study of sibling and whānau relationships A pūrākau approach*. A dissertation submitted to Auckland University of Technology in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Psychotherapy. https://openrepository.aut.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10292/13361/Michelle%20Amopiu-%20Dissertation.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Armstrong, A. (2014). Mārakai Kai Ki Mataikotare Marae Rotorua. *Mana News.* http://mananews.co.nz/wp/?p=552

Astell-Burt, T. (2017). Measuring policy-relevant (or amenable) exposures for a more consequentialist environmental epidemiology: a critique and some potential avenues for future studies of green space and health. Paper presented at the International Society for Environmental Epidemiology Conference, Sydney, 24-28 September.

Astell-Burt, T. & Feng, X. (2017). Neighbourhood green space quantity, quality and 'equigenesis' of body mass index: Evidence among a cohort of Australian mothers. Paper presented at the International Society for Environmental Epidemiology Conference, Sydney, 24-28 September.

Awatere, S., & Harcourt, N. (2021). Whakarite, Whakaarao, Whanake Whenua: Kaupapa Māori Decision-making Frameworks for Alternative Land Use Assessments. In C. Hill (Ed.). *Kia Whakanuia Te Whenua, People, Place, Landscape* (pp. 127-136). China: Mary Egan Publishing.

Barrett, M., & Connolly- Stone, K. (1998). The Treaty of Waitangi and social policy. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, *11,* 29–47.

Belich, J. (1996). *Making Peoples: a history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century.* Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books.

Belich, J. (1986). The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian interpretation of racial conflict. Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin.

Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). *Culture counts: Changing Power Relations in Education*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd.

Boulton, L. (1997). *A History of Taperer and the People of Ngāti Tāwhirikura Hapū o Te Atiawa.* Taranaki: Leanne Boulton and Gregg Skipper of Ngāti Tāwhirikura Hapū o Te Atiawa.

Bowers, K.S.P.R. (2012). From Little Things Big Things Grow, from Big Things Little Things Manifest. An Indigenous Human Ecology Discussing Issues of Conflict, Peace and Relational Sustainability. *Alternative Sn International Journal of Indigenous peoples, 8*(3), 290-304.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using Thematic Analyses in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101.

Brave Heart, M. Y. H. (2000). Wakiksuyapi: Carrying the historical trauma of the Lakota. *Tulane Studies in Social Welfare, 21*(22), 245–266.

Brave Heart, M.Y.H., & DeBruyn, L.M. (1998). The American Indian holocaust: Healing historical unresolved grief. American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research Journal, 8(2), 56–78.

Canadian Feed the Children (n.d.). Gardens Grow Communities. https://canadianfeedthechildren.ca/the-feed/when-a-garden-grows-a-community/

Canterbury Community Gardens Association (2021). About. http://www.ccga.org.nz/about/

Carlson, T., Moewaka Barnes, H.M., & McCreanor, T.N. (2017). Kaupapa Māori Evaluation: A Collaborative Journey. *Evaluation Matters – He Take Tō Te Aromatawai, 3,* 67-99. https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/c5de/f98a5a1bbe4f57b4931f670f37b2a0cad2ea.pdf

Carney, G. & Takoko, M. (2010). Hua Parakore Verification System. Ministerial Briefing. https://tewakakaiora.wordpress.com/huaparakore/

Carter, L. (2005). Naming to Own: Place Names as Indicators of Human Interaction with the Environment. *Alternative, 1*(1), 6-244.

Churton Park Association Inc (2019). Programme for 2019. http://www.churtonpark.org.nz/revegetation-group/programmefor2019

Churton Park Community Association Inc (n.d.). Revegetation Group. http://www.churtonpark.org.nz/revegetation-group

Cowan, J. (1930). *The Māori Yesterday and Today.* Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited

Cox, L (1993). *Kotahitanga: the search for Māori political unity*. Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Cram F. (2019) Kaupapa Māori Health Research. In P. Liamputtong (Ed.), *Handbook of Research Methods in Health Social Sciences* (pp. 1507-1524). Springer, Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-5251-4_30

Crow, S., Tipa, G., Nelson, K & Whitehead, A. (2020). Incorporating Māori values into land management decision tools, *New Zealand Journal of Marine and Freshwater Research, 54*(3), 431-448, DOI: 10.1080/00288330.2020.1772322

Cushing, D., Beazley, H., & Law, L. (2017) Urban green spaces and childhood obesity in (sub) tropical Queensland, Australia. In C. Ergler, R. Kearns & K. Witten (Eds.), *Children's Health and Wellbeing in Urban Environments* (pp. 161-174). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Duchesne, J. (2020). Growing food security in First Nations communities: Gardeners dig into a history of resilience to feed people during COVID-19. *Canadian Geographic.* Published online: https://www.canadiangeographic.ca/article/growing-food-security-first-nations-communities

Durie, M. (2006). *Measuring Māori Wellbeing,* New Zealand Treasury Guest Lecture Series. Wellington: Massey University

Durie, M. (2003). Ngā kahui pou: Launching Māori futures. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.

Durie, M. (1999). Te Pae Mohutonga A Model for Māori Health Promotion*. Health Promotion Forum of New Zealand Newsletter 49, 2-5 December 1999.*

Durie, M. (1998a). *Te Mana te Kawanatanga.* Auckland: Oxford University Press

Durie, M. (1998b). Whaiora: Māori Health Development (2nd ed.). Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Eketone, A. (2008). Theoretical Underpinnings of Kaupapa Māori Directed Practice. *MAI Review,* 1, 1-11.

Envirohistory NZ (2010). Māori gardening in pre-European NZ. https://envirohistorynz.com/2010/06/07/Māori-gardening-in-pre-european-nz/

Erueti, A., & Ward, A. (2001). Māori Land Law and the Treaty Claims Process. In B. Attwood & F. Magowan (Eds.), *Telling Stories: Indigenous History and Memory in Australia and New Zealand* (pp.161-182). Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books.

Eubanks Owens, P. (2017). A place for adolescents: The power of research to inform the built environment. In K. Bishop, & L. Corkery (Eds.), *Designing Cities with Children and Young People* (pp. 65-79). New York, NY: Routledge.

Fabrega, H. (1990). The concept of somatization as a cultural and historical product of Western medicine. *Psychosomatic Medicine, 52*(6), 653–672. doi:10.1097/00006842-199011000-00007

Fitzgerald, E. (2004). Development since the 1984 Hui Taumata. In P. Spoonley, C. Macpherson & D. Pearson (Eds.), *Tangata The Changing Ethnic Contours of New Zealand* (pp.43-58). Southbank, Victoria, Australia, New Zealand: Thomson/Dunmore Press.

Flannery, T. (2010) *The Weather Makers*. Melbourne, VIC: The Text Publishing Company.

Ford Daiyi, L., & Rose, N.D. (2002). Life in Country: Ecological Restoration on Aboriginal Homelands. *Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine 26*(02). Published online: https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/life-countryecological-restoration-aboriginal-homelands

Franco-Moraes, J., Clement, C.R., Cabral de Oliveira, J., Adalardo de Oliveira, A., (2021). A framework for identifying and integrating sociocultural and environmental elements of indigenous peoples' and local communities' landscape transformations. *Perspectives in Ecology and Conservation.* Published online: https://reader.elsevier.com/reader/sd/pii/S2530064421000237?token=286EC4E05E512222B76A9FAE203570C432BA015F99091D83A34131734BC8B1777C50D41EB80F46F4CC7286CC104A1498

Friends of Flora (n.d.). *Friends of Flora About Us.* https://www.fof.org.nz/aboutus.html

Furey, L. (2006). *Māori Gardening: An Archaeological Perspective.* Wellington: Department of Conservation.

Gisborne Herald (2020). Reconnecting with Whenua. http://www.gisborneherald.co.nz/environment/local-news/20200512/reconnecting-with-whenua/

Government of Canada. (2010). The Specific Claims Policy and Process Guide. Retrieved August 18, 2020 from https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100030501/1581288705629

Green, R. (2009). From Little Things, Big Things Grow: Investigating Remote Aboriginal Community Gardens. Remote Indigenous Gardens Network. http://www.remoteindigenousgardens.net/2009/11/from-little-things-big-things-grow/

Hall, D. (2004). Māori Governance and Accountability. In Hayward, J. & Wheen, N.R. (Eds.), *The Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (pp.178-188). Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books.

Harmsworth G.R. (2020). Oneoneora, tangataora: soils and Māori health and wellbeing, In: Hutchings, J. & Smith, J. (Eds.), *Te Mahi Oneone Hua Parakore: a Māori soil sovereignty and wellbeing handbook*. Christchurch: Free Range Press. Pp. 28–43.

Harmsworth, G., & Roskruge, N. (2014). Indigenous Māori Values, Perspectives and Knowledge of Soils in Aotearoa-New Zealand: Beliefs and Concepts of soils, the Environment and Land. In Churchman, G.J., & Landa, E.R., (Eds.), *The Soil Underfoot Infinite Possibilities for a Finite Resource* (pp. 111-126). Boca Raton, USA: Taylor and Francis Group.

Harmsworth, G., Awatere, S., & Mahuru, R. (2016). Indigenous Māori values and perspectives to inform freshwater management in Aotearoa-New Zealand. *Ecology and Society, 21*(4): 9. http://dx.doi.org/10.5751/ES-08804-210409

Harmsworth, G., & Awatere, S. (2013). Indigenous Māori knowledge and perspectives of ecosystems. In Dymond, J.R. (Ed.). *Ecosystem Services in New Zealand – Conditions and Trends* (pp. 274-286). Lincoln, New Zealand: Manaaki Whenua Press.

Harmsworth, G., & Warmenhoven, T. (2002). The Waiapu project: Māori community goals for enhancing ecosystem health. Broadsheet, New Zealand Association of Resource Management (NZARM). 11 p. file:///C:/Users/taiap/Downloads/Harmsworth_G_Warmenhoven_T_2002_The_Waiapu_project%20(1).pdf

Harris, A. (2004). *Hīkoi Forty Years of Māori Protest.* Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.

Hatton, W., & Paul, J. (2021). Manaaki Whenua, Manaaki Tangata: Protecting Cultural Landscapes (pp. 188-199). In Hill, C. (Ed.). *Kia Whakanui ate Whenua People, Place, Landscape.* China: Mary Egan Publishing.

Haxton, D. (2016). Friends of the Otaki River Win Award. *Kapiti News, New Zealand Herald.* https://www.nzherald.co.nz/kapiti-news/news/friends-of-the-otaki-river-win-award/CAV3S7BZGYQSMOOX6VMEDLD56M/

Healthy Families East Cape (2021). Te Mahinga Kai o Tairāwhiti. https://flounder-lanternfish-rayx.squarespace.com/temahingakaioTairāwhiti

Henare, M. (1988). Nga Tikanga me nga Ritenga o te Ao Māori: Standards and foundations of Māori Society. *The April Report III, part I, Royal Commission on Social Policy*. Wellington. Pp. 24–232.

Henwood, W. (2017) *Working For The River Will Lift The Health Of the People.* Auckland: SHORE & Whāriki Research Centre.

Henwood, W., Brockbank, T., Moewaka Barnes, H., Moriarty, E., Zammit, C., & McCreanor, T. (2019). Enhancing Drinking Water in Remote Māori Communities. *MAI Journal, 9*(2), 97-109.

Henwood, W., Moewaka Barnes, H., Brockbank, T., Gregory, W., Hooper, K., & McCreanor, T. (2016). Ko Tāngonge Te Wai: Indigenous and Technical Data Come Togehter in Restoration Efforts. *EcoHealth 13*(4)*,* 623-632.

Henwood, W., & Henwood, R. (2011). Mana Whenua Kaitiakitanga in Action: Restoring the Mauri of Lake Ōmāpere. *Alternative, 7*(3), 220-232.

Hill, S. H. (2009). *Māori and the State Crown-Māori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1950-2000.* Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

Hond, R., Ratima, M., & Edwards, W. (2019). The role of Māori community gardens in health promotion: a land-based community development response by Tangata Whenua, people of their land. *Global Health Promotion,* 26(3), 44-53. doi: 10.1177/1757975919831603

Horizons Regional Council (n.d.). *National Policy Statement for Freshwater Management (NPS-FM)*. National Policy Statement for Freshwater Management (NPS-FM) - Horizons Regional Council

Hoskins, J. (2007). Whānau Transformation through Tribal Reconnection. *MAI Journal, 1.* Internship Report 3, 1-8. http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/download/34/34-34-1-PB.pdf

Hutchings, J., Smith, J., Taura, Y., Harmsworth, G., & Awatere, S. (2020). Storying Kaitiakitanga Exploring Kaupapa Māori land and water food stories. *MAI Journal,9*(3), 183-194. http://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/sites/default/files/MAI_Jrnl_2020_V9_3_Hutchings_FINAL.pdf

Hutchings, J. (2020). Māori Soil Sovereignty: Advocating for the Rights of our Ancestral Soils. In J. Hutchings, & J. Smith (Eds.), *Te Mahi Oneone Hua Parakore: A Māori Soil Sovereignty and Wellbeing Handbook* (pp. 44-59). Christchurch: Free Range Press.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. (2018). Global Warming of 1.5C: Summary for Policy Makers. Http://www.ipcc.ch/report/sr15/

Johnson, J.T., Howitt, R., Cajete, G., Berkes, F., Pualani Louis, R., & Kliskey, A. (2016). Weaving Indigenous and sustainability sciences to diversify our methods. *Sustain*

Sci 11, 1-11. Springer: Published online. file:///C:/Users/taiap/Downloads/Johnson2016_Article_WeavingIndigenousAndSustainabi.pdf

Jollands, N., & Harmsworth, G. (2006). Participation of indigenous groups in sustainable development monitoring: Rationale and examples from New Zealand. *Journal of the International Society for Ecological Economics, 62*(3-4), 716–726. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/222559531_Jollands_N_Harmsworth_G_2007_Participation_of_indigenous_groups_in_sustainable_development_monitoring_Rationale_and_examples_from_New_Zealand_Journal_of_the_International_Society_for_Ecological_Econom

Kahn, P.H. and Kellert, S.R. (Eds.). (2002). *Children and nature: Psychological, sociocultural, and evolutionary investigations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Kaimai Mamaku Catchments Forum (2018). About the Kaimai Mamaku Catchments Forum. http://www.kaimaicatchments.org.nz/

Kake, J. (2021). Indigenous Urbanism: Seeking Genuine Decolonisation in the Cities of Aotearoa. In C. Hill (Ed.). *Kia Whakanuia Te Whenua, People, Place, Landscape* (pp. 172-177). China: Mary Egan Publishing.

Kawharu, M. (2000). Kaitiakitanga: A Māori Anthroplogcal Perspective of the Māori Socio-Environmental Ethic of Resource Management. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society, 109*(4), 349-370. http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document//Volume_109_2000/Volume_109%2C_No._4/Kaitiakitanga%3A_A_Māori_anthropological_perspective_of_the_Māori_socio_environmental_ethic_of_resource_management%2C_by_Merata_Kawharu%2C_p_349-370/p1

Keenan, D. (2012). Separating the from that common influence – The Dissolution of Customary Authority 1840-1890. In D. Keenan (Ed.). *Huia Histories of Māori Nga Tāhuhu Kōrero* (pp.131-163). Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.

Keenan, D. (2002). The 'New Zealand Wars' or 'Land Wars?': The Case of the War in Taranaki 1860-61. *The Journal of New Zealand Studies, 1,* (pp. 99-107). https://ojs.victoria.ac.nz/jnzs/article/view/82

Kerr, S., Penney, L., Moewaka Barnes, H., & McCreanor, T. (2009). Kaupapa Māori Action Research to improve heart disease services in Aotearoa, New Zealand. *Ethnicity & Health* (pp.1-17). Published online 16 December 2009. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13557850903374476

Kimmerer, R. (2013). *Braiding sweetgrass: Indigenous wisdom, scientific knowledge and the teachings of plants* (1st ed.). Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions.

King, M. (2003). *The Penguin History of New Zealand.* Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books.

Knox, W. (2021). Whenua and Identity. In C. Hill (Ed.). *Kia Whakanuia Te Whenua, People, Place, Landscape* (pp. 67-73). China: Mary Egan Publishing.

Landman, J. (2005). *Community Garden*. http://waimarieham.wainet.org/gardens

Le Grice, J. & Braun, V. (2016). Mātauranga Māori and Reproduction: Inscribing connections between the natural environment, kin and the body. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 12*(2), 151-164.

Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *MAI Review, 2*(3), 1-12.

Lee, J. B. J. (2008). Ako: Pūrākau of Māori secondary school teachers' work in secondary schools. Unpublished doctoral thesis. The University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Mahuika, R. (2008). Kaupapa Māori Theory is critical and anti-colonial. *MAI Review, 3*(4), 1-16. http://www.ngapoumana.org.nz/uploads/9/8/8/2/98823026/2008_rangimarie_mahuika_kaupapa_m%C4%81ori_theory_is_critical_and_anti-colonial.pdf

Manaaki Whenua (2018). Manaaki Whenua Annual Report. https://www.landcareresearch.co.nz/uploads/public/Publications/Annual-reports/Manaaki-Whenua-Annual-Report-Part-1.pdf

Mane, J. (2009). Kaupapa Māori: A Community Approach. *MAI Review, 3*(1), 1-11. http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/mrindex/MR/article/download/243/243-1710-1-PB.pdf

Mark, G. T., & Lyons, A. C. (2010). Māori healers' views on wellbeing: The importance of mind, body, spirit, family and land. *Social Science & Medicine*, 70(11), 1756-1764.

Markevych, I. (2017). Overview of the pathways linking greenspace and health: how strong is the evidence? Paper presented at the *International Society for Environmental Epidemiology Conference*, Sydney, 24-28 September.

Marsden, M. (2003). *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*. Otaki: Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden.

Marsden, M., & Henare, T.A. (1992). *Kaitiakitanga: A definitive introduction to the holistic world view of the Māori*. Wellington, Ministry for the Environment.

Matahi Hauora (n.d.). Kai Ora Fund. Retrieved from https://www.mahitahihauora.co.nz/Kai-Ora-Fund

Mead, H. (2016). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values* (Rev. ed.). Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.

Melvin, G. (2004). The Jurisdiction of the Waitangi Tribunal. In J. Hayward & N. R. Wheen (Eds.), *The Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (pp.14-27). Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books.

Mental Health Foundation. (2018, October 4). Communities connect with Mātauranga Māori this Mental Health Awareness Week to strengthen wellbeing. https://www.mentalhealth.org.nz/home/news/article/224/communities-connect-with-matauranga-Māori-this-mental-health-awareness-week-to-strengthen-wellbeing

Menzies, D. (2021). Ngā Pūrākau, Whenua, Whakapapa, Tangata, Stories of People, Place and Landscape. In C. Hill (Ed.). *Kia Whakanuia Te Whenua, People, Place, Landscape* (pp. 16-23). China: Mary Egan Publishing.

Merriam, S.B., Johnson-Bailey, J., Youngwha Kee, M.Y.L., Ntseane, G., & Muhamad, M. (2001). Power and positionality: negotiating insider/outsider status within and across cultures, *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 20*(5), 405-416, DOI: 10.1080/02601370120490.

Mika, J. P., Smith, G. H., Hillies, A., & Wiremu, F. (2019). Unfolding tensions within post-settlement governance and tribal economies in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Journal of Enterprising Communities People and Places in the Global Economy*, 13(3). doi: 10.1108/JEC-12-2018-0104.

Ministry for Primary Industries (2020). *Restoring the Waiapu Catchment*. https://www.mpi.govt.nz/funding-rural-support/environment-and-natural-resources/restoring-the-waiapu-catchment/

Ministry for the Environment. (2021). *Kāhui Wai Māori the Māori Freshwater Forum*. https://environment.govt.nz/what-government-is-doing/areas-of-work/freshwater/e/advisory-groups-for-the-essential-freshwater-programme/kahui-wai-Māori-the-Māori-freshwater-forum/

Ministry for the Environment. (2019). *Action for healthy waterways – A discussion document on national direction for our essential freshwater*. Wellington: Ministry for the Environment.

McCallum, R. (2011). Māori Performance: Marae Liminal Space and Transformation. *Australian Drama Studies, 59,* 88–103.

McCoy, D., Montgomerie, H., Arulkumaran, S. and Godlee, F. (2014). Climate Change and Human Survival. *BMJ*, 348, g2351. doi: 10.1136/bmj.g2351

McCreanor, T., Wetherell, M., McConville, A., Moewaka Barnes, H., Moewaka Barnes, A. (2018). New Light, Friendly soil: Affective-discursive dimensions of Anzac day commemorations in Aotearoa. Nations & Nationalism. 25(3):974-996.

McCreanor, T. Hancock, F. and Short, N. (2018) The Mounting Crisis at Ihumaatao: A High Cost Special Housing Area or a Cultural Heritage Landscape for Future Generations? *Counter Futures*, 6, 139-148

McGregor, D., Whitaker, S., & Sritharan, M. (2020). Indigenous environmental justice and sustainability. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability, 43*, pp. 35-40. Indigenous environmental justice and sustainability - ScienceDirect

McMichael, A.J., Campbell-Lendrim, D.H., Corvalan, C. F., Ebi, K.L., Githeko, A.K., Scheraga, J.D., & Woodward, A. (2003). Climate Change and Human Health Risks and Responses. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organisation.

Moewaka Barnes, H.M., Harmsworth, G., Tipa, G., Henwood, W., & McCreanor, T. (2021). Indigenous-led environmental research in Aotearoa New Zealand: beyond a transdisciplinary model for best practice, empowerment and action. *Alternative, 17*(2), 306-316.

Moewaka Barnes, H., Henwood, W., Murray, J., Waiti, P., Pomare-Peita, M., Bercic, S., Chee, R., Mitchell, M., & McCreanor, T. (2019). Noho Taiao Reclaiming Māori Science with Young People. *Global Health Promotion, 26*(3), 35–43

Moewaka Barnes H., & McCreanor, T. (2019). Colonisation, hauora and whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand, 49*, He Apiti Supplement, 19-33.

Moewaka Barnes, H.M. (2018) Invited plenary speaker: Tangata Whenua Tangata Ora. *Oceania Planetary Health Forum*, Fiji.

Moewaka Barnes, H.M., Eich, E., & Yessilth, S. (2018). Colonization, Whenua, and Capitalism: Experiences from Aotearoa New Zealand. *Continuum*, 32(6), 685–697.

Moewaka Barnes, H.M., Gunn, T., Moewaka Barnes, A., Muriwai, E., Wetherell, M., McCreanor, T. (2017). Feeling and spirit: developing an indigenous wairua approach to research. *Qualitative Research* (1-13). Sage Publications Ltd doi:10.1177/1468794117696031.

Moewaka Barnes, H.M., McCreanor, T., Edwards, S., & Borell, B. (2009). Epistemological Domination: Social Science Research Ethics in Aotearoa. In D.M. Mertens & P.E. Ginsberg (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Research Ethics* (pp.452-457). SAGE Publications Ltd https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781483348971.n28

Moewaka Barnes, H. M. (2000). *Kaupapa Māori: Explaining the Ordinary*. Auckland, New Zealand: Whāriki Research Group, University of Auckland.

Mollins, J. (2019). *Indigenous Gardens Boost Food Sovereignty in Canada*. Mennonite Central Committee. https://mcccanada.ca/stories/indigenous-gardens-boost-food-sovereignty-canada

Mooney, W. & Cullen, A. (2019) Implementing the Aboriginal Waterways Assessment tool: collaborations to engage and empower First Nations in waterway management, *Australasian Journal of Environmental Management, 26*(3), 197-215, DOI: 10.1080/14486563.2019.1645752

Morgan, T. K. K. B. (2007). Waiora and Cultural Identity: Water Quality Assessment using the Mauri Model. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous* Scholarship, 44-69.

Mulholland, M. (2010). The Death of the Manawatū River. In R. Selby, P. Moore, & M. Mulholland (Eds.), *Māori and the Environment: Kaitiaki* (pp.123-140). Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Mutu, M. (2019). To Honour the Treaty we must first Settle Colonisation. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand, 49,* 4–19.

National Business Review (2018). *Nga Puhi kuia Titewhai Harawira says time to settle Treaty claims is now*. https://www.nbr.co.nz/article/ngapuhi-kuia-titewhai-harawira-says-time-settle-treaty-claims-now-bd-152716.

National Institute for Water and Atmosphere (2020). Science for a Resilient Future. *NIWA Annual Report 2019/2020*. https://niwa.co.nz/about/annual-reports/2020-annual-report

National Institute of Water and Atmosphere (NIWA) (2015). *Mapping Northlands Dune Lakes*. https://www.niwa.co.nz/news/mapping-northlands-dune-lakes

National Institute of Water and Atmosphere (NIWA) (N.D.) *Lake Ōmāpere and the Utakura River*. https://www.niwa.co.nz/te-k%C5%ABwaha/tuna-information-resource/case-studies/lake-omapere-and-the-utakura-river

New Zealand Landcare Trust (2010). *Community Sustainable Land Management for Waikato Lakes Catchment*. http://www.landcare.org.nz/files/file/175/waikato-lakes-newsletter-nov10.pdf

Northern Community Gardens (2020). *About Us*. https://ncg.org.nz/about-us/

O'Carroll, A.D. (2013). *Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past? An examination of Māori use of social networking sites and the implications for Māori culture and society.* A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Massey University

O'Malley, V. (2019). *The New Zealand Wars Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*. Wellington, New Zealand*:* Bridget Williams Books.

O'Malley, V. (2016) *The Great War for New Zealand; Waikato 1800–2000*. Wellington: BWB Ltd.

Orange, C. (2020). *The Treaty of Waitangi Te Tiriti o Waitangi An Illustrated History.* Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd.

Panelli, R. and Tipa, G. (2009). Beyond Foodscapes: Considering Geographies of Indigenous Well-being. *Health & Place,* 15 (2009) 455-465.

Panelli, R. (2007). Placing well-being: a Māori case of linking and environmental specificity. *EcoHealth, 4(4)*, pp445-460.

Parker, D. (2018). *Kāhui Wai Māori group to work on freshwater*. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/kahui-wai-m%C4%81ori-group-work-freshwater?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+beehive-govt-nz%2Freleases+%28Releases+-+beehive.govt.nz%29

Parkes, M.W. (2011) *Ecohealth and aboriginal health: a review of common ground*. Prince George: National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health. https://www.ccnsa-nccah.ca/docs/emerging/FS-EcohealthAboriginalHealth-Parkes-EN.pdf

Peters, M. A., Hamilton, D. P., & Eames, C. W. (2015). Action on the ground: A review of community environmental groups' restoration objectives, activities and partnerships in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Ecology, 39*(2), 179–189. https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/handle/10289/9467

Panelli, R. & Tipa, G. (2009) Beyond Foodscapes: Considering Geographies of Indigenous well-being. *Health & Place* 15 (2009) 455-465.

Patz, J. (2007). "Launch of the International Association for Ecology and Health at Its First Biennial Conference: Message from the President Elect." EcoHealth **4**(1): 6-9.

Paul-Burke, K., & Rameka, L. K. (2015). Kaitiakitanga - Active guardianship, responsibilities and relationships with the world: Towards a bio-cultural future In early childhood education. In M. A. Peters (Ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Educational Philosophy and Theory* (pp. 1–6). Singapore: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-287-532-7_54-1

Pere, R. (1991). *Te Wheke: A Celebration of Infinite Wisdom. Gisborne*, New Zealand: Ao Ake Global Learning.

Pihama, L., Smith, L.T., Evans-Campbell, T., Kohu-Morgan, H., Cameron, N., Mataki, T., Te Nana, R., Skipper, H., & Southey, K. (2017). Investigating Māori Approaches to Trauma Informed Care. *Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing, 2*(3), 18-31.

Pihama, L., Te Nana, R., Reynolds, P., Smith, C., Reid, J., & Smith, L.T. (2014). Positioning historical trauma theory within Aotearoa New Zealand. *Alternative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 10(*3), 248-262.

Pihama, L., Cram, F., & Walker, S. (2002). Creating methodological space: A literature review of kaupapa Māori research. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 26*(1), 30-43.

Poata-Smith, E. (2004a). The Changing Contours of Māori Identity and the Treaty Settlement Process. In J. Hayward & N.R. Wheen (Eds.), *The Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (pp. 168-183). Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Limited.

Poata-Smith, E. (2004b). Ka Tika a Muri, Ka Tika a Mua? Māori Protest Politics and the Treaty of Waitangi Settlement Process. In P. Spoonley, D. Pearson & C. Macpherson (Eds.), *Tangata, Tangata* (pp. 59–88). Southbank, Victoria, Australia: Thomson/Dunmore Press.

Pouwhare, R. (2016). *Kai Hea Kai Hea te Pū o te Mate? Reclaiming the Power of Pūrākau.* Conference Contribution. Online: e Ara Poutama - the Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Development, Auckland University of Technology. Online: https://www.tekaharoa.com/index.php/tekaharoa/article/view/5

Project Twin Streams (n.d.). *A Unique Approach*. http://projecttwinstreams.com/about/

Raerino, K. (2017). *Marae food gardens: health and wellbeing through urban marae in Tāmaki Makaurau.* A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Māori and Pacific Health, the University of Auckland, 2017. Retrieved https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/2292/37149/whole.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

Rainforth, H. J. & Harmsworth, G. R. (2019). *Kaupapa Māori Freshwater Assessments: A summary of iwi and hapū-based tools, frameworks and methods for assessing freshwater environments*. Perception Planning Ltd. https://www.mahaki.com/uploads/1/0/9/7/109751215/kaupapa_Māori_freshwater_assessments.pdf

Rangiheuea, T. (2010). Urban Māori. In M. Mulholland & V. Tawhai (Eds.), *Weeping Waters: The Treaty of Waitangi and Constitutional Change* (pp.187–206). Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.

Rangihuna, D., Kopua, M., & Tipene-Leach, D. (2018). Mahi a Atua: a pathway

forward for Māori mental health? *The New Zealand Medical Journal, 131*(1471), 79-83. https://assets-global.website files.com/5e332a62c703f653182faf47/5e332a62c703f658642fcb36_Tipene-Leach%20FINAL.pdf

Reid, J., Taylor-Moore, K., & Varona, G. (2014) Towards a Social Structural Model for Understanding Current Disparities in Māori Health and Well-Being. *Journal of Loss and Trauma*, *19*(6), 514–536.

Remuera Heritage (n.d.). *Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei Nursery Development at Pourewa. https://remueraheritage.org.nz/news/ngati-whatua-orakei-nursery-development-at-pourewa/*

Reyes-García, V., Fernández-Llamazares, A., McElwee, P., Molnár, Z., Öllerer, K., Wilson, S.J., & Brondizio, E.S. (2019). The contributions of indigenous peoples and local communities to ecological restoration. *Restoration Ecology, 27*(1), 3 DOI: 10.1111/rec.12894

Richmond, C., Kerr, R.B., Neufeld, H., Steckley, M., Wilson, K., & Dokis, B. (2021). Supporting food security for Indigenous families through the restoration of Indigenous foodways. *The Canadian Geographer* (pp.1-13). Published online: Supporting food security for Indigenous families through the restoration of Indigenous foodways - Richmond - - The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien - Wiley Online Library

Riseborough, H. (2002). *Days of Darkness: Taranaki 1878-1884*. Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books.

Roskruge, N. (2020). Nāku Koe i Whāngai. In J. Hutchings & J. Smith (Eds.), *Te Mahi Oneone Hua Parakore: A Māori Soil Sovereignty and Wellbeing Handbook* (pp.44-59). Christchurch: Freerange Press.

Royal, T. A. C. (2010). Te ao marama – the natural world. In. Te Ara – The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand (Ed.). *Te taiao Māori and the Natural World*. Auckland, New Zealand: David Bateman Ltd.

Royal, T.A.C. (2007). *'Te Ao Mārama – the natural world - Mana, tapu and mauri', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-ao-marama-the-natural-world/page-5

Roycroft, T.K. (2021), Identity through Whenua. In C. Hill (Ed.). *Kia Whakanui ate Whenua People, Place, Landscape* (pp. 277-281). China: Mary Egan Publishing.

Salmond, A. (2017). *Tears of Rangi Experiments Across Worlds*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Schaffer, S., & Kraftl, P. (2017). Is 'natural' education healthy education? In C. Ergler, R. Kearns and K. Witten (Eds.), *Children's Health and Wellbeing in Urban Environments* (pp. 174-189). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Schultz, K., Walters, K.L.., Beltran, R., Stroud, S., & Johnson-Jennings, M. (2016). "I'm stronger than I thought": Native women reconnecting to body, health, and place. *Health and Place, 40*, 21-28

Scott, K. (2007). *Engaging Urban Communities: Six Case Studies of Auckland Community-Based Restoration Projects*. Prepared for Landcare Research. https://www.landcareresearch.co.nz/publications/researchpubs/kathryn_scott_paper.pdf

Sharp, A. (2015). Recent Juridical and Constitutional Histories of Māori. In A. Sharp & P. McHugh (Eds.), *Histories, Power and Loss – Uses of the past a New Zealand Commentary* (pp. 27–63). Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books.

Simmonds, N. (2016). Understanding wellbeing from within: Learning from, with and 'in place'. In *Iwi and Hapū wellbeing: In pursuit of the possible*. Hamilton, New Zealand: University of Waikato.

Simpson, L. (2017). *As we have always done: Indigenous freedom through radical resistance (Indigenous Americas*). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Smith, G.H. (2017). Kaupapa Māori Theory; Indigenous Transforming of Education. In T.K. Hoskins & A. Jones (Eds.), *Critical Conversations in Kaupapa Māori* (pp.79-94). Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Smith, G.H. (2003). *Kaupapa Māori Theory: Theorizing Indigenous Transformation of Education & Schooling*. Kaupapa Māori Symposium' NZARE / AARE Joint Conference Hyatt Hotel, Auckland, N.Z. https://www.aare.edu.au/data/publications/2003/pih03342.pdf

Smith, G.H. (1997). *The Development of Kaupapa Māori: Theory and Praxis.* IRI PhD Thesis Series Number 3. Auckland: University of Auckland.

Smith, L. T. (2015). Kaupapa Māori research - some Kaupapa Māori principles. In L. Pihama & K. South (Eds.), *Kaupapa Rangahau A Reader: A Collection of Readings from the Kaupapa Māori Research Workshop Series* pp. 46–52). Te Kotahi Research Institute.

Smith, L.T. (2000). *Māori Research development: Kaupapa Māori Principles and Practices: A Literature Review.* Wellington: Te Puni Kōkiri. http://www.rangahau.co.nz/assets/SmithL/Māori_research.pdf

Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*; London: Zed Books

Smith, L. T. (1995). Towards Kaupapa Māori research. Paper presented at the *Matawhanui Conference: Māori University Teachers Conference*, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Smith, L. T. (1992). On Being Culturally Sensitive: The Art of Gathering and Eating Kina Without Pricking Yourself on the Finger. In *The Issue of Research and Māori*. Auckland: The University of Auckland. https://trc.org.nz/sites/trc.org.nz/files/digital%20library/On%20Being%20Culturally%20Sensative.pdf

Smith, C. & Wirihana, R. (2014). Historical Trauma, Healing and Well-being in Māori Communities. *MAI Journal*, 3(3), 197–210.

Soil & Health Association (2018). *Organic NZ Magazine.* Retrieved 2 March 2018 from: https://organicnz.org.nz/community-gardens-nz/

Soil & Health Association (2016). Project Gro 2015 – Ten Organic Food Gardens in Taranaki *Organic NZ Magazine*. Retrieved 02 March 2018 from: https://organicnz.org.nz/campaigns/project-gro/project-gro-2015-ten-organic-food-gardens-taranaki/

Soil & Health (n.d.). *About Us*. Retrieved 05 March 2018 from: https://organicnz.org.nz/about-us/

Sorenson, M. P. K. (2014). *Ko te whenua te utu Land is the price: Essays on Māori history, land and politics.* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Sorenson, M.P.K. (1998). Māori and Pākehā. In Rice, G.W. (Ed.). *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (2nd ed), (pp.141-166). Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Sotero, M. (2006). A conceptual model of historical trauma: Implications for public health practice and research. *Journal of Health Disparities Research and Practice, 1*, 193–198.

Spraggs, K.R. (2020). Tātaia Tangata kit e Whenua. In J. Hutchings & J. Smith (Eds.), (2020). *Te Mahi Oneone Hua Parakore: A Māori Soil Sovereignty and Wellbeing Handbook* (pp. 44-59). Christchurch: Free Range Press.

Stephens, C., & Parkes, M.W., & Chang, H. (2007). Indigenous Perspectives on Ecosystem Sustainability and Health. *EcoHealth, 4*, pp. 369-370. Retrieved 18 February 2018 from: https://ecohealth.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/ECH_4_4_Editorial.pdf

Stuart, B., & Fukuda, Y. (2016). *The Upper Buller Balancing Livelihoods Along the River.* Hamilton: NZ Landcare Trust. http://www.landcare.org.nz/files/file/2091/The%20Upper%20Buller%20Book.pdf

Swiderska, K., & Ryan, P. (2020). Indigenous peoples' food systems hold the key to feeding humanity. International Institute for Environment and Development: Published Online. Indigenous peoples' food systems hold the key to feeding humanity | International Institute for Environment and Development (iied.org)

Taiapa, K., & Moewaka Barnes, H. Mārakai: healing across time, place and space. In Pihama, L., & Smith, L. T. (2021). *ORA: Healing Ourselves – Indigenous Knowledge, Healing and Wellbeing.* Huia Publishers (In Press).

Taiapa, K., Moewaka Barnes, H., & McCreanor, T. (2021). Mārakai as Sites of Ahi kā and Resistance. *MAI Review Journal*, *10*(02), 148-158. Taiapa.pdf (mai.ac.nz)

Taiapa, K., Moewaka Barnes, H., & McCreanor, T. (2021). Tension without tikanga: the damaging face of the treaty claims settlement system. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *17*(2), 317–325. https://doi.org/10.1177/11771801211019123

Tamaki News (2014). New Community Garden at Ruapotaka Marae. *Tamaki Regeneration.* https://www.tamakiregeneration.co.nz/regeneration/our-community/news/new-community-garden-ruapotaka-marae

Taranaki Iwi (n.d.). The Northern Musket Raids. https://taranaki.iwi.nz/our-history/the-northern-musket-raids/

Tauranga, D. (2010). *Reaping the Bounty of Mother Earth*. Stuff. http://www.stuff.co.nz/auckland/local-news/manukau-courier/3818203/Reaping-the-bounty-of-mother-earth

Tauri, J., & Webb, R. (2011). The Waitangi Tribunal and the Regulation of Māori Protest. *New Zealand Sociology, 26,* 21–41.

Tawhai, V.M.H. (2011). Ngā Tikanga Katoa Rite Tahi: The Treaty and the Electoral System. In Tawhai, V.m.H., & Gray-Sharp, K. (Eds.) *'Always Speaking' The Treaty of Waitangi and Public Policy* (pp. 95-114). Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Te Atiawa o te Waka a Māui (n.d.). *History of Te Atiawa*. https://www.teatiawatrust.co.nz/marae-and-atiawa-land/history/

Te Hiku Climate Change (2018). *Te Hiku o te Ika Climate Change Report*; Project Summary Report 2018. https://www.deepsouthchallenge.co.nz/sites/default/files/2018-06/Te%20Hiku%20Climate%20Change%20final%20report.pdf

Te Kotahitanga o Te Atiawa (n.d.). *Our History*. https://teatiawa.iwi.nz/history/early-purchases/

Te Kupenga Mātauranga o Taranaki. (2011). *Tahia te marae, Tahia te Wānanga: Marae and Māori Community-Based Adult Learning.* Wellington, New Zealand: Ako Aotearoa.

Te One, A.S.E., (2018). *Mana Whenua, Mātaawaka, and Local Government—An Examination of Relationships Between Māori and Local Government in Wellington and the Hutt Valley.* A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University.

Te Puni Kokiri (2020). *Te Pū Harakeke Fund*. https://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/whakamahia/skills-learning-and-education/te-pu-harakeke-fund

Te Waka Kai Ora (n.d.) *Māraka*i. Retrieved from https://tewakakaiora.wordpress.com/maara-kai/.

The Whau River Catchment Trust (2018). *The Friends of the Whau*. Retrieved 16 February 2018 from: http://www.whauriver.org.nz/the-friends-of-the-whau-inc

Tinirau, R. (2020). *Te Morehu Whenua: Reconnecting with our Awa, whenua, tūpuna, kai, and marae*. Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga media Centre. http://mediacentre.maramatanga.ac.nz/content/te-morehu-whenua-reconnecting-our-awa-whenua-t-puna-kai-and-marae

Tipa, G., Harmsworth, G., Williams, E., & Kitson, J. (2016). Integrating mātauranga Māori into freshwater management, planning and decision making. In P. Jellyman, T. Davie, C. Pearson & J. Harding (Eds.), Advances in *New Zealand freshwaters Science* (pp. 613–637). New Zealand Freshwater Sciences Society & New Zealand Hydrological Society.

Tipa G, & Teirney, L. (2003). *Mauri and Mahinga kai Indicators Project: Final Report – Developing the Cultural Health Index*. Dunedin, Tipa & Associates.

Tipa, G. (2010). Cultural Opportunity Assessments: Introducing a Framework for Assessing the Suitability of Stream Flow from a Cultural Perspective. In R. Selby. P. Moore & M. Mulholland (Eds.), *Māori and the Environment: Kaitiaki* (pp.155-173). Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Tipa, G. (2009). Exploring indigenous understandings of river dynamics and river flows: a case from New Zealand. *Environmental Communication, 3*(1):95–120. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17524030802707818

Te Kupenga Mātauranga o Taranaki. (2011). *Tahia te marae, Tahia te Wānanga: Marae and Māori Community-Based Adult Learning.* Wellington, New Zealand: Ako Aotearoa.

Toi te Ora Public Health (2018). *Build your own maara kai vegetable garden*. Retrieved from https://www.toiteora.govt.nz/maara_kai

United Nations (2020). *The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2020.* United Nations: Published online: The-Sustainable-Development-Goals-Report-2020.pdf (un.org)

Waikato Regional Council (2019). *Manaia River Restoration*. https://www.waikatoregion.govt.nz/council/about-us/shovel-ready-projects/manaia-river-restoration/

Waitangi Tribunal. (1996). *The Taranaki Report Kaupapa Tuatahi.* Wellington, New Zealand: GP Publications.

Walker, E.T., Wehi, P.M., Nelson, N.J., Beggs, J.R., & Whaanga, H. (2019). Kaitiakitanga, Place and the Urban Restoration agenda. *New Zealand Journal of Ecology, 43*(3), 1-8.

Walker, R. (2004). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou Struggle Without End.* Auckland: Penguin Group NZ.

Walker, R. (1996). *Nga Pepa a Ranginui (The Walker Papers).* Auckland: Penguin Books.

Walker, R. (1990). The role of the Pākehā press in defining perceptions of the Māori. In P. Spoonley & W. Hirsh (Eds.), *Between the Lines: Racism and the New Zealand media* (pp. 38–46). Auckland, New Zealand: Hienemann Reed.

Walters, K. L., Beltran, R., Huh, D., & Evans-Campbell, T. (2011). Dis-placement and dis-ease: Land, place and health among American Indians and Alaska Natives. *Communities, Neighborhoods, and Health: Social Disparities in Health and Health Care*, 1(Part 2), 163–199. 1, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4419-7482-2_10,

Ward, A. (1999). *An Unsettled History Treaty Claims in New Zealand Today.* Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books.

Ware, F.J.R. (2009). *Youth Development: Maui Styles. Kia tipu te rito o te pā harakeke; tikanga and āhuatanga as a basis for a positive Māori youth development approach.* A thesis presented in partial fulfilment for the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts. Palmerston North: Massey University.

Warmenhoven, T., Barnard, T., Pohatu, P., Garrett, G., Porou, T., Fitzgerald, G., Harrison, D., Barry, L., & Ruru, W., (2014). *Climate Change and Community Resilience in the Waiapu Catchment.* Report prepared for MPI, June 2014. https://www.mpi.govt.nz/dmsdocument/3344/direct

Wellington City Council (n.d.). *Northern Community Gardens*. https://wellington.govt.nz/services/community-and-culture/community-gardens/northern-community-gardens---branch-out

Whaanga, M. (2021). Ahikāroa: To Keep the Fire Burning. In C. Hill (Ed.). *Kia Whakanuia Te Whenua, People, Place, Landscape* (pp. 67-73). China: Mary Egan Publishing.

Whenua Warrior (n.d.). *Our Story*. https://whenuawarrior.co.nz/our-impact-whenua-warrior/

Whyte, K. (2017a). Indigenous Climate Change Studies: Indigenizing Futures, Decolonizing the Anthropocene. *English Language Notes*, *55* (1), 153-162. *Project MUSE* muse.jhu.edu/article/711473.

Whyte, K. (2017b). The Dakota Access Pipeline, Environmental Injustice, and U.S. Colonialism. *RED INK: An International Journal of Indigenous Literature, Arts, & Humanities: 19*(1): 154-169.

Wildcat, M., McDonald, M., Irlbacher-Fox, S., & Coulthard, G. (2014). *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society, 3*(3), I-XV.

Wildcat, D.R. (2009). *Red Alert! Saving the Planet with Indigenous Knowledge.* Golden, CO, USA: Fulcrum.

Williams, E.K., Watene-Rawiri, E.M., & Tipa, G.T. (2018). Empowering Indigenous Community Engagement and Approaches in Lake Restoration: An Āotearoa-New Zealand Perspective. Pp. 495-531. In D. Hamilton, K. Collier, J. Quinn, & C. Howard-Williams (Eds.), *Lake Restoration Handbook*. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-93043-5_15

Wilson, D., Mikahere-Hall, A., & Sherwood, J. (2021). Using indigenous kaupapa Māori research methodology with constructivist grounded theory: generating a theoretical explanation of indigenous women's realities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* pp. 1-17. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13645579.2021.1897756

Wooltorton, S., Collard, L., and Horwitz, P. (2015). Stories want to be told: Elaap Karlaboodjar. *Philosophy Activism Nature*, 2014/2015(11), p. 3-18.

Van Roon, M., & van Roon, H. (2009). Low Impact Urban Design and Development: the big picture. An introduction to the LIUDD principles and methods framework. *Landcare Research Science Series No. 37*. The University of Auckland: Manaaki Whenua Press. https://ngarara.nz/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/LRSS_37_LIUDD_big_picture-.pdf

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: DECLARATION and AFFIRMATION of HAPŪ TINO RANGATIRATANGA

Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū affirms its inherited and enduring tino rangatiratanga. This customary entitlement should be respected and acknowledged as the paramount authority of Ngāti Tāwhirikura over its affairs, rohe whenua and taonga guaranteed to all Māori in Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

All hapū members must be resolute in exercising and defending their personal and collective responsibilities to protect, assert and promote the *rangatiratanga and *mana motuhake of hapū and whānau. This includes the exclusive right of any hapū to;

- Interpret, define and represent its hapūtanga to te ao whānui (the world).
- Interpret, define and represent its unique whānau and hapū viewpoint of historical narratives, its current position (political, social or economic etc), its future aspirations, priorities and methods to achieve its aspirations.
- Manage and maintain engagement with individuals, whānau groups, hapū/iwi groups and te ao whānui regarding kaupapa within its rohe boundaries and kaupapa which impact the hapū beyond its rohe boundaries
- Practice and maintain kaitiakitanga obligations as whānau and hapū motuhake when engaging with all internal and external entities including all manuhiri such as Crown agencies, NGO's, trusts, hapū and iwi etc.

Incorporate and use *tikanga as defined and practiced by the hapū. This includes the right to determine the tikanga the hapū uses to;

- Facilitate all discussions and interactions of hapū and whānau business

- Engage the use of whakapapa, wānanga, hui, facilitators, internal and external research and researchers including contemporary oral or written histories as tools to achieve the desired outcomes.
- Promote positive engagement at all times through instigating, encouraging, facilitating and supporting discussion to seek amicable resolutions.

***Tino rangatiratanga:** is the unqualified chieftainship over lands, villages, property and treasures.

* **Mana motuhake**: mana through; self-determination and control over one's own destiny

* **Rangatiratanga**: right to exercise; authority, chiefly autonomy, self-determination, self-management, ownership and leadership of a social group

* **Tikanga**: hapū and whānau defined; correct procedure and protocols of engagement, customs and rules, code and meaning, purpose and reason. *"Note" the use of customary procedures such as tikanga Māori are viewed by hapū as safe, empowering processes ensuring robust, relevant and meaningful outcomes for whānau, hapū and guests.*

NGĀTI TĀWHIRIKURA A HAPŪ TRUST ASPIRATIONS (Sep, 2013)

Our Values/Guiding Principles 'WE ARE THE PEOPLE!'

*Mana motuhake***:** we do our own thing. We do not wait for others. We take responsibility. We lead the way and we will preserve/ protect our position. We are the people and this is where we stand.

*Tiakitanga***:** we stand up and ensure we have a voice, we are heard. People know where we stand. We do not walk away. We do not sit on the fence. As whānau takawaenga we provide support, we advocate, we connect and we maintain relationships through our whakapapa; whānau ā whānau, hapū ā hapū, iwi ā iwi.

Rangatiratanga: we provide leadership. We are committed, humble and passionate about who we are. We do things the right way, keeping things tika and pono. We advocate for people, and take the lead in looking after others.

*Tūturutanga***:** we are true to ourselves. When we set to do something we are steadfast in our conviction and principles, unmoveable except by ourselves. We are aware of our surroundings and adapt and change while still true to our kaupapa and whānau.

Our Purpose

Is to have a presence, an influence and create positive change. We will do this by retelling our stories, walking the talk and raising rangatira. We will support each other to rebuild the health and wealth of our community.

Our Aspiration

Within 4 generations (60 years), Tārereare will be one of many papa kāinga within the Tāwhirikura rohe, supporting Kātere Ki Te Moana and other marae, overlooking and protecting our whānau, whenua and moana. Our marae and papa kāinga whānau will educate, feed and grow together our Tāwhirikuratanga and our community. We will be many skilled hands and minds sharing our values and resources while generating and innovating new ideas for a productive future, living together, celebrating and inspiring, honouring and developing, culturally and environmentally rich, in tune with each other and our surroundings.

The Four Pou to Our Aspiration

Pou Tuatahi: Voice - We will develop and refine our story and we will use our voice to tell it clearly and positively. Tārereare, Te Rewa and our whānau will be at the heart of our story and our places will be used for projects, groups, workshops and events to raise our profile. Our key partners and community will know our story.

Pou Tuarua: Rebuild then Grow - we will connect with whānau of Tāwhirikura and with like-minded people. We will develop and expand our skills and assets for future generations.

Pou Tuatoru: Hapū Ora - we will build our knowledge, skills, networks, health and well-being to lead effectively and with ease. We will have the capability to provide leadership to our hapū and to the wider community in a way that sustains our energy and passion.

Pou Tuawhā: Cultural Strength - we will re-learn our place between Ranginui and Papatūānuku and celebrate our identity. Our culture is our strength, at the heart of our identity; reo, tikanga, rangatiratanga, mana whenua, mana moana and whānau.

Appendix 2: Key Informant Information Sheet

Mārakai: Connecting People to Whenua Information Sheet – Key Informant Interviews

Tēnā koe
I am Ken Taiapa (*Ngāti Porou/Rongowhakaata*) from the Whāriki Research Group (based in Auckland), School of Public Health, Massey University.

Project Description
I am conducting a three-year PhD research project looking at the effectiveness of the Te Moeone mārakai project, and related activities, to connecting people with whenua. I plan to engage with a diverse sample of people connected to the project, using key informant interviews and haerenga kitea methods, to gather data to explore range of impacts of the mārakai on people.

Invitation
Your name has been suggested as someone aware of or involved in the Te Moeone mārakai project who may be interested in this research. I would like to invite you to participate in a key informant interview, which would involve me audio recording an interview with you about your work and will take about an hour.

Data Management & Use
Data from my recordings and discussions with you will be stored in secure facilities at our research premises at Massey University and my personal computer and will be accessible to me only. After five years all of the raw data from the project will be disposed of in a secure manner by myself (or nominee).

After transcribing and analysing your data as part of a group of up to 18 such interviews, we would like to write about our findings to understand the development, implementation, and impact of the mārakai and related activities.

Your Rights
You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study within one month of data collection;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

We thank you for considering this invitation to participate and look forward to working with you if you agree.

Project Contacts

If you have any questions about the project please contact myself or my supervisors.

Name	***Role***	***Contact Details***
Ken Taiapa	Principal Investigator	k.taiapa@witt.ac.nz 02048208298
Prof Helen Moewaka Barnes	Primary Supervisor	h.moewakabarnes@massey.ac.nz (09) 3666136
Prof Timothy McCreanor	Secondary Supervisor	t.n.mccreanor@massey.ac.nz (09) 3666136

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application **NOR 18/06**. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact **Dr Brian Finch,** Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x **43317** email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

Appendix 3: Haerenga Kitea Information Sheet

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

Mārakai: Connecting People to Whenua Information Sheet – Haerenga Kitea

Tēnā koe
I am Ken Taiapa (Ngāti Porou/Rongowhakaata) from the Whāriki Research Group (based in Auckland), School of Public Health, Massey University.

Project Description
I am conducting a three-year PhD research project looking at the effectiveness of the Te Moeone mārakai project, and related activities, to connecting people with whenua. I plan to engage with a diverse sample of people connected to the project, using key informant interviews and haerenga kitea methods, to gather data to explore the development and range of impacts of the mārakai on people.

Invitation
Your name has been suggested as someone aware of or involved in the Te Moeone mārakai project who may be interested in this research. I would like to invite you to participate in a haerenga kitea interview, which would involve me video recording an interview with you and other kaimahi in Te Moeone mārakai about your involvement and would take about an hour.

Data Management & Use
Data from my recordings and discussions with you will be stored in secure facilities at our research premises at Massey University and my personal computer and will be accessible to me only. After five years, all of the raw data from the project will be disposed of in a secure manner by myself (or nominee).

After transcribing and analysing your data we would like to write about our findings to understand the development, implementation, and impact of the mārakai and related activities.

Participant's Rights
You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;

- withdraw from the study within one month of data collection;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

We thank you for considering this invitation to participate and look forward to working with you if you agree.

Project Contacts

If you have any questions about the project, please contact myself or my supervisors.

Name	***Role***	***Contact Details***
Ken Taiapa	Principal Investigator	k.taiapa@witt.ac.nz 02048208298
Prof Helen Moewaka Barnes	Primary Supervisor	h.moewakabarnes@massey.ac.nz (09) 3666136
Prof Timothy McCreanor	Secondary Supervisor	t.n.mccreanor@massey.ac.nz (09) 3666136

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application **NOR 18/06**. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact **Dr Brian Finch,** Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x **43317** email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

Appendix 4: Ethics Approval

Date: 09 May 2018

Dear Ken Taiapa

Re: Ethics Notification - **NOR 18/06 - Maara Kai: Reconnecting People to Land.**

Thank you for the above application that was considered by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: **Human Ethics Northern Committee** at their meeting held on **Wednesday, 9 May, 2018**.
On behalf of the Committee I am pleased to advise you that the ethics of your application are approved.

Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

Dr Brian Finch
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics)

Appendix 5: Interview Schedules

Key Informant Interviews (hapū trust members)

1. Can you tell me about your connection to the whenua at Kātere ki te Moana.
2. What's your involvement with the hapū trust?
3. Can you talk about how the hapū aspirations framework was developed (probe reasons for developing it; how it was developed; what it involves)
4. What did you hope to achieve with it?
5. How has it been used so far?
6. what do you think has worked well; not so well?
7. What would you change about it?
8. What led to the idea of a mārakai?
9. What was the inspiration for developing the mārakai?
10. What did you hope to achieve with it?
11. How has it been used so far?
12. what do you think has worked well; not so well?
13. What are your plans and hopes for the future?

Haerenga kitea Interview schedule (non-hapū group)

1. What were your reasons for getting involved; probe what did you hope to get out of it?
2. When you look around what do you feel?
3. Tell me a about your involvement with Te Moeone mārakai?
4. Where do you spend your time here in the mārakai?
5. What have you been doing at the mārakai?
6. How does it feel working here; has it changed you in any ways (knowledge, fitness, enjoyment, connections with land and people)
7. In what ways does the mārakai bring people together?
8. How has the mārakai helped you to connect with the whenua there?
9. Do you have any suggestions for improvements or things you would like to see happening?

Haerenga kitea interview schedule (hapū group)

1. Tell me about your connections to the whenua here.
2. What meaning does the whenua have for you here?
3. When you look around, what do you feel?
4. Tell me about your involvement in Te Moeone mārakai.
5. Where do you spend your time here in the mārakai?
6. What do you grow here/what have you grown here?
7. In what ways does the mārakai bring people together?
8. How does it feel working here; has it changed you in any ways (knowledge, fitness, enjoyment, connections with land and people)
9. In what ways has the mārakai connected you to the whenua here?
10. What are some ways of getting more people involved?
11. Do you have any suggestions for improvements or things you would like to see happening?

Appendix 6: Ngāti Tāwhirikura Hapū A Trust Chairperson Approval to Reproduce Photographs.

Gmail **Ken Taiapa <taiapaken@gmail.com>**

Images

4 messages

Ken Taiapa <taiapaken@gmail.com> 26 August 2021 at 12:34
To: Ngati Tawhirikura <tawhirikura.hapu@gmail.com>

Kia ora Ngamata,
as you are aware I am in the stages of formatting the whole PhD work into a final thesis. As part of the agreement for me to tell the story of Te Moeone marakai we agreed that I would take photos of events in the mārakai as well as general mahi and wānanga that took place there over the years.

I would like to use the attached images of Kātere ki te Moana whare, and scenes from Te Moeone mārakai in the final thesis, as I believe it will help to illustrate the story, and capture developments and memories of people working together in the mārakai.

The images will appear in the thesis with a statement: *photograph by Ken Taiapa, reproduced with permission of Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū.*

I would like your permission to include the attached images in the thesis as some include mokouna and uri of Ngāti Tāwhirikura, also as they all relate to the mana whenua of Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū, and are part of the Te Moeone story.

I have a couple of other photos I'd like to include that I'll send shortly, to avoid this email getting too large.

Ngā mihi
Ken

3 attachments

Rimu and kids in mārakai.jpg
179K

Glen inspecting kumara.JPG
5292K

Te Aho and Pare with big kumara.JPG
8453K

Ken Taiapa <taiapaken@gmail.com> 26 August 2021 at 12:54
To: Ngati Tawhirikura <tawhirikura.hapu@gmail.com>

Kia ora ano,
here are the other photos.

Mauri ora
Ken
[Quoted text hidden]

3 attachments

Ken and Glen Maunga Taranaki in background.jpg
121K

Catherine in lettuces.JPG
5484K

Kumara growing wananga.jpg
12816K

Ngati Tawhirikura <tawhirikura.hapu@gmail.com> 30 August 2021 at 10:12
To: Ken Taiapa <taiapaken@gmail.com>

bful - supported these photos

[Quoted text hidden]

Ngati Tawhirikura <tawhirikura.hapu@gmail.com> 30 August 2021 at 10:12
To: Ken Taiapa <taiapaken@gmail.com>

Yes, I approve. ano hoki

On Thu, 26 Aug 2021 at 12:34, Ken Taiapa <taiapaken@gmail.com> wrote:
[Quoted text hidden]

Appendix 7: Statement of Contribution Doctorate with Publication/Manuscripts 1

DRC 16

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION
DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Kenneth Taiapa
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Professor Helen Moewaka Barnes
In which chapter is the manuscript /published work:	

Please select one of the following three options:

(●) The manuscript/published work is published or in press

- Please provide the full reference of the Research Output:

Taiapa, K., Moewaka Barnes, H., & McCreanor, T.N. (2021). Tension without tikanga: the damaging face of the treaty settlement system. Alternative 17(2), 317-325.

( ) The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate:

- The name of the journal:

- The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 90.00

- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work:

Ken conducted the 2 key informant interviews, and analysis of the data. He also supported the drafting and refining of the final publication.

( ) It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal

Candidate's Signature:	Kenneth Taiapa Digitally signed by Kenneth Taiapa Date: 2021.09.10 14:14:01 +12'00'
Date:	10-Sep-2021
Primary Supervisor's Signature:	H. Moewaka Barnes
Date:	13-Sep-2021

This form should appear at the end of each thesis chapter/section/appendix submitted as a manuscript/ publication or collected as an appendix at the end of the thesis.

GRS Version 5 – 13 December 2019
DRC 19/09/10

Appendix 8: Statement of Contribution Doctorate with Publication/Manuscripts 2

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND
GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION
DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Kenneth Taiapa
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Professor Helen Moewaka Barnes
In which chapter is the manuscript /published work:	

Please select one of the following three options:

○ The manuscript/published work is published or in press

- Please provide the full reference of the Research Output:

Taiapa, K., Moewaka Barnes, H., & McCreanor, T.N. (2021). Mārakai as Sites of Ahi Kā and Resistance. MAI Review Journal.

◉ The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate:

- The name of the journal:

MAI Review Journal

- The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 87.00

- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work:

Ken conducted the harenga kitea (data collection method) and supported with the analysis and drafting of the final publication.

○ It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal

Candidate's Signature:	Kenneth Taiapa Digitally signed by Kenneth Taiapa Date: 2021.09.10 14:17:02 +12'00'
Date:	10-Sep-2021
Primary Supervisor's Signature:	H. Moewaka Barnes.
Date:	13-Sep-2021

This form should appear at the end of each thesis chapter/section/appendix submitted as a manuscript/ publication or collected as an appendix at the end of the thesis.

GRS Version 5 – 13 December 2019
DRC 19/09/10

Appendix 9: Statement of Contribution Doctorate with Publication/Manuscripts 3

DRC 16

MASSEY UNIVERSITY TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND | GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION
DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Kenneth Taiapa
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Professor Helen Moewaka Barnes
In which chapter is the manuscript /published work:	

Please select one of the following three options:

(●) The manuscript/published work is published or in press

- Please provide the full reference of the Research Output:

Taiapa, K., & Moewaka Barnes, H. Mārakai: healing across time, place and space. In Pihama, L., & Smith, L. T. (2021). ORA: Healing Ourselves – Indigenous Knowledge, Healing and Wellbeing. Huia Publishers. In Press.

( ) The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate:

- The name of the journal:
- The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 78.00
- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work:

Ken conducted the haerange kitea (data collection), and assisted with the data analysis and drafting of the final publication.

( ) It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal

Candidate's Signature:	Kenneth Taiapa Digitally signed by Kenneth Taiapa Date: 2021.09.10 14:19:50 +12'00'
Date:	10-Sep-2021
Primary Supervisor's Signature:	H. Moewaka Barnes.
Date:	13-Sep-2021

This form should appear at the end of each thesis chapter/section/appendix submitted as a manuscript/ publication or collected as an appendix at the end of the thesis.

GRS Version 5 – 13 December 2019
DRC 19/09/10