

**MANA WHENUA, MANA MOANA:  
TŪHOURANGI AND LAKE ROTOKĀKAHI**

**Nari Shelley Faiers**

**A thesis submitted to  
Auckland University of Technology  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree  
of  
Master of Arts (MA)**

**2013**

**Te Ara Poutama**

## Table of Contents

Illustrations _____	5
Attestation of Authorship _____	6
Acknowledgements _____	7
Abstract _____	9
Chapter 1: Introduction _____	11
Thesis structure _____	12
Positioning of the Researcher _____	15
The Research Setting _____	18
Chapter Two: Literature Search _____	23
Section One: Māori social organisation _____	24
Governance – critical issues _____	27
<i>Kāwanatanga and Rangatiratanga</i> _____	29
<i>Mana whakahaere</i> _____	33
<i>Customary concepts by which Māori social organisation is framed</i> _____	36
<i>Māori leadership - Rangatiratanga</i> _____	40
Section 2: Research Context _____	42
Chapter Three: Research Methodology and Methods _____	50
Phenomenology _____	51
Kaupapa Māori research methodology _____	52
Qualitative Research Methods _____	54
In-depth Qualitative Interviewing _____	55
Selection of the research participants _____	57
Interview Programme and Data Analysis _____	58
Ethics _____	59
AUT's commitment to ethics _____	59
The ethic of care _____	60
Conclusion _____	60
Chapter Four: Findings _____	62
Participant Information _____	62
Question one _____	63

Question two	65
Question three	68
Question four	71
Question five	72
Question six	75
Question seven	77
Conclusion	78
Chapter Five: Discussion	79
Theme One: Tūhourangi and Lake Rotokākahi	79
Theme Two: Mana whenua, mana moana and hunga tiaki	82
Motutawa and Punaruku Islands	83
Historical events establishing 'mana whenua, mana moana; Lake Rotokākahi'	84
The death of Umukaria	84
Hongi Hika brings war	85
Descendancy from Tūhourangi and access rights onto the lake	86
Hunga tiaki versus kaitiakitanga	88
Rangatiratanga and Resource management	89
Theme Three: Sacred space – evolution of tikanga	90
Contextualising tapu of the lake from Tūhourangi perspectives	91
Motutawa Island – wāhi tapu	92
Prohibition of women on Motutawa Island	92
Whare Tangata – Houses of Humanity	93
Whakanoa (to remove tapu) and women	94
Transgressing tapu	96
Arguments against this theory – he whare tangata, blood and tapu	96
Public interpretation of tapu in relation to Lake Rotokākahi	98
Theme Four: Tribal governance in a European construct	99
Lake Rotokākahi Board of Control	101
Theme Five: Future vision for Lake Rotokākahi	104
Chapter Six: Conclusion	107
Access to the lake – 'blood only'	108
Engagement with the lake; how, why, when?	109
Sacred space – Wāhi tapu	110
Governance – critical issues	111

Future vision – status quo _____	113
APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET _____	115
APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM _____	117
APPENDIX C: GLOSSARY OF TERMS _____	118
References _____	121

## Illustrations

Map 1 - Te Arawa tribal area/boundaries _____	22
Figure 1: Tūhourangi tribal members signing the Deed of Settlement 2006 _____	46
Figure 2: Financial redress of the Deed of Settlement 2006 _____	47
Figure 3: Whakapapa/genealogy of Rangitihi _____	80
Figure 4: Kaiteriria Pa on the shores of Lake Rotokākahi _____	86
Figure 5: Lake Rotokākahi, Motutawa Island foreground _____	92
Figure 6: Signage at Lookout between Lake Rotokākahi and Lake Tikitapu _____	98

## **Attestation of Authorship**

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed:

Nari Faiers

## Acknowledgements

E kore e mimiti te aroha mō korua ra, e toku whatumanawa me koe e te whaea Hinemoa - *My love for you both will never wane, my beloved mother and you our true friend Hinemoa.*

During the initial stages of my thesis journey I returned to Rotorua for a tribal land hui and was fortunate enough to have an impromptu conversation with my Uncle Frank Maika about my mother and Lake Rotokākahi. At the time, he was Chairman of the Board of Control, so his wealth of knowledge and his staunch Tūhourangitanga (I was later to realise) was invaluable. This random conversation was significant in that through his kōrero my thesis topic was born – for this I thank him!

To my many aunts, uncles, cousins, friends and study buddies who gave freely of their time, who participated in interviews, who gave me pearls of wisdom, who brought me rescue remedy, who continued your encouragement for me to achieve my masters – Arohanui! A special thanks to Babu, your kōrero gave me a perspective on my beloved lake/s that I will treasure.

E te roopū mātauranga o Ngāti Whakaue, anei te mihi ki a koutou mo ō koutou awhi manaaki hoki ki ahau i te wā nei. Thank you to Ngāti Whakaue Education Endowment Trust for the financial assistance you provided me on this journey.

To AUT University with a special mention to the team at Te Ara Poutama, Associate Prof Pare Keiha, Associate Prof Hinematau McNeill, Prof Tania Ka'ai and Tania Smith – Ngā mihi. I would like to make a special acknowledgement to Vivien Bridgwater you are a great role model, you inspire, you lead and you believe - Tēnā koe e te rangātira!

E te whaea, e te Takuta a Josie (Keelan) māku e mihi aroha, mihi mai ki te oha o taku nei manawa mo aua tautoko ki ahau nei. Ara, whāia e koe te iti kahurangi, ka tūohu koe me he maunga teitei, nāu anō i āwhina i ahau i aku nei hīkoi ki te iti kahurangi.

Without the support of my family, this thesis would never have been realised, Maurice-John, Kataraina, Kiwa-Jon and my little putiputi ātaahua Te Paea. My wish is that one day we will all be studying together - I love you all!

Finally to my sister Keri Wikitera – I would like to dedicate my thesis journey to you. You continue to empower me in all aspects of my life you have the kindness of our mother and the ‘chess-brain’ of our father. Thank you for sharing, for caring and for being my big sister - lechyd da!

Ethics approval was through the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on the 5<sup>th</sup> June 2012. Ethics application number 12/15.

Mauriora



## Abstract

Mana whenua and mana moana are cultural concepts that are intrinsically linked to Māori cultural and environmental landscapes and identity. These physical landscapes embody ancestral legacies validating tūrangawaewae rights and affirming identity as Māori. These concepts are dynamic and have traditionally adapted to the changes in surrounding areas and the impact on societal values and principles. This study will focus on these cultural concepts applied to Lake Rotokākahi and its environs which are located within the volcanic plateau of the central North Island (Te Ika-a-Māui) of New Zealand. The lake is located within the tribal region of the principal tribe Te Arawa and focusses on the hapū of Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera that claim authority/sovereignty (rangatiratanga) of this particular area.

The aim of this research was to investigate and collect historical information about this landscape in order to understand how cultural and traditional views shape the understanding and regard of this area. Due to the scarcity of information related to this topic, this research will be a repository of tribal understandings/Tūhourangitanga about this area to sustain future generations. It is recognised that the researcher's position as a Tūhourangi woman not only links me to the research but also positively influences the study's integrity through the continuous critiquing of professional conduct and the research practice.

This research was based on a phenomenological methodology and Kaupapa Māori approach utilising the perspectives and insights of six Tūhourangi tribal members and one non-Māori participant who is local to the area. More specifically, participant interviews used an interpretative phenomenological framework to draw on participants' 'life experiences' viewed within a Kaupapa Māori worldview. Additionally tribal narrative such as whaikōrero, pepeha and mōteatea were used to verify, validate, support and/or challenge some of the experiences of participants and the archival literature.

Based on the phenomenological and Kaupapa Māori approach, five themes emerged. It was recognised that the research was a result of a combined dialogue with each of the participants and their life experiences within a socio-cultural context formed many stories that reflect the meanings and values that this physical location embodies. Themes one to three emphasise tribal knowledge systems and cultural concepts such as whakapapa (genealogical connections)/identity, tapu (sacred) and mana (authority). Theme four concentrated on governance and management of the lake, which also highlighted the tensions between Māori and non-Māori governance theory. Theme five centred on hope and the future aspirations of the participants in relation to the protection, sustainability and maintenance of this area.

Overall this research highlighted that there were varied viewpoints around concepts and ideas that were thought to be commonly held beliefs. The implications of these sometimes contradictory interpretations challenged the traditional and customary knowledge and tikanga (tribal practices) toward not only the area but to Tūhourangi and their 'ways of being'. In spite of these differences the study identified that the regard for Lake Rotokākahi still maintains a unique place in the psyche of the tribe and the community not only as an area of natural beauty but also cultural significance that lies within the heart of New Zealand's lakes district.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis seeks to explore and record the management and control methods and philosophies by which two hapū (sub-tribes) in the central North Island have continued to determine their rights of ownership and tribal identity over a particular resource within a multitude of external influences largely found in non-Māori philosophy.

The study analyses the historical and current management of Lake Rotokākahi (also known as the Green Lake), a tribal resource of Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera. This lake is unique in that it has been and continues to be privately owned and managed and as such was not part of a recent Treaty of Waitangi settlement that included all other lakes within the tribal boundaries. The research considered tribal knowledge and connections to the lake alongside perspectives of the current management structure that is essentially a Board of Control conceived within a non-Māori construct of governance. The Board of Control membership consists of hapū members who have succeeded from whānau (extended family groupings) who had once lived on the island.

Within the lake are two islands Motutawa and Punaruku, which are also owned and governed by the hapū. The lake and two islands continue to be a central space for Tūhourangi identity. Motutawa was the home of Tūhourangi and was settled by the hapū until the mid-nineteenth century when they relocated for a number of reasons. The island is now solely an urupā (ancestral cemetery) and while it is an acknowledged wāhi tapu (sacred place) challenges have arisen as the hapū are faced with managing tikanga (tribal protocols) with issues such as environmental pollution and access rights.

The thesis drew upon Māori theorists such as Henare, Mikaere, Mahuika and Durie who validate the use of Māori knowledge systems within research. The literature builds upon traditional Māori ideology as it is applied to the research context. Particular focus on tikanga, traditional leadership, mana (authority) and kinship connections between each other and tribal resources was outlined and applied. In

addition knowledge found in physical and cultural landscapes, whakapapa, whakataukī, waiata tawhito (ancestral chants) and whaikōrero (tribal narratives) provided tools for analysis and is further articulated in the literature.

The research intent is to collate the historical and current situation of Lake Rotokākahi to enable future sustainability of the cultural capital found within the hapū. The scarcity of information from a hapū perspective on the Lake inspired the research topic as the current form of governance is challenging the ability of the hapū to effectively protect, manage, control and meet hunga tiaki (traditional guardianship) obligations.

The literature highlighted the complexities of researching lived experiences, social histories within a Kaupapa Māori context and therefore a phenomenological approach was adopted. The study applied a multi-faceted methodology through interviews, archival research and analysis of Tūhourangi knowledge.

For the purposes of this study Ngāti Tumatawera will not always be referenced as it is a sub-tribe of Tūhourangi and the research participants although some were able to trace lineage to this hapū deferred all discussions through the Tūhourangi descent line.

Lake Rotokākahi is commonly referred to as the Green Lake due to its emerald green appearance. Lake Tikitapu its adjoining neighbour has also been labelled the Blue Lake due to its contrasting blue appearance. Although these lakes are regularly referred to by their colour this study will only refer to them by their tribal designations. This is to ensure tribal definitions of landscapes are fully embraced.

### **Thesis structure**

This thesis seeks to examine how Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera apply mana whenua, mana moana to Lake Rotokākahi through both the traditional forms of rangātiratanga (authority and self-determination) whilst synchronously attempting to adopt Non-Māori ideologies of governance. The sustainability of Tūhourangi cultural knowledge systems are embedded in this physical landscape. These places of tribal

significance are integral to the well-being of Tūhourangi descendants and as hunga tiaki (guardians) in managing and caring for these resources.

The thesis is presented in six chapters the first three providing the context, literature review and methodological considerations. The final three chapters include the interview findings, data analysis, discussion and conclusions.

Chapter one provides an overview on the research setting which describes the tribal settlement patterns. It will briefly summarise the arrival of the Te Arawa waka (canoe/boat) to Aotearoa and will describe the migration of Tūhourangi across the Bay of Plenty region to their final settlement and current position within the area. A description and locale of the Te Arawa lakes particularly Lake Rotokākahi and the islands therein is made. Iwi and hapū connections are formed through a brief description of tribal knowledge systems including whakapapa (genealogy) and associated tribal narratives. This chapter concludes with an overview on Tūhourangi governance and resource management over Lake Rotokākahi and Motutawa Island.

Chapter two provides a chronological history of the tribe and lake based on an archival literature search. A selection of this literature is written by non-Māori authors/historians that have sourced information primarily from narratives found in the Māori land court and interviews with a range of tribal members (see for example Stafford, 1967) and covers areas of social organisation and governance. The literature sourced and written by Māori authors largely reflects knowledge and value systems which position Māori, Te Arawa and more importantly Tūhourangi at the forefront of this study.

The Rotorua lakes are integral to Te Arawa identity and link the tribe both physically and spiritually to the land and to tūpuna (ancestors) therefore this review will also outline aspects of mana (authority), tapu (sacred/restricted), whakapapa (genealogical connections) and other important customary concepts whilst synchronously examining Māori leadership and governance. The final section of this literature review will conclude with a presentation of archival literature organised around the research context of the study.

Chapter three introduces the two methodological approaches and theories by which this study was based, phenomenology and Kaupapa Māori. To gain an understanding of a small group of participants based within an interpretive framework phenomenology provided a practical approach to the research. This methodology is grounded within 'life experiences' and how the human mind transmits this knowledge. Like DNA, each individual's experiences may be similar but one is never the same as the other. This approach was chosen to allow each participant a framework by which their individualism and storytelling could be captured and recorded. Aligned to this method was the philosophical doctrine and approach of Kaupapa Māori. The central theme of this research study is grounded within a Māori /tribal forum and to capture the life experiences and narratives of tribal members it was imperative to position the research from within a Kaupapa Māori framework. Both methodologies provided a philosophical platform for the study, each complimenting the other from the perspective of positioning one within a Māori worldview and an interpretative method by which to gain insightful assessments of individual's life experiences. The chapter will go on to discuss the participant selection process, interview programme and the methods chosen for data capture and analysis. The chapter will conclude with a brief outline of the ethical considerations and ethic of care that were utilised throughout the research journey.

Chapter four will present the findings of the research. Through an interview process each participant was taken through a question and answer session. An interview script was drafted to ensure a consistent approach was applied to each participant giving them the opportunity to express their perspectives and provide responses relevant to the research topic. Questions were designed to acknowledge the unique character of Lake Rotokākahi and to reflect tribal rangatiratanga (sovereignty). Consideration was taken into account that some questions did not fulfill the research objective fully and on the flipside of this there were some questions that deviated into areas which encapsulated broader perspectives. Each response provided insightful understandings and added value to the study.

Chapter five provides a discussion on the five themes that emerged from the research findings. Each theme offers a large amount of information from both a historical and contemporary context but more importantly reflected in this chapter is

a combined dialogue from each of the participants and how their life experiences, engagement and tribal narrative has formed into the many stories that continue to reflect this landscape. Themes one to three focus discussion around Tūhourangi knowledge systems and the importance whakapapa connections to identity and land are maintained and continued. They also outline how the hapū have continued to maintain mana whenua, mana moana and how these terms are defined by both Māori and non-Māori. Theme four provides discussion on the governance of the lake and environs and how the Board of Control have maintained the lake from a tribally constituted entity within the restrictions of a non-Māori legal state. Theme five will conclude this chapter with a brief outline on the future direction and participants' aspirations for the lake.

Chapter six will offer the outcomes of the research findings alongside broader discussions. The research results indicate some variances of perspectives and opinions which will be highlighted in this chapter such as knowledge transmission, impacts of change in social organisations, the importance of identity, environmental sustainability and the socio-political and economical settings by which the tribe operates within. Furthermore, the findings suggest that terms like mana whenua, mana moana are not and do not necessarily translate into the contextualised meanings that are commonly used today. Ultimately this chapter will reflect the tribal significance of not mana whenua, mana moana but of hunga tiaki (guardianship) and Tūhourangitanga.

## **Positioning of the Researcher**

Te Arawa te waka	Te Arawa my canoe
Te Arawa te iwi	Te Arawa my tribe
Tūhourangi te hapū	Tūhourangi my sub-tribe
Rotokākahi te moana	Rotokākahi my sacred lake
Motutawa te maunga	Motutawa my sacred island
Taupopoki te tangata	Taupopoki the eponymous leader
Ngātoroirangi te tohunga	Ngātoroirangi the ancestral high priest

This is a proverb (pepeha), expressed by individuals as a formulaic articulation of their tribal identity and affiliation. Value systems embedded within this pepeha provide contextual linkages and connections to not only the tribe but to physical tribal spaces and landscapes. Tūhourangi cultural identity is repeatedly recounted in pepeha and other forms of tribal communications such as whaikōrero (formal speeches), whakataukī (tribal proverb), mōteatea (lament) and waiata (chant, song). Pohatu (2003) suggests that these forms of dialogue is one way of endorsing/validating the humanizing of landscapes such as whakapapa and whenua. Thus, these landscapes are infused with tribal stories, histories, and value and knowledge systems.

This pepeha defines the researcher's identity and is recounted regularly both in formal and informal settings. Pepeha (tribal proverb) enable one to express linkages through genealogical heritage to iwi, hapū and whānau. It provides a contextualised form of connection to the tribe, ancestral waters, lands and knowledge systems. Most importantly it links individuals to other tribal members. This form of dialogue positions oneself within respective contexts. For example my Welsh ancestry can also be expressed in proverbs or defined within a similar framework e.g. connection to Clan (Welsh tribe) Williams; to Llanfihangel (Central-Northern Wales, Montgomery County); Robert Allan Williams (eponymous ancestor).

The elements embodied in the pepeha position me as an insider in the research as well as declaring my worldview as a Tūhourangi woman. Furthermore, my relationship and connection outlined in this pepeha not only links me to the research topic but requires me to uphold the mana and integrity of Tūhourangi when dealing with people and our taonga (resources). Thus, this pepeha represents the obligatory nature of Tūhourangitanga (being Tūhourangi), influencing the whole research project such as the research direction, participant selection and findings. Working within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm required me to continuously critique my conduct and research practice to endeavor to find positive outcomes for the hapū and the lake.

Entrenched within tribal knowledge are encoded value systems which describe who I am and what I value. My mother was brought up within a local village in Rotorua, a



stronghold for the Tūhourangi/Ngāti Wāhiao tribe. Her identity was steeped within a traditional Māori collective, small town context. In contrast, both my sister and I were brought up immersed within an urban environment in the largest city in New Zealand. Our mother's early death served as a platform for my sister and I to maximise our engagement with our wider whānau, hapū and iwi. This was primarily due to succession to ancestral Māori land and requisite tribal obligations. This involvement offers a rich tapestry of both obligation and a legacy of cultural identity that is important for us to sustain for future generations.

Motutawa Island on Lake Rotokākahi is the final resting place of our ancestors including my mother. Because of this, I have a vested interest in the lake's protection, maintenance and sustainability as this will continue to be an urupā for future generations of the hapū. It provides not only a cemetery but a continuation of Tūhourangi identity. It is considered a wāhi tapu (sacred place) and the requisite tikanga (tribal practice) restricting access and usage of the Lake is now being challenged. During our mother's tangihanga (death ritual/process), particularly her interment on the island, perceived breaches of tikanga were outlined to our whānau. Some consider that females are not allowed on the lake or island. The reasoning for this is outlined in the findings and discussion chapters and is mentioned here as this was the principle reason for me undertaking this research.

Although I live outside of my tribal region and particularly Lake Rotokākahi my identity remains intertwined in this cultural and physical landscape. To ensure this 'cultural capital' is passed on to my children and future generations it has prompted me to consider these questions:

- How can I ensure my children and mokopuna (grand-children) hold firm to their identity and connections to Lake Rotokākahi?
- What is the best way for me to ensure the lake's sustainability?
- Will they continue to enhance their Tūhourangitanga through these tribal landscapes when I have gone?

Therefore, this thesis whilst examining tribal concepts and applications of mana whenua and mana moana over Lake Rotokākahi also provides a plethora of Tūhourangi mātauranga (knowledge) and data which future generations of the hapū can utilise.

## **The Research Setting**

Mai i Maketu ki Tongariro, Mai i Te Maunu ki Titiraupeka, ki Titi O Kura, ki Te Awa  
o Te Atua

The above tribal narrative outlines Te Arawa iwi tribal boundaries from Maketu on the east coast to Taupo in the central North Island. This tribal territory encompasses approximately 905,000 hectares of land including the central volcanic plateau (refer to Map 1 outlining Te Arawa tribal boundaries). The Māori population within this area consists of over 35,000 people the majority of whom descend from those who were on Te Arawa waka (Te Puni Kokiri: Ministry of Maori Development, 2012) in what are incorrectly yet generally referred to as The Great Migration (Howe, 2012).

Within this narrative are metaphorical references regarding not only the tribal boundaries and the people but the numerous geological features of the region for example “Mai Maketu ki Tongariro...” encapsulates the story of the Tohunga (ancestral high priest) named Ngātoroirangi and the bringing of geothermal activity to the region by his sisters, Te Hoata and Te Pupu (Tauhara Geothermal Charitable Trust, 2012). This story demarcates exactly the area where geothermal activity and the lakes are positioned. They not only reflect the history of the physical landscapes but also cultural identity of tribal members for example Ngātoroirangi the high priest is recounted in pepeha as not only a connection to the man but to his explorations and subsequent relationships to the landscape (Reed, 2006; Stafford, 1967; Tauhara Geothermal Charitable Trust, 2012).

Te Arawa migrated from their spiritual homeland (Hawaii) approximately the thirteenth century (Stafford, 1967). Ngātoroirangi navigated the waka to the North Island's east coast, where it made its final landing at Maketū. Tamatekapua, the Captain of the Te Arawa waka settled in and around this area. It was his great-great

grandson Rangitihī and his eight children that migrated inland from the coast stretching across the volcanic plateau each establishing hapū and delineating their own settlements and boundaries within the region (Stafford, 1967). Ngā Pūmanawa e Waru - the Eight Beating Hearts has become the common terminology when referring to the tribe (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008).

Tūhourangi (the youngest child of Rangitihī) and his hapū occupied a number of areas within the Bay of Plenty region, but due to inter-tribal warfare the hapū were forced to move into different areas until they made their final residence and claimed mana whenua over lands between Owhatiura and Kawaha Point (Tapsell, 2000). Intertribal marriage coupled with kinship alliances in the region extended the membership of the hapū. Consequently the formation of large settlements were established such as Te Wairoa at Tarawera, Motutawa on Lake Rotokākahi, the eastern shores of Lake Rotorua and Te Puke on the east coast (Pene, 2011; Stafford, 1967).

Over the last two centuries Tūhourangi has extended its membership and generated numerous sub-tribes of its own comprised of Ngāti Wāhiao, Ngāti Apumoana, Ngāti Hinemihi, Ngāti Hinganoa, Ngāti Huarere, Ngāti Kahu Ūpoko, Ngāti Puta, Ngāti Taoi, Ngāti Te Āpiti, Ngāti Tionga, Ngāti Tukiterangi, Ngāti Tumatawera, Ngāti Tuohonoa, Ngāti Uruhina, and Tapuika. These hapū continue to occupy and maintain sections of land across the region (Tuhourangi Tribal Authority, 2012).

By the mid nineteenth century Tūhourangi had consolidated their boundaries alongside other Te Arawa hapū. One of the most significant resources within the Tūhourangi tribal boundary was the famous Pink and White Terraces on the slopes of Mount Tarawera. The terraces and geysers (connected to them) provided a geothermal fascination on which the hapū capitalised by developing the first tourism venture in the country (Keam, 1988). The geothermal activity plus the natural landscape including the pristine lakes added value to the tourism experience. By the 1870s the hapū had developed a tourism product which maximised these features to gain the most profitable economic return realised by Māori of the time (Bremner, 2004).

In 1886 the eruption of Mount Tarawera and the subsequent devastation forced those Tūhourangi survivors to accept relocation offers from other tribal groups. All Tūhourangi settlements between Tarawera and Rotorua were evacuated. Hapū members sought refuge in various places with the majority relocating to the village of Whakarewarewa in the Rotorua Township (Keam, 1988).

The geothermal features of the region included geysers, mud pools, hot springs, silica formations and from volcanic eruptions culverts and craters which had formed large fresh water lakes. The lakes provided an abundance of natural resources such as fish, flora and fauna which Te Arawa maximised on and the government and new settlers sought-after. The latter, also realising the potential economic benefits that could be created through the area's development (Te Arawa Maori Trust Board, 2005a).

In the mid-nineteenth century (following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi) the European settlement programme accelerated. Because of the relative isolation from the main centres and the continued unrest in the region, the government had not approached land acquisition in the area with any urgency (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008). As colonial settlement increased and the prolific natural resource potential in the region was being realised the Crown employed a more aggressive approach to land purchasing and negotiations with iwi. The Native Land Act 1865 was introduced as another process of control imposed by the Crown.

The Colonial Office found land purchase negotiations with individual hapū problematic due to multiple ownerships and unclear titles. In addition, they had to contend with the firm attitudes and stance of Te Arawa hapū who were overwhelmingly determined to continue to self-govern and control tribal lands. Ballara (1998) provides an example of Te Arawa hapū in the late 1880s (following the Tarawera eruption) attempting to maintain sovereignty over their lands through creating independent governance systems.

Clearly, Ngāti Whakaue and Tūhourangi, and in a more localised way other hapū such as Ngāti Rangitihi, were developing separate institutions to attempt to govern their people and provide solutions for their problems. When Balance recommended they settle their differences amongst themselves and come up with a common policy

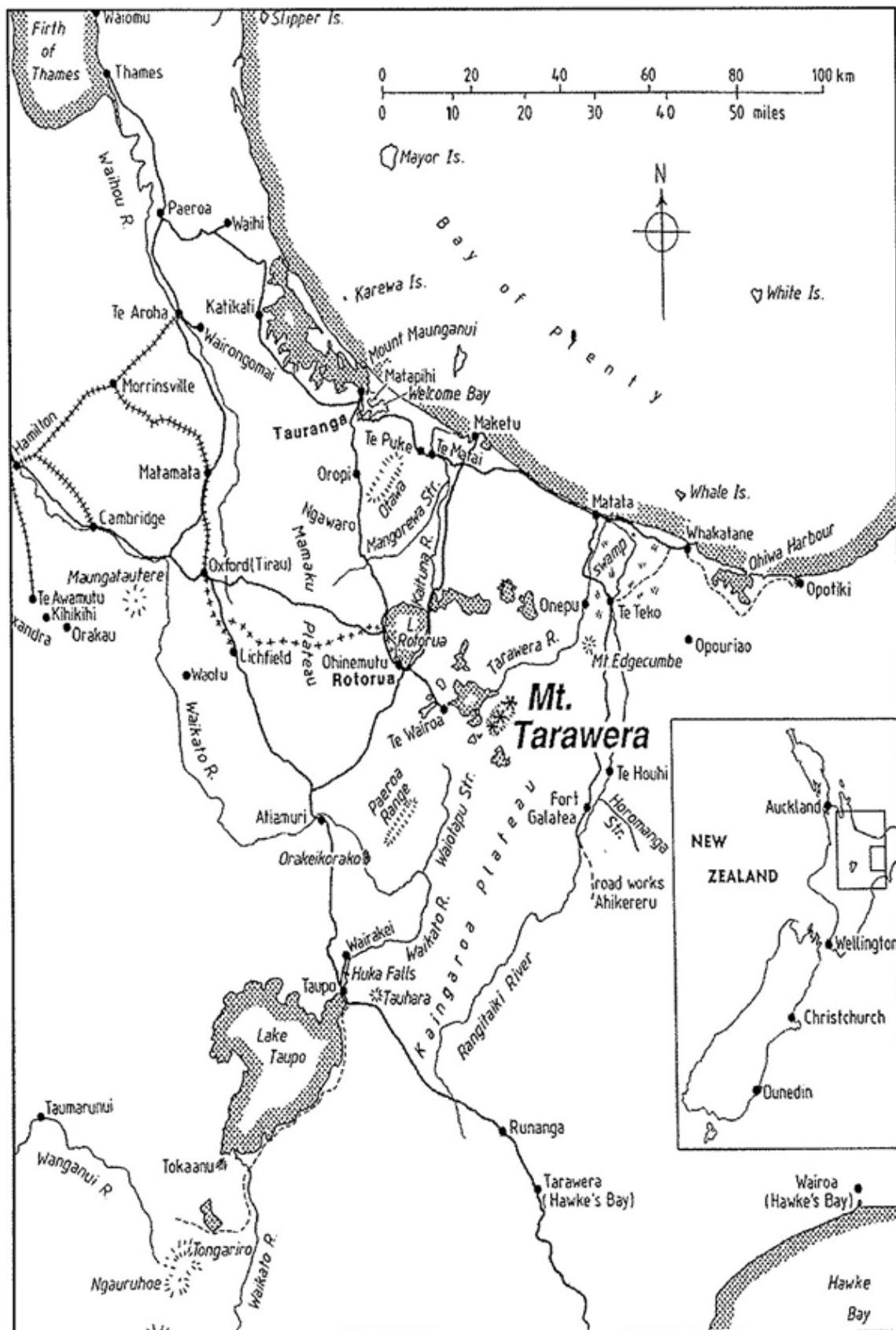
he was asking for something for which as yet there was no mechanism other than the occasional and unsystematic intertribal hui, which might or might not come to an agreement (p. 306).

These governance groups were an attempt to consolidate tribal lands within each hapū and to end the illegitimate and illegal sales by individual tribal members. In addition, the Crown negotiating processes made it compulsory for Te Arawa to amalgamate into a corporate body thus emerged the Kāhui Wānanga Nui o Te Arawa (the great learned assembly of Te Arawa) in 1889 which became the tribes official decision making and negotiating group (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008).

Over the next ten years a mixture of local governance groups were established. A continuance of amendments to the Native Lands Act and the introduction of further legislation set in motion the formation of Māori Councils, marae committees and land councils. The Kāhui Wānanga Nui o Te Arawa was overtaken as these small Councils and committees proved more effective in answering hapū objectives and ambitions (Ballara, 1998). In 1922 the Te Arawa Māori Trust Board was constituted in the wake of the lakes settlement. This settlement addressed the grievances by Te Arawa of the impact of foreign species of fish to the lakes, the decline of native species and the restrictions now placed on the tribe to freely fish the lakes. This Trust Board was the corporate institution that has managed the majority of Te Arawa grievances, negotiations and settlements over the next century.

Although Tūhourangi have managed to retain Lake Rotokākahi within private ownership and it sits outside of the other Te Arawa lakes management structures the tribe has also been required to set up its own governance group (in the Board of Control) in which it operates. This Board although made up of tribal members still must function within governmental and constitutional boundaries. It is unique in that the Board has maintained tribal knowledge and value systems within a non-Māori setting/construct and applied these systems against an ever-changing, and at times, challenging socio-political environment. This study will examine how Tūhourangi have maintained mana whenua, mana moana over the lake since the tribe's first occupation in the area through to the present day.

**Map 1 - Te Arawa tribal area/boundaries**



(Keam, 1988)

## Chapter Two: Literature Search

...it is appropriate that in the beginning we should return to the ancestors and through that history you will see our history and customs and associations with the land that we refer to (Timitapo Hohepa cited in Mikaere, 2003; Waitangi Tribunal, 2008, p. 16).

The first section of this chapter will examine current literature relevant to the study. The review begins with a brief examination of the theoretical definitions of Western governance and the critical issues included within these systems. This provides the basis for further explorations into governance models which have integrated and dominated Māori society from first contact with British settlers in the early nineteenth century. The occurrence of colonisation from the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and the introduction of British Crown frameworks of power and control in the form of government is a central focus of this review. Also highlighted within this section is literature which describes the traditional and current position of Māori socio-political and economic structures. This is primarily to create an abstract and literary basis for the research topic.

To acknowledge the value of knowledge embedded within tribal histories the literature also considers areas of tribal organisation, Māori governance, leadership and the transmission of cultural knowledge from one generation to another. Furthermore it highlights areas where Māori have adapted and continue to assert their rangatiratanga (sovereignty) over tribal resources within an environment vastly different from that of traditional society. Changes in social organisation have skewed traditional forms of leadership and the impact of such things such as colonisation have forced iwi to continually readjust and realign social, political and economic models.

The second section of this review provides the research context presenting a compilation of archival literature which focuses on background information pertaining to the research topic, mana whenua, mana moana: Tūhourangi and Lake Rotokākahi. Key words examined within this section of literary investigation were

concentrated around; Te Arawa, Tūhourangi, occupation, tribal resources, settlement, Treaty of Waitangi, treaty settlements.

To provide a robust scope by which this study was constructed the literature was sourced from a number of different locations. International authorship was utilised to provide a global outlook and to also enable comparative and sometimes contrasting perspectives to be explored. The work of a number of Māori theorists were included to offer insights into tribal organisations and interpretations of knowledge and value systems as well as providing contextual opinions and worldviews.

Today's technology offers the ability for research to be conducted utilising a variety of forums such as libraries, journals, publications, online databases and websites. These tools were used extensively within this review primarily because of the ease of accessibility and abundance of information available across a broad range of subjects, themes and topics. Some of the rich sources of information such as tribal anthropological and ethnographic accounts were accessed through the private collections of tribal members. Permission was granted for these documents to be utilised and included where relevant within this review so that a full context could be provided. These documents are invaluable as they provide literature that is exclusive to membership to the tribe. The final section of this review will provide a brief conclusion of the full chapter.

## **Section One: Māori social organisation**

Tribal resources and subsequent metaphysical and physical connections to place are ways in which Māori have been able to continue to maintain their tribal identities within cultural landscapes. Durie (1998) suggests that land is of central importance to the identity of Māori due to the interconnected relationship between the land and the temporal world.

A Māori identity is secured by land; land binds human relationships, and in turn people learn to bond with the land. Loss of land is loss of life, or at least loss of that part of life which depends on the connections between the past and the present and present with the future (Durie, 1998, p. 115).



Smelser (1966) maintained that traditional societies were fundamentally based on kinship units and tribal affiliations.

In pre-industrial societies, production is typically located in kinship units. ....economic activities are relatively undifferentiated from the traditional family-community setting....community and associational life is closely knit with the ascribed bases of social existence: kinship and clanship, and tribal and caste affiliations. Most of social life and its problems are worked through in the multifunctional ascribed groupings themselves (Smelser, 1966, p.p. 119-120).

Traditional Māori society was similarly based on kinship groupings in the form of tribal, sub-tribal and extended family communities and affiliations. Connections to place were localised and demarcated by tribal boundaries, as well as access to sustainable resources such as fertile land and waterways as food sources. Furthermore these communal, self-sustaining economies were based on distinctive tribal values systems that provided for the tikanga or rules for everyday living (Hamilton-Pearce, 2009).

Mikaere (c2009) states that:

Each tribe maintained our own traditions concerning such things as creation and genealogy, many of which are reflected in our songs, prayers and stories, and tribal members continue to identify ourselves by reference to geographical features of sacred significance such as mountains, rivers and islands; and announce our allegiance to and citizenship of collectives such as whānau, hapū and iwi (p. 26).

While traditional knowledge systems continue to re-confirm Māori cultural identities, the changes in Māori society, away from tribally located communities, has resulted in a redefinition of those traditional relationships within the 'citizenship of collectives' to new forms of what Durie (2008) termed 'kaupapa whānau'. Kaupapa whānau being collectives or groupings of Māori for a common cause as opposed to kinship or whakapapa connections, for example, sports clubs, urban gangs and urban kapa haka groups.

Alongside the emergence of urban communities, multicultural ethnicities and the results of a long period of colonisation, new forms of Māori identities have changed the types of relationships Māori have with their ancestral lands, waters and other

geographical features of significance (Houkamau, 2006). As a result of this changing Māori demographic, less emphasis is to be found on connection to place and consequently new ways of communicating ancestral knowledge systems are emerging.

The impact of these changes in the socio-political, cultural and economic environment has resulted in many negative effects on Māori social structure and cultural identity. Many tribes have a large percentage of their population living outside of their tribal region, mainly in the larger cities but also many have chosen to live overseas and as such generations of Māori have been disconnected from their tribal values and belief systems (Pool, 1991).

Salmond (1976) found in the 1970s that the changing demographic of Māori was radically altering the way in which Māori knowledge and communication systems were maintained.

Those who are at present carrying on the rituals are the parental generation, raised in country areas close to a marae, but with the rising generations, born in the towns away from the marae, the forms of the hui may radically change (Salmond, 1976, p. 126).

Societal change such as urbanisation in the 1950s reformed Māori communities from tribal to urban settings and new forms of social structures emerged. Many of these changes had detrimental social impacts and continue to be highlighted in negative areas such as inequality in health, justice and education for Māori.

The Māori renaissance since then with the emergence of institutions such as the Te Kohanga Reo movement and the most recent Treaty of Waitangi claims and settlements has to some degree restored language and culture within these contemporary settings and revitalised traditional society kinship traditions (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2003).

## ***Governance – critical issues***

Governance as theory finds its origins in Anglo-American political theory and refers primarily to the term 'government'. Stoker (1998) defines it as a synonym for government and states that it is "ultimately concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action" (p. 17). He submits five propositions to governance within the context of government:

1. Governance refers to a set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond government.
2. Governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues.
3. Governance identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action.
4. Governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors.
5. Governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority. It sees government as able to use new tools and techniques to steer and guide (p. 17).

While governance in this context relates to government, Stoker discusses the associated critical issues with the above propositions which also relate to critical issues of this study. As an example his governance perspective also includes the increased involvement of private agencies beyond government capacities which in turn raises critical issues of decision-making, interdependencies or relationships between institutions, and complexities of responsibilities, accountability and representation. Stoker (1998) maintains that "where governments operate in a flexible way to steer collective action governance failure may occur" (p. 19). Given Māori tribal systems are structured under collective regimes, these complexities are evident in many governance structures as has been considered within the context of the Lake Rotokākahi Board of Control.

Tension between successive governments' decision-making and the capability of tribal structures to continue to assert and maintain cultural and ancestral legacies continues to be problematic and aligns to what Peters (cited in Stoker, 1998) states that "we must be concerned with the extent to which complex structures linking the

public and private sectors...actually mask the responsibility and add to the problems of citizens in understanding and influencing the actions of their governments” (p. 20).

The formalisation of government in New Zealand is founded in the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840. The Treaty heralded the formal arrangement which initiated a Crown led central government and in turn this led to large scale acquisition of Māori land and resources and colonial dominance (Walker, 1991). The Treaty has been commonly mooted as the founding document of New Zealand and continues to be asserted and inserted within the political, environmental and economic arena, especially in regards to how Māori and the Crown address historical injustices pertaining to breaches of the treaty (Walker, 1991; Wheen & Hayward, 2012). After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 which constituted the Crown as the sovereign power of New Zealand/Aotearoa, government enacted policies and legislation which progressively destabilised Māori society and by 1900 the government had full control (Durie, 1998).

The Treaty is written in both English and Māori. Interpretations of each version of the document do not fully, if at all, represent Māori concepts when reinterpreted and translated back into Western terms (Watters, 2004). Hill (2004) agrees and states:

It is now commonplace in scholarship that the Treaty's two basic versions embodied such incompatibilities of 'translation' that they meant different things to Māori and Crown – that there were in effect two treaties, the Treaty and Te Tiriti (p. 14).

On a global context this discourse is common for indigenous peoples when it came to entering into natural resource transactions, treaty negotiations and settlements. In the United States the potential for miscommunication and distorted discourse led to the Supreme Court's decision to apply the *contra proferentum* policy across all treaty contexts. The case of *Jones v. Meehan* was the initial legal action upon which this decision was made. Watters (2004) explains:

In construing any treaty between the United States and an Indian tribe, it must always...be borne in mind that the negotiations for the treaty are conducted, on the part of the United States, an enlightened and powerful nation, by representatives skilled in diplomacy, masters of written language, understanding the modes and forms of creating the various technical estates known to their law, and assisted by an interpreter employed by themselves; that the treaty is drawn up by them and in their

own language and are wholly unfamiliar with all the forms of legal expression, and whose only knowledge of the terms in which the treaty is framed is that imparted to them by the interpreter employed by the United States; and that the treaty must therefore be construed, not according to the technical meaning of its words to learned lawyers, but in the sense in which they would naturally be understood by the Indians (p. 262).

In the case of the Treaty of Waitangi a contra proferentum was not applied resulting in both Māori and the Crown affirming differing interpretations and meanings (Wheen & Hayward, 2012). King (2003) explains the critical issue involved in the differing translations:

These difficulties were compounded by the fact that the Māori translation of the Treaty, the one most Māori would be addressing and debating and (if they thought they were in accord with it) signing, did not correspond to the English version in several key respects (p. 159).

There are two terms used in the treaty that from the signing in 1840 have been misinterpreted and misconstrued, in many cases deliberately, to favour the objectives of the Crown and subsequently the New Zealand Government. These terms are the definition of *kāwanatanga* and *rangatiratanga*.

### ***Kāwanatanga and Rangatiratanga***

The importance of these terms within this study is to provide a context of how the term *mana* (prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma) has been excluded from government 'governance' texts from the beginning of constitutional lawmaking in New Zealand. Subsequent critical issues, as outlined by Stoker (1998) in his article on governance as theory, relate directly to how Lake Rotokākahi is now governed and managed within the tribal and legal frameworks within which it is positioned. The tension between these two differing worldviews has highlighted the complexities involved in moving forward.

The discourse on the terms *kāwanatanga* and *rangatiratanga* have become critical issues in Treaty of Waitangi narrative as the terms imply separate and differing translations and meanings in both the Māori and non-Māori texts. These terms continue to sit at the forefront of socio-political, economic and development forums

especially within the context of Treaty claims, negotiations and settlements (Hill, 2004).

In the preamble to the English version of the Treaty, it states that the British intention was to:

- protect Māori interests from the encroaching British settlement;
- provide for British settlement; and
- establish a government to maintain peace and order (Waitangi Tribunal, 2007)

In the Māori text, however, the emphasis is on the Queen's promise to Māori to:

- secure tribal rangatiratanga; and
- secure Māori land ownership (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013)

Williams (1969) stated that the “major purpose of the Treaty of Waitangi was to bring land transactions under the law and thus avoid racial conflict over land” (p. 15). Durie (2009) concurs:

The stated intention of the British Crown was to use the Treaty to pave the way for annexation, the institution of British laws, and large-scale immigration from Britain without causing undue harm to Māori. (p. 3)

To accomplish this purpose the Treaty of Waitangi was drafted in both Māori and English as a way to communicate the Treaty principles between the two parties, the Crown and Māori. While the Treaty was drafted to protect Māori from the wholesale appropriation of land, the result was dramatically different to the original intent. As stated by Durie (2009) “the promise of a joint Māori-Crown approach to transformation gave way to a one-sided declaration of colonial rule” (p. 4). These two versions, while intended to be a translation of each other (in both Māori and English) were in fact perceived otherwise by the parties and continues to be problematic in its interpretation today.

The two prominent terms that have caused ongoing debate are concentrated around the misconceptions in the translation/transliteration, intent and depth of meaning of 'kāwanatanga' and 'rangatiratanga' (Meredith & Higgins, 2012). Wheen & Hayward

(2012) provide a broad perspective of the understanding from the Māori version of the text as an:

...‘essential exchange’ between the partners: the Crown ceded the right to establish civil government (‘kāwanatanga’ in article 1) in exchange for guaranteeing to Māori the continued ‘chieftainship’ of their lands, estates and treasures (rangatiratanga o ratou wenua, o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa’ in article 2). In article 3 of the Treaty, Māori were given the rights and privileges of British subjects. Māori had, therefore, the same rights as settlers in addition to the continued right to exercise ‘chieftainship’. (Wheen & Hayward, 2012, p. 16).

In contrast the English version of the text as understood by the Crown outlined by Hill (2009):

The English version of Article Two confirmed Māori rights to ‘full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands ... and other properties’ until Māori chose to dispose of them. In Crown eyes, this signified no more than confirmation of pre-existing rights of property ownership. Such a view was reinforced by what became called ‘Article One’ readings’ of the Treaty, which dominated New Zealand’s race relations paradigm up until the mid-1970’s. In the first article, ‘all the rights and power of Sovereignty’ – kāwanatanga, in the Māori text – were said to have been passed by Māori to the Crown in 1840 (p. 173).

The terms kāwanatanga and rangatiratanga are therefore central to the debate on what was actually agreed upon in 1840. These terms for the Crown translated as governorship, absolute sovereignty, authority, and chieftainship. For Māori, these terms provided contradictory meanings and embodied concepts not fully understood by either Treaty partners (King, 2003).

Kāwanatanga was a new word, imitating a Māori language version of the English word ‘governorship’. It was first used in The Declaration of Independence in 1835 and later in the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. ‘Kāwana’ being used as a derivative of the English word ‘governor’ and the suffix ‘tanga’ has been used as the English term for ‘ship’. Utilised in the context of the Treaty, by the Crown, as a translation of sovereignty and inserted into the Māori text version (Durie, 1998). The critical issue here is in the translation/definition of ‘kāwanatanga’ by the Māori chiefs. It has been acknowledged in Treaty documentation, particularly claim settlements, that it is unlikely that Māori would have ceded their sovereignty (see for example, Waitangi

Tribunal, 2013). The translations and understandings of these terms have proved hugely problematic. King (2003) states that

There was much in this document alone that would have been difficult to convey to members of a culture which did not share the same concepts, vocabulary and political and legal structures – especially the notion of sovereignty” (p. 159).

It is surmised that if the word ‘mana’ was used instead of kāwanatanga the Treaty would never have been signed by Māori as mana provides for a more meaningful description of authority, power, and status, which in turn would have reflected more accurately the intentions of the Crown (Durie, 1998).

From 1840, the Crown failed to uphold its terms set out in the Treaty and quickly set in place a program of control. Wheen & Hayward (2012) explain how the Crown managed this process of control following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi:

Through its laws, policies and actions it confiscated Māori land in many parts of the country, assumed ownership of rivers and lakes, stripped Māori of their right to fish, and failed to act as Māori were made virtually landless and lost possession of taonga through dubious land deals (p. 16).

Hill (2009) details findings within a Waitangi Tribunal report in 1983 regarding the Motunui Outfall case which discusses the meaning of the Treaty and the Crown’s obligations regarding the protection of Māori cultural values:

And found that the kāwanatanga ceded in Article One was ‘something less than’ the western concept of absolute sovereignty, but rather ‘the authority to make laws for the good order and security of the country but subject to an undertaking to protect particular Māori interests’

Rangatiratanga also features largely in Treaty documents. Like its counterpart, kāwanatanga, the terms were utilised by the British Crown to serve the specific purpose of annexation to gain power and control over Māori through becoming the sole sovereign power over New Zealand. Hill (2004) provides definitions of rangatiratanga within the Treaty context:

Rangatiratanga has been interpreted in many ways – chieftainship, tribal control of internal affairs, self-determination, mana Māori motuhake, Māori sovereignty, governance, independence, devolved control by the state, self-management, Māori



nationalism, tribal or pan-tribal self-government, and so forth. But for the purposes of this work it is encapsulated in the word 'autonomy'. Its core is the aspiration of a Māori collectivity to 'manage its own affairs, members and possessions' (p. 13).

Rangatiratanga with its multitude of meanings has been of primary focus within Treaty discourses since the signing in 1840 but has gained more prominence following the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 (Wheen & Hayward, 2012). Hill (2009) agrees and states:

'Article Two readings' began to assume an ever more prominent place in the national Treaty discourses. These came to focus on the meaning of the 'rangatiratanga' guaranteed in the Māori version of Article Two. Rangatiratanga, it was increasingly accepted, implied much more than ownership rights; it was akin to sovereignty or, at very least, to certain forms of sub-sovereignty arrangements between the Crown and Māori authorities. The historical, contemporary and potential meanings of the Treaty of Waitangi were thus being reinterpreted in the light of the differences between the 'two Treaties', te reo Māori and English (p. 173).

According to treaty based discourses in the 1980s aspects of the dominant culture and its world views challenged the government institutions to seek "alternatives to the established 'Pakeha order'" (Hill, 2009, p. 172).

Unlike the Crown's treaties with Indigenous peoples in other parts of the world, the Treaty of Waitangi did not extinguish, but rather guaranteed, the rights of Māori, in addition to recognizing the place of Māori in settler society (Wheen & Hayward, 2012, p. 16)

The issues of translation of words and meanings from the offset of constitutional law in New Zealand are reflective of continuing issues of how Māori now 'fit' these differences in social and cultural structures particularly in managing ancestral legacies such as Lake Rotokākahi. Tribal or hapū cultural knowledge systems derived from te taha wairua (spiritual), te taha tinana (physical) and te taha hinengaro (intellectual) are vital in our relationship with the sustainability of our ancestral taonga (treasures) in places such as the Lake.

### ***Mana whakahaere***

As the word kāwanatanga continues to be controversial in its interpretation and application, it is not commonly considered in traditional Māori 'governance' narrative. Tribal kaumātua (elders) refer to the term, 'mana whakahaere' as a more appropriate

terminology for Māori governance (Durie, 1998). Wakatu Incorporation (2013) for example, refer to mana whakahaere in defining groupings that are tasked with the responsibilities and control of Māori resources and/or people. This terminology embraces the tribal responsibilities of communal resources in protecting cultural and physical landscapes, commonly within corporate or Trust Board structures. Indeed in legislature, the term is also being used. Referring to the Waikato-Tainui Raupatu Claims and claims to the Waikato river rights, Mana whakahaere is translated as "authority and rights of control".

Mana whakahaere entails the exercise of rights and responsibilities to ensure that the balance and mauri (life force) of the Waikato River are maintained. It is based in recognition that if we care for the River, the River will continue to sustain the people....In customary terms mana whakahaere is the exercise of control, access to, and management of the Waikato River, including its resources in accordance with tikanga (values, ethics, governing conduct) (Government, 2010).

The histories and stories embedded in these resources, such as land and waterways, are often equally as important to protect as the physical landscape themselves. Indeed Jackson (2011) determines that the stories reflecting the relationships between these landscapes and Māori provide the literature review necessary for future governance and management.

Membership and cultural obligations and responsibilities are therefore mitigated and controlled within tribal social structures as well as non-Māori structures, in accordance with New Zealand law. Most communally owned tribal land assets for example are managed by Trust Boards and other corporate institutions. Combining the conditions set out in legislation with Māori concepts of governance has both supported and impaired the ability of communal organisations such as tribal authorities to manage their resources.

An example of one of these governance boards within the context of this study is the Lake Rotokākahi Board of Control which oversees and manages the lake and islands. This governance group, although made up solely of tribal members that affiliate to the Tūhourangi/Ngāti Tumatawera hapū operate within a non-Māori system/construct whilst asserting certain elements of tribal governance and rangatiratanga. Whilst membership to the Board is exclusive to tribal affiliation linking

to the concept of whakapapa and the rights and responsibilities included within this, the Board is still positioned within a non-Māori organisational model founded within a western legal system of Trusteeship.

A common form of representation by Māori on governance boards, trusts, organisations and groups is as a 'trustee'. The form of trusteeship in New Zealand originated mainly from Christian tradition with an English variant developed from the Courts of Chancery. Trusteeship embodies multiple elements enshrined in law. In 1956, for example, the Trustee Act was enacted which sought to oversee the care and administration of one's estate and dependants at the time of death or from the inability of that individual or organisation to function within society because of mental incapacity ("The Trustee Act 1956," 1989). This act provides for non-Māori concerns for the succession of material assets, individual title and the estates of small family units.

Traditionally for Māori, the notion of 'Trustee' in the non-Māori term was unfamiliar as their communities were based on collective and tribal foundations where custom and tradition provided for an obligation enshrined in an 'ethic of care'. Spiller (2010) stated that "Care is at the heart of the Māori values system, which calls for humans to be *kaitiaki*, caretakers of the *mauri*, the life force, in each other and in nature" (p. 1). Thus for Māori, trusteeship goes far beyond individual gain and places a responsibility and obligation on the Trustees to ensure the sustainability and protection of the tribal estate.

Within the Trustee Act, at one's death a nominated person or organisation is designated power of guardianship and to act over one's dependants and estates. Trustees' were primarily set up to avoid exploitation occurring. This is largely dependent on the ability of the 'Trustee' to place the needs of the individuals concerned above their own personal interests. Traditionally elements of trusteeship can be evidenced in Māori society. For example the chief was entrusted with the mana and respect of the people and as a result he was designated as the representative and decision-maker over the tribal region.

While Trusts dominate Māori communal resource governance and management, often these social structures do not provide for the responsibilities enshrined in kaupapa Māori, for example, the obligations of caretaking the mauri of the resources. Furthermore, the intent of much of government legislature is characterized by what Stoker (1998, p. 1) outlines as the

...ability to make decisions and its capacity to enforce them. In particular government is understood to refer to the formal and institutional processes which operate at the level of the nation state to maintain public order and facilitate collective action (Stoker, 1998 pg. 1).

Collective action, in this context, is not collective in respect of iwi, hapū or whānau social structures but supports the dominant discourse, which in New Zealand, is not Māori.

Governance theory, according to Stoker, relates directly to Government and aligns to the definitions in the English text of the Treaty with regard to kawanatanga. He does raise critical issues that must be considered within the context of governance which have been considered in this study. These issues include consideration of decision making processes; the increasing involvement of external agencies that influence the Lake's future; the interdependencies and relationships between stakeholders and the complexities of responsibility, accountability and representation within the hapū of Tūhourangi/Ngāti Tumatawera. In addition to these 'governance theory' issues are the cultural concerns that are arguably most important to the people of the Lake. These cultural elements are also part of the governance context that is concerned with the cultural capacities, identities, knowledge systems, environmental protection and integrity of Lake Rotokākahi. Mana whakahaere therefore embraces both governance theory and kaupapa Māori elements to ascertain the context of the hapū in the mana moana and mana whenua of Lake Rotokākahi.

### ***Customary concepts by which Māori social organisation is framed***

The following literature review section outlines cultural elements critical in mana whakahaere of Māori social organisation. Marsden (1992) asserts that for one to understand how Māori concepts play a role in Māori society one must first have an

understanding of the Māori world view. Māori knowledge and belief systems have been inherited from their spiritual homeland of Hawaiiki and have adapted to suit the New Zealand environment (Stafford, 1967). Those systems have continued through centuries of occupation in New Zealand and although over time changes have occurred many traditional cultural beliefs and practices have remained similar and constant (Henare, 1995).

Durie (2005) states the relationship between Māori and the environment is integral to Māori values and beliefs and is embedded in Māori philosophy. The concept and value of kaitiakitanga, for example, encompasses the notions of guardianship, stewardship, and protection. It introduces inter-generational responsibility and a role to protect resources for future generations.

Economic interests in land have not been the sole source of Māori disquiet. Tribal guardianship has involved the protection of sites that have special meaning for the tribe and for the integrity of the environment (Durie, 2005, p. 68).

In contrast, non-Māori interests in land are founded in private/individual land tenure and often based on economic potential and benefits. Tomas (cited in Grinlinton & Taylor 2011, p. 232) explained that:

Within a Western paradigm, natural resources, and specifically land, are generally treated as things without an inherent or legal personality of their own. They are chattels available for humans to exploit at will. As technology has developed, so has the ability of individuals to exploit resources more thoroughly and accumulate vast empires of legally protected wealth. Arguments usually stem from cross claims to “rights” in “things.” Not unsurprisingly, the hallmark of the Western liberal property regime has become its belief in “exclusive individual rights.”

For many Māori, the inheritance of ancestral resources are considered an obligation or responsibility rather than a right due to ownership and are sustained by the values of utu (reciprocity) and koha (contribution) which support the obligatory nature and reciprocity that is central to kaitiakitanga or guardianship (Marsden, 1992). Durie (1998) stresses the responsibility on Māori to transfer the concept of kaitiakitanga from one generation to another as obligatory stating “Hapū and iwi have inherited an intergenerational responsibility to ensure that they pass on to their descendants an environment which has been enhanced by their presence and efforts” (p. 40). Therefore the capacity of Tūhourangi members to form strong relationships with their

tribal environment is again dependent on their ability to be part of mana whakahaere in respect of governance, participation in hui and decision making processes.

Particular to Te Arawa and the lakes, Papakura (1938) concurred with the obligatory responsibilities of protection and maintained that traditionally the connection of Te Arawa with the lakes was not only for the sustenance and economic benefits it could bring, but the metaphysical and spiritual elements that are embedded in tribal identity and tradition. The lakes and environs are considered taonga (precious objects) and continue to be regarded as the foundation of individual, tribal and cultural identity. These components also embody the values, beliefs and concepts of mana (authority), wairua (spirit, quintessence), tikanga (tribal practice), kawa (marae protocol) and cultural integrity, important aspects of Māori societal makeup.

Whakapapa or genealogical relationships is interwoven into Māori customary concepts linking both the spiritual and physical realms. It is a principle associated with descent or commonly a term connected with genealogical links to ancestors. For whānau/hapū/iwi whakapapa provides not only a connection to people but to the environment reflecting the links of tangata (people) to whenua (synonymous with both placenta and land) and to Papatūanuku (Earth mother) (Ka'ai, Moorfield, Reilly, & Mosley, 2004). Entitlement and access to mana whenua (land authority) and mana moana (water authority) was exclusive to membership afforded to those with whakapapa links to the land and continues today with regard to Lake Rotokākahi.

Hēnare (1995) stresses the importance of kin relationships or the whānau-hapū unit in Māori society, stating '...the whānau-hapū is the heart of life for a person. It is the ground in which kinship and social relationship obligations and duties are learned and enabled to flourish and flower' (p. 17). Whānau relationships and connections are fundamental to how Maori interact and engage with resource and physical landscapes.

Papakura (1938) details a comprehensive narrative of Te Arawa customs, values, beliefs and social organisation from a traditional aspect which was passed down to her with detailed permission from her tribal elders. The significance of this ethnographic account is that Māori, Te Arawa and more relevant Tūhourangi

descendants have a documented description of their traditional tribal customs in addition to their common practice of communicating traditions through oratory, waiata and whakapapa. Furthermore she articulates the importance those core values and beliefs made on the hapū, and to this day are still considered in everyday living. For example the inter-relationship between the temporal world and the spiritual realm is demonstrated today in the common practice of returning the whenua (placenta and umbilicus) to the land (whenua) which signifies the continued inter-relationship Māori have to Papatūānuku (Earth mother) and to the land itself.

Whenua or land was integral to both the sustenance of communities as well as the continuation of knowledge regarding concerns with areas such as environmental sustainability. These systems guided how resources were managed and how societies operated within their respective environments. This was dramatically changed with the impact of colonial expansion on the Māori population, accelerated after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, which saw the appropriation of much of the tribal lands throughout the country.

Customary ownership of land was vested in the community and continued occupation formed the main proof of entitlement (P Moon, 2003). The management of the land was decided on a collective and communal basis despite individual whānau occupying sections of the estate. Customary Māori land ownership was based on tribal occupation and relationships as opposed to individual title. According to many Māori scholars land is a primary element to “Māori identity, tribal integrity, and economic sufficiency” (Durie, 1998, p. 116). Durie states that:

Fundamentally, Māori land tenure was based on relationships, and rights to land were an expression of the relationships of people to their environment, as well as to each other. Land interests could not be held without reciprocal obligations to contribute to a comm. (community) good (Durie, 2005, p. 78).

With colonisation and the subsequent need for land accumulation by the government to encourage British settlement, a system was introduced where the division of land via surveying and sale was set up with little consideration for traditional Māori land usage (Moon, 2003). When colonisation occurred, the vital function of kinship ties in

traditional societies was marginalised primarily due to the loss of land and thus necessitated new forms of knowledge that adapted to these changes (Henare, 1995). The division of property and in many cases unlawful acquisition of land resulted in Māori being disenfranchised from their lands and subsequently affecting the traditional social structures that were in place.

Any attempts to apply a 'non Māori' concept of ownership are in conflict with traditional cultural concepts. Many consider that these traditional mechanisms are still useful ways to define boundaries, and protect and nurture knowledge (Kamira, 2003).

Much of the land ownership still retained by Māori has been invested into Trusts and Boards which control and manage these resources on behalf of their tribal members. Decision making over customary lands which traditionally was invested and controlled by tribal leaders within forums of communal consensus is now shaped within boards and trusts made up of tribal representatives.

### ***Māori leadership - Rangatiratanga***

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini  
My strength is not that of a single warrior but that of many

This whakataukī (proverb) encapsulates the principle of Māori leadership, implying that a leader is nothing without the people behind. In traditional Māori society leadership and chieftainship usually worked in connection with each other. Based on a hierarchical structure leaders/chiefs for the iwi (tribe) were generally selected from the aristocracy or rangatira (chieftain) line with a male primogeniture. These selected few were steeped in tribal traditions, knowledge and kawa (marae protocol) and when leadership was assumed they were awarded the mana and integrity of the tribe (Mahuika, 1977).

The rangatira descent line bespoke a chiefly birthright although occasionally a female was born into the line. Sometimes she was accepted as a male substitute or dependant on circumstances would defer her rights of leadership/chieftainship to her male relatives (Mahuika, 1977). Hinemoa of Tūhourangi was one example of a female born into a high ranking family. Because of this lineage her future was predetermined; her choices were limited, even to her selection of a husband.



Mikaere (2003) states 'her lineage required that she be declared tapu at birth, a puhi, for whom it was intended a future partner would be chosen with the utmost care by her hapū' (p. 25) . This protective process was to ensure that any future husband aligned with or surpassed the ranking and status Hinemoa had inherited, therefore upholding the mana of past generations but more importantly securing this mana for future generations.

Although history provides some examples of female rangatira, Te Arawa leadership was heavily weighted in favour of male primogeniture. There are incidences of leadership being assumed through seizure and usurping of the incumbent (Stafford, 1967). However when leadership was gained over a tribe it predominantly related back to the principle of whakapapa and connections to the land (Mahuika, 1977).

For Tūhourangi ascendancy to leadership and chieftainship are still determined predominantly by whakapapa birthrights. For example speaking rights on the marae follow a rangatira ranking and also remain the exclusive right of the male gender in Te Arawa (Pene, 2011). For some iwi, ascendancy to leadership still resides today in tribal practice. Although, it is realised that whakapapa cannot be solely relied upon to lead a people. Other vital elements such as tribal knowledge, tikanga, practices, protocols and education both in the Pākehā and Māori worlds is now needed to balance and reconcile the old with the new, whilst being able to lead a people forward.

With the advent of colonisation Māori leadership has transformed. The introduction of European social structures in areas such as education, health, justice and the money economy have undermined what were once structural foundations which young Māori leaders were taught and the basis from which their leadership ability was determined (Mahuika, 1977).

## **Section 2: Research Context**

There are twenty lakes within the Bay of Plenty district, Tūhourangi resided and occupied major settlements on the shores of Lakes Tarawera, Rotorua and on the island of Motutawa located in the centre of Lake Rotokākahi. Lake Rotokākahi is managed by an elected Board of Control that combines both traditional tribal practices within the country's political environment inherited from a history of colonisation. Pre-1840 Māori society was managed and controlled within tribal models of social organisation. These models were based on tribal makeup and resource usage was often sought by conquest and other forms of strategic alliances such as tribal intermarriage.

Since the first foreign settlement in the early nineteenth century, the acquisition and development of land began to change from a communally based society to one where private land tenure and natural resources were assigned to individual ownership. These changes set in place a process of colonisation that continues to impact on Māori resources today.

Due to the influx of British immigrants arriving on New Zealand shores two significant documents were drafted and signed, the first being the 1835 Declaration of Independence. This document was written in response to the lawlessness of British traders based in and around the Bay of Islands, a Northern district, and the threat of foreign sovereignty being declared over the nation. Approximately thirty-five Northern chiefs signed this document to declare their sovereignty over the region and to reassert their absolute independent authority.

The second document was the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840 by a number of Māori chiefs primarily those gathered at Waitangi (a Northern settlement) on the 6<sup>th</sup> of February, 1840. However the document was also endorsed by other tribal leaders throughout the country. For Māori not only was the continued lawlessness of British subjects still a problem but more notably the illicit sale of large blocks of land offshore was prolific. A Māori and English version of the treaty document was drafted

and the differences in interpretation of the two documents has resulted in many perceived injustices and set the catalyst for redress of grievances and breaches to the Treaty which continues to be addressed and negotiated.

The signing of the Treaty was an agreement between the Crown and Māori and formalised the conception of government in New Zealand. From 1840 a dramatic increase in land appropriation and the subsequent policies of assimilation and colonisation began. Māori value systems and the debasement of Māori resources, has traditionally given New Zealand Pākehā the competitive advantage and dominance (Walker, 1989). Additionally, breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi have led to mass land transactions through confiscation and dubious sale and purchase methods, which has left Māori impoverished, vulnerable and virtually landless. The impact of colonisation has seen Māori become a minority group in their own lands with significant loss of resources acquired through non-Māori processes of appropriation (Asher and Naulls, 1987).

The British Crown managed in a short period of time to acquire majority control over Māori land and resources. It threatened and in some cases extinguished traditional societal structures which were framed within collectives. These collectives were (and continue to be) based on a series of interconnected states of the spiritual and physical realms.

Whilst traditional value systems have been threatened through the loss of physical resources, Māori have shown a surprising endurance and solidarity. There have been some large Treaty of Waitangi settlements that have taken place in the last two decades which have provided iwi with the benchmark by which to springboard their own settlements. Historical grievances are being recognised and the negotiation processes are reaching conclusions both in the return of resources and financial redress, by which iwi Māori can move forward. There is renewed vigour for many iwi that have settled land claims with the Crown. Some iwi have managed to develop their tribal assets to their maximum capacity and effectiveness whilst maintaining and integrating their own tribal ideologies and cultural practices into those assets.

In the early 1990s, due to the political environment and capability of some iwi there was an extra drive to address historical claims and grievances. Three significant claims were negotiated and settled;

1. The Sealord deal 1992, concerned with Māori fishing quota and rights (nation-wide).

The Sealord deal resulted in the government being able to make a final settlement with Māori nationwide on the country's fisheries. Shares in commercial fishing companies plus a large financial compensation was arranged. Iwi were allocated quota dependent on their ability to prove their customary fishing grounds and rights of access. Whilst this process was problematic and issues of equity took place this process allowed the Crown to consolidate multiple claims and relinquish its responsibilities to Māori (Moon, 1995; Wheen & Hayward, 2012).

2. The Waikato-Tainui Raupatu (central North Island tribe) claim 1995 addressing the invasion of the Waikato region (1863-1864) and subsequent confiscation of tribal land.

The Waikato-Tainui Raupatu claim was significant in that it was the largest financial settlement (\$170,000,000) made to any one tribe in regards to loss of tribal land through confiscation (New Zealand Government, 2010; Wheen & Hayward, 2012).

3. The Ngāi Tahu (South Island tribe) claim 1998 which pertained to the Crown's failure to meet the contractual obligations to the tribe from the land sales back to 1840.

The Ngāi Tahu claim although negotiated in stages over a three year period was finalised in 1998 with a \$170,000,000 financial package including a first right of purchase to crown land. Although the compensation was a minute percentage of the value of what was originally taken the tribe settled on the belief that the money would provide a strong economic base from which to work and grow. Indeed they have managed to capitalise on their assets whilst developing and rolling out tribal development strategies that have been very successful (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 1996; Wheen & Hayward, 2012).

These settlements have served as examples and platforms for other iwi to negotiate their way through their own claims processes. They reflect tribal resource management and revolutionary business practices within non-Māori frameworks all whilst maintaining tribal self-determination (rangatiratanga). Not only iwi but many Māori organisations across the country are adapting and evolving their business models and tribal assets not only for financial profit but to reflect and maintain their own unique tribal identities and rangatiratanga.

Relevant to this study is Te Arawa lakes of Rotorua. Because of the rich, natural resources Te Arawa lakes provided, the Crown set in motion a programme of acquisition and control over them following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. This control was established, through successive government legislation and processes of assimilation and colonisation. Pertinent to this is that Te Arawa leaders did not enter into or agree to sign the treaty, yet because of the colonial government's ability to assert sovereignty throughout the country, Te Arawa and other non-signatories also became subjects of the Crown (Armstrong, 2008).

Te Arawa continued to pursue redress over the next two centuries directly with the Crown, specifically in relation to breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi and the continued degradation of the lakes and environs (Te Arawa Maori Trust Board, 2005a). Due to continued breaches Te Arawa and the Crown reached a settlement in 1922 regarding the title of the lakes. The Crown agreed to pay an annuity to the tribe in exchange for fee simple title to the beds of the Lakes and various other small acknowledgements such as increased fishing licenses. This agreement was executed through the 1922 Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act and resulted in the establishment of the Arawa District Trust Board (O'Malley and Armstrong, 2008).

This Board is significant in that it was the first official body that represented the many iwi/hapū within the boundary of Te Arawa confederation of tribes. The establishment of this Board also changed how leadership was affected at a governance decision-making level. While each hapū had representative/s acting on their behalf, decisions were heavily weighted in favour of larger hapū with greater resources. Most significant, was the capacity of these representatives to understand the complexities

involved in the non-Māori legal system. This challenged the traditional structures of leadership and decision-making as hapū were now forced to negotiate within a wider forum over resources they had maintained and controlled independently for centuries (O'Malley and Armstrong, 2008).

Following an amendment of the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975), in 1985, which allowed iwi to submit grievances and claims dating back to 1840, the Trust Board on behalf of Te Arawa registered a claim regarding the lakes (WAI240) in 1987 (Te Arawa Maori Trust Board, 2005b). Many years later in 2006 Te Arawa and the Crown finally settled what is considered the best outcomes that can be reached (New Zealand Government, 2006).

***Figure 1: Blanche Kiriona (tribal elder) foreground and other Tūhourangi tribal members signing the Deed of Settlement 2006***



*(Photograph taken by Keri Wikitera, Te Pakira Marae, Rotorua, 30 September 2006)*

A summary of the settlement comprised of a Crown apology, cultural redress including the transfer/return of thirteen lakebeds to Te Arawa, statutory acknowledgement, membership on the strategic management entities, restoration of Te Arawa access to food sources and traditional materials, plus financial and annuity redress.

**Figure 2: Nari Faiers (tribal member) holding cheques included in the financial redress of the Deed of Settlement 2006**



*(Photograph taken by Keri Wikitera, Te Pakira Marae, Rotorua, 30 September 2006)*

While Lake Rotokākahi has been excluded from the 2006 Te Arawa Lakes Settlements Act due to its unique status of private ownership the lake has been included as part of the cultural redress which fundamentally outlines the responsibilities of the Rotorua District Council, the Bay of Plenty Regional Council and the trustees of Te Arawa Lakes Trust in establishing the Rotorua Lakes Strategy Group. This group is a joint committee between these organisations.

The purpose of the group is to contribute to the promotion of the sustainable management of the Rotorua lakes and their catchments, for the use and enjoyment of present and future generations while recognising and providing for the traditional relationship of Te Arawa with their ancestral lakes (New Zealand Government, 2006, p. 49).

This group must comply with central and local government rules and regulations as provided for in the Local Government Act 2002: the provisions of the Local Government Act 2002 and the Local Government Official Information and Meeting Act 1987 (New Zealand Government, 2006, p. 9). Although the strategy group is tasked with this in legislation the Board of Control (that governs and manages Lake Rotokākahi) remain separate from this group and can be selective as to their

involvement in such areas of environmental sustainability and collaboration. For all of Te Arawa lakes the major concern is over the continued degradation and pollution of the lakes. Although Lake Rotokākahi is privately controlled, the continued impact of pollution remains. This includes run-off from surrounding land into its catchment, no weed control programme in place, and no monitoring of the fisheries and species.

Non-Māori practices and legal mechanisms such as the Resource Management Act and Te Ture Whenua Māori Act are just two examples of control by the crown which firmly dictate how land resources are managed and controlled. Another example of control is nestled within the framework of land ownership, setup within non-Māori concepts and practices.

These models directly contrast those of traditional systems and combined with the myriad of rules, limitations and restrictions involved in New Zealand law and local body authorities and politics, these models of land tenure have proved detrimental and impacted negatively for Māori and iwi. Knox (cited in Mikaere, c2009) agrees and states:

A court having authority over the ownership of Māori owned land set aside traditional user-rights and partitioned land so that most Māori became landless, and succession to land ensured diminishing control by those who had traditionally occupied particular areas of land (p. 107).

A succession of laws and local government decisions further eroded Māori access to traditional lands, and also inhibited many Māori from trading in natural resources such as oysters and fish (p. 107).

Although Lake Rotokākahi is framed within 'private' ownership status (of the hapū) it still faces multifaceted layers of external and internal conflicts and challenges based within non-Māori paradigms. Governance and management of the lake, although described as being immersed in tribal tikanga is largely dependent on individual members' ability to exercise their Tūhourangitanga.

## **Conclusion**

A key determinant of Māori endurance is the ongoing relationship they have with the land. This relationship is reinforced by the principles of rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga.



Māori endurance depends not only on human vitality and innovation but also on the relationship between whānau and hapū and their customary environments, including land, waterways, flora and fauna (Durie, 2005, p. 78).

Pre-colonial Māori society experienced positive economic sustainability and development. The advent of colonisation and the pressure made on Māori to adapt presented a constant decline and erosion of traditional value systems and brought with it a new doctrine to how Māori lived and socialised. The introduction of new economic and social systems have seen Māori struggle to adapt and assimilate to this foreign environment quite different to that of their traditional society (Walker, 1991).

Māori have adapted and evolved at all levels to ensure the maintenance of mana whenua, mana moana status within the confines of New Zealand government frameworks. Some iwi have been more successful than others in retaining customary lands and other resources and some more successful at integrating traditional knowledge systems within the confines of governmental control according to governance theory.

## **Chapter Three: Research Methodology and Methods**

This chapter will discuss the methodological approaches and methods that were utilised when researching Tūhourangi and the connections, management and governance models used in relation to Lake Rotokāhahi.

This research consolidated a range of historical, environmental and tribal data. A full analysis will be applied and from this current strategies and recommendations for future developments may be identified. The potential benefits of this research will be primarily of interest to the Tūhourangi hapū, the Te Arawa iwi and consequently the wider community including environmental groups and organisations.

Methodologies and methods while inter-related their roles in research are quite different. According to Nagy Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2006) “It is in methodology that theory and method come together in order to create a guide to, and through, research design, from question formulation through analysis and representation” (pp. 36-37).

The research approach for this study is qualitative in nature pro-actively integrating phenomenology and a Kaupapa Māori methodology (see Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999). Due to the nature of qualitative research the amalgamation of these methodological approaches have provided relevant techniques which were used to analyse, articulate and summarise the research study. The primary technique or method that is utilised was ‘in-depth interviews’, although archival research and a literature review also provided a complementary and fuller context.

This chapter concludes with a discussion on what is involved in the in-depth interview process such as sampling, how the researcher analysed the data and a brief explanation will be provided regarding the ethical considerations that were considered during the research process.

As the researcher is positioned within the Tūhourangi hapū the inclusion of tribal social and cultural values will be reflected in the collection, analysis and final submission of data.

## **Phenomenology**

Phenomenology is a philosophical doctrine founded by Edmund Husserl in the early twentieth century. Although phenomenology has evolved over time it is primarily based on the study of structures of human experience and how phenomena are perceived by the human mind.

... Husserl reminded us that experience was always an experience of something. For instance, people were not afraid – they were afraid of something. In order to understand these sorts of experiences, Husserl invented the form of inquiry we know as phenomenology. Phenomenology was an empirical form of inquiry; it was grounded in experiences. But it did not try to reduce these experiences to states that could be studied by such sciences as physics, chemistry, or biology. Instead, Husserl developed procedures for us to “bracket” or set aside our impressions of our experiences, and focus instead on the process of experiencing per se. (Shank, 2006, p. 88).

A Phenomenological approach is pragmatic and through an interpretative framework of understanding and experience the researcher can frame, analyse and relay back the ‘life experiences’ of the research participants. Bagele (2012) asserts:

Phenomenologists use human thinking, perceiving, and other mental or physiological acts and spirituality to describe and understand human experience. From the phenomenologists perspective truth lies within the human experience and is therefore multiple and bound by time, space and context. Under these assumptions a belief or claim coming from the culture one does not understand is consistent and correct.

This qualitative approach was chosen to capture multi-dimensional conceptions of social phenomena and epistemologies. As this study focuses on the experiences and interpretations of individuals in a hapū and their connections to a particular space and environment, phenomenology allows the researcher to consider there is no “one reality” to how events and encounters are experienced.

## Kaupapa Māori research methodology

He kokonga whare e kitea, he kokonga ngakau e kore e kitea  
A corner of a house may be seen and examined; not so the corners of the heart

The above proverb provides a metaphorical analogy to examining research from a Māori ontology. A Kaupapa Māori approach cannot be viewed and described in its fullest context by examining it from an external or foreign worldview but more from an intimate understanding of the people and their spaces you are researching. It articulates the importance this approach has on an understanding of things 'Māori' such as belief and value systems.

In New Zealand there is a legacy of colonisation which has attempted to extinguish or assimilate Māori worldviews. Indigenous cultures all over the world have been colonised and this has resulted in research outcomes which do not accurately reflect, or involve the 'researched' value, knowledge and belief systems. It reflects the views of the colonisers, looking in. As a consequence of this, research of Māori has largely adopted non-Māori theoretical perspectives and as a result Māori have been researched from a dominant mainstream discourse positioning Māori as the 'other'. Pohatu (2003) along with many other Māori scholars supported a Kaupapa Māori approach that establishes that Māori values and beliefs are of fundamental basis for Māori research.

Kaupapa Māori research has emerged as a response to the use of non-Māori research ideologies which have dominated mainstream society thinking and practice. Bishop (1999) asserts that:

Kaupapa Māori research is defined in terms of its political stance (rather than, say, data collection methods) ... Kaupapa Māori research could be said to arise out of ethical and political concerns relating to traditional mainstream research on or about Māori people in that it is a response and a protest made by Māori against dominant detrimental stories told by Pakeha research about Māori (p. 9).

Māori cultural precepts are commonly grouped around the title 'Kaupapa Māori' a philosophical doctrine which embodies the skills, values, beliefs and knowledge of Māori society. According to Smith (1999) a Kaupapa Māori approach determines the most relevant information that defines perspectives that reflect and build upon Māori

value and knowledge systems. Thus this research study will draw from a Kaupapa Māori paradigm adopting the work of John Rangihau and his Māori centric conceptual model (Ka'ai, et al., 2004). Graham Smith (1999) defines Kaupapa Māori research:

- Is related to 'being Māori'
- Is connected to Māori philosophy and principles;
- Takes for granted the legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and
- Is concerned with 'the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being, (cited in Smith, 1999, p. 185)

Mita (cited in Smith, 1999, p. 58) stated that "We have a history of people putting Māori under a microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving themselves the power to define". Pihama (2001) concurs and states that:

one that locates Māori understanding as central to the research process and analysis...given our historical objectification through research we as Māori have every reason to not only be weary but actively defensive...reinstitute fundamental Māori values as a part of the research project (p. 39).

Therefore the research study was positioned within a tribally constructed space albeit it within a non-Māori context to make a difference to the management and future aspirations the hapū has for the lake. It is about reinforcing this space, it is about validating Māori culture as valuable, and it is about providing opportunities to engage with whānau, hapū, and iwi within their own value and belief systems.

Pihama goes on to state that a key element of Kaupapa Māori research 'is one of transformation, that the research undertaken will make a difference for Māori' (p. 42-43). This research study focuses on a Māori community and the connections this community has with a Māori landscape. The majority of the participants are Māori; the researcher is Māori, and the consolidation of tribal narrative and literature will hopefully be of potential benefit to whānau, hapū, iwi and consequently the wider community.

Therefore a Māori epistemological viewpoint will be utilised in this thesis when researching Tūhourangi and their connections with Lake Rotokākahi. As the research seeks to define and discuss the tribe's connections with the lake (both historical and present), including tikanga, practices such as tapu and mana which are central elements of mātauranga Māori are incorporated. It brings together tribal values and cultural identity with practice, positioning Tūhourangi in the centre and acknowledging the emancipatory potential of Kaupapa Māori research.

### **Qualitative Research Methods**

There are two distinct philosophies in which research can be conducted commonly known as qualitative and quantitative research (Davies, 2007). These methodological approaches have distinctive characteristics in which research can be applied. For instance a quantitative research method focuses on the collection of information in numeric form or information that can be transformed into a numeric form, such as a survey (Nagy Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006). The data generated from this approach can usually be presented in a scientific and mathematical form e.g. graphs. This method aims to test hypotheses. In contrast qualitative research methods focus on the compilation of information through exploratory fields of inquiry and leads to hypothesis generation. Also qualitative data cannot usually be presented in mathematical terms (Davies, 2007).

Qualitative research is an exciting interdisciplinary landscape rich with perspectives on knowledge construction and enabled by a multitude of techniques available for generating knowledge. Qualitative practice offers a range of epistemological, theoretical, and methodological possibilities. ... When we say that the craft of qualitative research is reflexive and process driven, ultimately producing culturally situated and theory enmeshed knowledge through an ongoing interplay between theory and methods, researcher and researched. Specifically, qualitative research differs from research models that focus on the creation of knowledge in a contained and event-oriented manner (Nagy Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006, p. 5).

There is a significant amount of literature written on indigenous governance and management of natural resources from an international perspective (Thompson-Fawcett and Freeman, 2006; Walker-Painemilla, 2010; Watters, 2004) although little and not many recent accounts of the research topic have been found in the preliminary investigation.

This research will be shaped from a qualitative interpretative paradigm, it will seek to examine perspectives by tribal participants and/or participants connected and associated to Lake Rotokākahi. It will draw from tribal narrative and literature together with a series of in-depth interviews. The amalgamation of a qualitative interpretative paradigm, phenomenology and a Kaupapa Māori approach has been utilised to capture meaningful themes from tribal narratives and Tūhourangi specific concepts and practices.

### **In-depth Qualitative Interviewing**

A qualitative approach was determined as the most effective form of data collection for this research. The tribal narratives were acquired through in-depth interviews of a select group of people who have connections to Lake Rotokākahi.

Gomm (2004) and Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) provided a series of guidelines by which these interviews were transcribed and analysed. These guidelines included generating and categorising interview questions, best approaches to conducting interviews, thematic analysis, identifying and discussing emerging themes and patterns.

There have been few attempts to use interviewing as a method of data collection within landscape studies. Most investigations have been based on observation and archival work. For the present study, interviewing was the most significant method of data collection. It was imperative for gaining an intricate understanding of the cultural landscape. Intensive interviews provide an opportunity to explore people's beliefs, explanations and the processes that operate in particular social contexts. An exploration of the accounts provided by Māori of the landscape, and the importance they attach to it, was achieved via six in-depth interviews with local rūnanga members (Sims & Fawcett-Thompson as cited in Kawharu, 2002, p. 259).

The researcher will attempt to collect comprehensive and meaningful opinions and themes through the participants 'lived' experiences.

Experience is perceived along a variety of dimensions-how the experience is lived in time, in space, vis-à-vis our relationships to others as well as a bodily experience. Phenomenologists use a variety of methods, including observation, in-depth interviewing, and looking at written accounts of people's experiences in materials such as diaries (Nagy Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006, p. 37).

Taylor and Bogden (1998) define in-depth interviewing as “repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed toward understanding informants’ perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words” (p. 88). This method of interviewing assists in the researcher’s ability to understand the interviewee’s social perceptions, thinking and realities.

Qualitative research is also closely associated with a variety of data collection techniques that have a long history of use and which over the years have developed authority and reputation. These include techniques like ethnography, unstructured interviewing, participant observation, discourse, analysis and vignettes that give privileged access to people’s social meanings (Brewer and Miller, 2003, p. 238).

There are three main categories of interviews in the research process: structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. The differentiating factors within these three are the level of structure within the format of the interview. For example structured interviews usually take the form of questionnaires or a clear set of research questions that need to be examined. The semi-structured or unstructured interviewing allows forms of flexibility in which the interviewees are in some cases encouraged to digress or go off into tangents, which in turn allows the interviewer to perceive what the participants understand to be of importance and relevant (Bryman, 2004).

For the purposes of this research the interviews were semi-structured in form allowing the participants to follow a series of main questions the interviewer had designed in advance based on the research topic. Although each participant was asked the same question the direction of the interview was mainly driven by the interviewees and the order of the questioning differed from one interviewee to another. According to Brewer and Miller (2003):

Semi-structured interviews involve the interviewer deciding in advance what broad topics are to be covered and what main questions are to be asked. Flexibility plays a key part in structuring the interaction. The interviewer may ask certain major questions the same way each time but may alter their sequence and probe for more information. Most interviewers conducting semi-structured interviews use an aide-memoire to remind them of the key topics and issues they are broadly interested in and to assist them in making connections between different parts of the interaction (p. 167).



Brewer and Miller (2003) suggest open-ended questions be utilised in the interview process to allow “the respondent to develop their answers in their own terms and at their own length and depth” (p. 167). Therefore the researcher will attempt to illicit responses which are, as much as possible, reflective of the participants’ experiences and not influenced or directed by the interviewer’s views or opinions.

### **Selection of the research participants**

Participant selection within a research project is commonly termed ‘sampling’. It is a research technique which allows the researcher to select a sample of the population, (in this case a hapū) to collect information without having to measure the entire population. Other considerations that play a part in the type of sampling procedures used in qualitative research are budgetary and resourcing factors, relevance to the research topic, and availability of individuals (Nagy Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006).

Purposive sampling was the preferred method used for the selection of interview participants in this research study. Nagy Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) explain why purposive sampling is one of the preferred methods chosen in qualitative research, “the type of purposive sample chosen is based on the research question at hand as well as consideration of the resources available to the researcher” (p. 27).

The recruiting criteria for selecting these participants was based on those who were able to provide a valuable contribution to this research project, including whānau, hapū, iwi (tribal) connections to the research study.

Tremblay said, “One chooses them strategically, considering the structure of the society and the content of the inquiry...When we use key informants, we are not randomly sampling from the universe of characteristics under study. Rather, we are selectively sampling specialized knowledge of the characteristics (Bernard, 1995, p. 169).

Because of the nature of the research study the participant selection process was uncomplicated and straightforward primarily due to participants’ intimate knowledge of the lake and/or Tūhourangitanga being a pre-requisite to their involvement in the research. Through a series of tribal wānanga (conference) the researcher identified a small selection of potential participants that offered a cross-section of knowledge and

engagement pertaining specifically to the Lake. At these wānanga the researcher approached three participants who gave informal consent to partake in the research. From these three participants' and preliminary discussions a snowball effect occurred which assisted in identifying the final four participants.

Each participant was contacted via telephone and interviews were set up at their preferred locations. Four interviews took place in Rotorua, two of which were conducted in Wahiao (Ancestral house of Tūhourangi), one interview was setup in the participant's family home and one interview was conducted at a central city restaurant over a meal. Two participants requested the interviews be conducted by telephone and one interview took place at the participant's place of work after hours. As the interviews took between 45 minutes to 2 hours, location played a vital role in allowing the participants to feel comfortable in their own environments. The interviews commenced with consent forms being signed following a discussion on the research being conducted. Agreement on audio recording was also sought at the front-end of the interviews. Whilst some notes were taken the audio tapings were the primary source of recording.

### **Interview Programme and Data Analysis**

To provide consistency across all seven interviews and to enable the researcher to maximise the interview process a list of questions was developed which focussed on key aspects of the research topic. As the interviews were semi-structured these questions were not necessarily asked in sequence but it ensured the researcher stay 'on-topic' if the interview digressed or the researcher wanted to probe into more detail on other aspects of a response. Key topics which were included in the interview programme were:

- Interviewee's relationship and connections to Lake Rotokākahi
- Historical perspective; kōrero tuku iho (traditional stories)
- Management and governance perspectives
- Kaitiakitanga; environmental and conservation issues
- Future direction of the lake

The design of the study was determined and shaped by the overall hypothesis to examine traditional and non-Māori applications and concepts of governance, management and control of the lake. Therefore a critical analyse of the interview transcripts, paki waitara (tribal stories), and formal literature sources were undertaken.

## **Ethics**

There are two central ethical considerations within this research.

1. To abide by the university academic standards (see AUTECH, Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee) and;
2. The ethic of care - culturally appropriate ethics, especially relevant to this research is respecting Tūhourangi mana and their 'ways of being'

### ***AUT's commitment to ethics***

AUT's commitment to ethics is largely reliant on the obligation of the researcher to meet a standard set of criteria established by (AUTECH) Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee.

The role of AUTECH is to promote excellence in research and teaching, while upholding the University's responsibility to ensure that the privacy, safety, health, social sensitivities and welfare of human participants are adequately protected (Auckland University of Technology, 2013).

The researcher must be able to theoretically demonstrate that ethical considerations will be taken into account across all areas of the research process. Therefore an ethics application to this committee was sought in January 2012 and approval granted in June of the same year. Each interview was preceded with a full explanation of what would be involved in the research process e.g. the purpose of the research, any associated risks, and privacy and confidentiality (refer appendix B Consent Form).

While ethical approval at AUT considers broadly the principle of cultural sensitivity when dealing with ethnic groups, this principle specifically embraces the relationship between the researcher and the interviewee (Auckland University of Technology, 2013). Whilst this prescription enables the University protection within appropriate ethical boundaries it does not address the indigenous ethical considerations needed within this research study.

### ***The ethic of care***

The maintenance of Tūhourangi mana is of primary importance to this research study. Tribal ethics embraces the responsibilities of upholding the mana of the participant as well as the integrity of whānau, hapū, iwi. Spiller et al (2011) maintains the importance of ethics within tribal research is about “Valuing the intrinsic worth of others; demonstrating care, empathy, and respect; and seeking to base relationships on shared values” (p. 2). As a Māori researcher this goes beyond academics, it is about acknowledging the research must be positioned from a perspective for the betterment of Tūhourangi. Therefore this research will be grounded in Tūhourangitanga. This approach to research is based on maintaining the mana and tapu and integrity of the hapū is upheld.

### **Conclusion**

Phenomenology and Kaupapa Māori were the two methodological doctrines utilised in this research. They provided a philosophical platform from which the research was conducted and processed. Interviews were undertaken in various locations chosen by the participants to allow them to contribute and feel at ease in their own surroundings. This included participants’ residence, a workplace, a restaurant, telephone and a Whare Tūpuna. The objective of these interviews was to gain information on Lake Rotokākahi across a range of traditional and contemporary perspectives. Common themes were identified through a critical analysis of the data (see Chapter Four) and these themes formulated a considerable amount of discussion.

Throughout the research process ethical considerations from both an AUTECH and tribal care approach has been primary to ensure the participants' and Tūhourangi integrity and mana is upheld.

## Chapter Four: Findings

This chapter will present the findings of the research study. Each participant was asked a series of questions based on their experiences and connections with the research topic. Analysis and discussion will be provided on their responses. The chapter will conclude with a brief summary of the outcomes.

### Participant Information

Initial discussions with the hapū when scoping the research led to the selection of interview participants through a Kaupapa Māori process of identifying those integrally connected via the Board of Control or whānau representatives and shareholders from the lake. As the interviews progressed it was recommended to get a perspective from a non-tribal member and thus one interviewee was recommended who has worked closely with the iwi with lake and environmental management. Six Tūhourangi interviewees were selected due to their tribal knowledge and representation of key shareholder whānau.

Of the interviewees there were three female and four males and the age range reflected the status of the interviewees in the hapū, most being kaumātua. There is limited input by younger generations in Tūhourangi with regard to governance matters due to the nature of hapū tikanga (tribal practice). In addition a cross-section of ahi kā (people domiciled in the Rotorua region of Te Arawa) and those that reside outside of tribal boundaries were selected to gauge differences in perspectives.

Participant One	Female – 60+	Resides within the Te Arawa region
Participant Two	Male – 70+	Resides within the Te Arawa region
Participant Three	Female – 75+	Resides outside the Te Arawa region
Participant Four	Male – 45+	Resides within the Te Arawa region
Participant Five	Male – 60+	Resides within the Te Arawa region
Participant Six	Female – 50+	Resides outside the Te Arawa region

Participant Seven	Male – 70+	Resides outside the Te Arawa region
-------------------	------------	-------------------------------------

The questions were formulated based on tribal associations and value systems connected to this landscape.

### Question one

Question one sets the foundation for the discussion with the research topic and enabled the participants to discuss and validate their relationship with the lake. An important element in their responses confirms the relevance of whakapapa to 'identity' and connection to 'place'.

*What is your connection to Lake Rotokākahi? Are you an owner/shareholder?*

Six out of the seven participants were able to make a genealogical connection to Lake Rotokākahi through the common eponymous ancestor Tūhourangi (of Te Arawa). Of those six, five participants made direct ancestral connections to Tūhourangi but were not specific past this ancestor and/or quick associations to relatives were made that went no further back than two generations.

One participant was able to provide more detail about tribal links elaborating on associations with sub-tribes of Tūhourangi. Whilst the majority of these participants made some mention of sub-tribes other than Tūhourangi and connections with the lake, detail was not provided until later on in the interview process.

*So is Ngāti Tumatawera a thriving people, hapū?*

Yes, they are around here but I like being called Ngāti Hurunga te Rangi. (Participant five)

*And does Tumatawera stand alone or do they come off Hurunga?*

No it is just another hapū from Tūhourangi. (Participant five)

*Do you know if there was a surname Tumatawera?*

I think it was our connection into Tuhoe, because I'm sure Tumatawera was actually Tuhoe and he married a woman from Tūhourangi. So that gave us our connection over there and also into Tuhoe. That is my understanding. (Participant five)

Four out of the six participants that made a connection to the lake through whakapapa did so through the matriarchal line.

Connection to the island actually goes back to my grandmother. My grandmother and my namesake were buried on the island. My grandmother was one of the first to go back to be buried there, she died in the early 70's and for a very long time there hadn't been anyone buried on there until my grandmother. (Participant six)

Through my great grandmother, that's as far as I know, I don't really know my history back there, but she married a person from Tapuika and then through that...(Participant five)

Our whakapapa is through mum and Tūhourangi. (Participant four)

We come down that line (Hinemoa) anyway, Tutanekai her husband is not buried in the same place. (Participant three)

The secondary question led into further discussion on their connections to the lake through land tenure, if they had any. This was to extend their connections and broadened the scope of the question to include genealogical ties with the majority of the participants linking tribal identity with 'place'.

From these six participants only one knew of land ownership stated in the shareholders schedule to the island of Motutawa on the lake.

Yes, I'm an owner and shareholder. Just to the island where your mum is buried. I would like to know more but... (Participant one)

Five participants stated they have immediate whānau buried in the urupā (cemetery) on the island.



And then we go up to the urupa, with the whānau. They have got a little plaque so we know where they are, whereas the others have just got crosses or just nothing so we don't know where they are. (Participant one)

And I think that is one of the hard points about the island as that is that it is a beautiful place to know where our mothers are but it is really hard to get there. (Participant six)

One participant made the connection through involvement in governance and operational management with other lakes in the Te Arawa region.

I was the chairman of Lakes Water Quality Society; I'm on the committee now. When I was became the Chair in 2000, we changed the name of the society and the scope to deal with improving water quality. It had been called the Lake Weed Control Society and our objective was to find out about the water quality in all the lakes and to stop them degrading and to restore them to what they were once. So that's my connection to the lakes, I'd been involved ever since with a couple of years overseas, I'm on the committee now and actively involved with it. (Participant seven)

No genealogical ties were made yet connection through the environment and engagements with people of the tribe were significant factors in this participant being part of the research study.

## **Question two**

Question two was developed in response to the current understandings and tikanga practice of the lake and island. The tribal discourse as well as public information available about the lake stipulates the sacredness of the area and the requisite respect expectations and behaviour. Another reason this question was posed was to elaborate into further detail the knowledge and understanding each of the participants had regarding the pragmatic rules of access to the resource, e.g. fishing on the lake and recreation.

*Do you know who is allowed to go on the lake and the island?*

All seven participants that took part in the research were clear that Tūhourangi (and subsequent hapū) tribal membership was an absolute prerequisite to access on the lake and island.

Ngāti Wahiao, Tūhourangi, Ngāti Tumatawera, Ngāti Kahu Upoko; only descendants of these hapū are allowed on the lake. (Participant four)

Tūhourangi, Tumatawera that is it. (Participant one)

*That is it, what about Wahiao to the lake?*

Well I'm not too sure, because there are some names there that are Ngāti Wahiao but they probably come under Tūhourangi but I know they're Wahiao. They are still in it, I mean you fullas are Ngāti Wahiao but you all come under Tūhourangi. (Participant one)

Ngāti Tumatawera entered into the discussion for four participants that had genealogical ties to Tūhourangi yet only one participant was able to make a clear link into this hapū and describe detail on its origins. Research suggests that Ngāti Tumatawera is a sub tribe of Tūhourangi.

Three participants that did not whakapapa into Ngāti Tumatawera mentioned several family surnames of those that were.

You've got the Moke's, the Amotawa's, Te Aonui's, you know who they are..., they all lived at Ngapuna. (Participant one and Participant two)

Two participants extended the access group to shareholders in the Tumunui land block which covers a land mass situated parallel to the Lake's southern shores.

Tumunui are in there. (Participant four)

Shareholders in Tumunui, I'm not sure about whether all Tūhourangi go on the lake? (Participant three)

Criteria for access onto the lake specified by all seven interviewees was exclusive to Tūhourangi bloodlines and descendants, including smaller hapū of Tūhourangi i.e. Ngāti Tumatawera. When talking about who was not allowed access to the lake, answers were varied.

The priest was refused entry on to any of the boats as he was a Pakeha. They refused women, Pakeha and all outsiders. (Participant three)

It's just ours, doesn't belong to anyone else. The desecration stopped the Pakeha from coming on to the lake and because they stopped that they stopped the hatchlings. (Participant two)

We even had one there from the conservation – DOC eh – coming on to the lake and they asked us for our permits and uncle said to them; I think or I would advise you right now to get off this lake. ... There were nearly 12 boats coming because they had heard that DOC was on the lake. You see all these boats here, they've come to ram you, why because you've got no right, no jurisdiction on this lake, this is Māori owned, this belongs to us this does not belong to the DOC. Well, he saw all the boats coming and he just took off and we've never had any problems with them since. (Participant one)

... who are you, oh I'm so and so, oh bring your whakapapa to me and I will check it up if you've got the right to be on here on the island that's okay, but they didn't bring it, see they've got no right. But there was one fulla he kept saying I'm going on the island and he brought two or three books of whakapapa. Uncle said don't bring me anymore, because you may be Rangitahi not Tūhourangi, that's what I'm saying, and the thing is his wife got rights to there, but he can't, only his children, their children. (Participant one)

Tūhourangi, Taketakehikuroa, Tutuaomutu, Umukaria, Wahiao is four times removed ... that's why Wahiao will never be higher than Tūhourangi, because he's there...uncle was saying; if Wahiao is wanting an autonomy of their own, why didn't Mita Taupopoki do it then. And then your uncle says because we were all brought in as Tūhourangi, he was quite happy to leave it like that. (Participant one)

Two participants extended the prohibition to spousal relationships, stating that if the spouse is not of Tūhourangi bloodlines they too are restricted from utilising the resource. Participant one when talking about husbands who are not of the bloodline being allowed on the lake:

No they don't, but their children they got every right. Pakeha thing, because we've got some like that and they go out fishing and you ask who are your whanau...

Because of the increasing tribal population and the complex connections (hapū-to-hapū) shareholding and genealogical relationships to this place, it has become problematic in identifying who and what whakapapa is relevant.

### **Question three**

Question three was posed to give the participants an opportunity to discuss a tribal practice that has been imposed on the female members of the hapū in relation to the prohibition for them to access Motutawa Island and to elaborate (if any) on the discourse of tradition versus tikanga.

*Do you know why there is a tapu for women going on to the island?*

All seven participants concur there has been a tapu placed on Motutawa island where living females are forbidden to go on the island including for burials of whānau members.

One of the first things I remember about the Green Lake and the island was my mum was part of a group of people, which included, ("Name"). And he was the one who took a lot of leadership around going back to the island and because one of the things that had happened with the island is that the graves were all marked with beer bottles because nobody but the workers went on to the island so it was men, so the saying goes women never went on, the men went on, they dug the graves and they all drank and they were all marked with beer bottles. So this is how this range of hui back in Rotorua started to happen. And because my kuia ("Name") was really making a lot of noise about going back there to start the journey for us to go back there to our urupa, because previously we were mainly being buried at the one down in Sala

Street. And particularly in the early 70's was the time when I think apart from ("Name") mokopuna no one else has ever been buried there since then. 'Cause we ran out of space – 'cause there wasn't room and in the 70's people were aware that there wasn't room. (Participant six)

The six participants with genealogical connections all knew about the tapu yet had varied explanations and in many cases limited explanations about why the tapu is in place.

Because Tūhourangi was on there, what I was told by mum was because there was a battle there, of Tūhourangi, and so didn't know where his body was and so, women couldn't walk over his body because they didn't know where it was. That's what I understand that was the reason given. (Participant six)

All six participants mention a Tūhourangi kaumātua ("Name") who maintained this tikanga restriction for females during his lifetime and he featured strongly through this section of the interview process. Four of the six participants state that the tapu restricting women from going on the island is a man-made rule that has no bearing today. They understand there are some whānau still upholding the practice of the tapu for women on the island but contrary to this 'rule' many ignore it.

Only reason for the rāhui is it is a man-made rule. This rāhui is not upheld by many whānau since ("Name") passed away nearly 20 years ago. People go on what they have been told where sometimes there is no basis for rules. Tikanga has to have a practical base, need to lay down simple rules and clear understanding. If this was a rule made by God I would follow it. (Participant four)

My thing on that, I think it was all because of ("Name"), I think it was his own law sort of thing. (Participant five)

What I know of it anyway is that ("Name"), the old koroua, he forbid women to go on the island. (Participant one)

Although recognition of the tapu for women has remained constant in tribal whaikōrero five of the participants did not restrict female family members from access on to the lake and island.

... my mum was staunch about it, and yet her sister and her mates, her cousin and her mates a year later they went over. (Participant six)

And ("Name"), uncle's father said women can go on the island, a conflict between the two of them. I can't remember who the tangi was, and we went up and ("Name") said to me "ki hea, kei te pai o nga wahine, nga kuia, ki a haere ki te urupa" ("Name") didn't like it but we all went, we did, we all went on and this was the first time, that women had been on the island. (Participant one)

Three participants questioned the validity of the practice of restricting women's access to the island while they were living and yet allowing them to be buried there.

If they forbid women on the island how come they're allowed to go and be buried there, why wait till they are dead and not only that when we have our annual fishing opening every year I go fishing and I eat on the island. Me and my kids go and eat on there. I say what's the difference? You belong there, so why would they not want you there? And then we go up to the urupa. (Participant one)

Participant four relayed that one of his family used to regularly take not only women but international visitors onto the lake and island.

Uncle used to take international manuhiri onto the lake and island as a tour. (Participant four)

Two participants are vehement that the 'tapu/tikanga/practice' be upheld but did not succinctly indicate why, when or where the 'tapu' originated. Both declare the wāhi tapu was declared due to the island being a place of war and a lot of inter-tribal fighting.

Could open it up for the lake but I don't want them to make it free for-all. I don't want them going to Motutawa. It is still tapu. (Participant three)

... but the year later I did and that was because the men didn't want us to go on – it was just something that was accepted in our family, we just accepted it but a year later I went over with my mum's sister and three aunties and we just had a couple of hours... when you're older, there's a reason for tapu and there's a time for it to and the time has passed and the most important thing is just to know and be respectful.

All the discussions have really only talked about women not being able to go onto the island not prohibiting them from the lake.

#### **Question four**

Question four focussed on the latest engagement participants had with the Green lake and environs. Predictably the participants that resided in the Rotorua region had more contact with the lake and environs than those living outside of the region. Moreover their engagement with the lake followed a more recreational direction.

*When was the last time you went to the lake and why?*

Response from two residents living outside of the Rotorua region:

... my mum's (tangihanga) was 18 years ago nearly 19 years ago come January. That was the last time I was up there. (Participant six)

16 or so years ago for Mum's unveiling. (Participant three)

Response from residents living inside the Rotorua region:

About 2 months ago, to fish and be at peace. I went on there to have a look at the condition of the urupā. I used to go up there by myself, it is just a thing I love doing, and I take the slash up and actually do the cleaning. (Participant five)

I've been going there every year fishing and I go and put my canvas down, have a kai and then I go up to the urupā and say hello to all of them and that's it, I carry on

fishing if I catch a fish well good luck if not, never mind, it's so peaceful up there.  
(Participant one)

I haven't been on the lake for years... (Participant two)

I wish I could get up there more often to fish but I get up there every year in fishing season. (Participant four)

But my impression is that the owners of Rotokākahi politely declined to have the lake monitored. So the monitoring that was done of that lake was done from the stream flowing from it, which gave some indication on what was happening in the lake.  
(Participant seven)

### **Question five**

Question five opened up the scope of the discussion to allow participants to elaborate on their own personal storytelling. Participants followed the themes already discussed and elaborated on what they could in some detail. Stories ranged from occupation and habitation of the area, landscape, environmental, ecological and political change and impacts.

*Do you know much about the history of the lake, any stories?*

All seven mentioned the legendary battle with the Ngāpuhi tribe led by Hongi Hika.

Well it has been a place of war and fighting - when Hongi Hika and they came from up north. Not only them but there was a lot of internal fighting between tribes.  
(Participant three)

Have you heard about the battle by Ngāpuhi, the one with Hongi Hika? Well they were living on the island when they killed the Ngāpuhi. (Participant seven)

Participant four was able to provide a more detailed version of the battle yet stressed that there are varied accounts especially around the tapu imposed on Motutawa Island from other people he had spoken to.



1822 battle against Ngāpuhi on the island of Motutawa – Ngāpuhi were taken over one waka at a time to the island, as they arrived on the island they were slaughtered after a few waka returned to pick up the next load of passengers Ngāpuhi realised what was happening as the waka had blood in it. The battle progressed on the shoreline and Ngāpuhi lost many. This battle was incited by Te Rauparaha to Tūhourangi to take revenge for the (Tūhourangi) nephews that were killed in the Totara Pa battle. As a result of the slaughter of Ngāpuhi on Motutawa, Hongi Hika brought a war party to Rotorua the following year (unsure of dates) as utu. Unfortunately he picked the wrong lake and wrong island as he took the battle to Mokoia Island. Although this was a stronghold of Ngāti Whakaue, some Tūhourangi joined the battle. Ngāpuhi won this battle as they brought muskets which Ngāti Whakaue and Tūhourangi did not have. (Participant four)

Well they killed a lot of Ngapuhi over there eh, used to go back and get some more and come over and... (Participant five)

Occupation and settlement of the area entered into the discussions. Of interest was the ambiguousness of when Motutawa Island was made habitable and more importantly how substantial sections of the surrounding lake area was appropriated by non-tribal members.

When Mt Tarawera erupted the Crown confiscated the land as uninhabitable. The return of any of the lands out at the lakes over the last few years have only been small pockets of the original Tūhourangi blocks e.g. Pungaromia, the orchard at Tarawera but nothing at Rotokākahi. There is no clear information on whether there are any claims on any of the whenua, around the Green Lake - disappointing. The Green Lake - iwi only own the lakebed and the island. The lake has been privatised due to the waahi tapu. (Participant four)

... Afterwards (referring to the Tarawera eruption), it was a long time after; it wasn't straight after, because I remember ("Name") he went around and he was telling Tūhourangi to go back because they are going to take it over. So it had to be the early 20's even, 1920's or early 1900's. That is why ("Name") went back up to Okataina and that is why we've still got that lake. Tūhourangi didn't go back, I think they were going to a tangi or something, that's when they... and that's why Rangitih

beat us to it, Rangitihi got Tarawera the mountain. On the day Rangitihi went to the court, Tūhourangi went to a tangi. (Participant seven)

The ombudsman around Tuhoe, he said basically they stood on a hill and had a look and said no one is living there and that became crown land. If somebody from Tūhourangi had gone back, we would have still had it. (Participant seven)

Four participants embellished on the remains of Hinemoa and her father Umukaria being buried on the island in unmarked graves. The love story of Hinemoa and Tutaneke (both of high ranking bloodlines) has been immortalised in tourism literature, family histories and the landscape of Rotorua. Hinemoa is a Tūhourangi descendant and although she made her home away from Motutawa Island, in death she was brought back there to rest.

Did you know that Hinemoa is supposed to been buried on the island, no one knows where though. This was common; whānau would bury their loved ones and not mark them, like those ones buried on Mokoia and other places that's how it was. (Participant three)

Hinemoa is buried there too eh, and her father, Umukaria. (Participant five)

Sacred tribal sites have been identified and are peppered around the lake and island, two participants elaborate on this.

And there is a tomo up there and that's where they used to put the bodies down ... and they reckon that there is an underground stream that flows back in to the lake, and they used to put the bodies down and they flowed back in. (Participant five)

No there is no above the ground connection but some of the lakes have got underground connections. (Participant seven)

That's Kaiteriria, and along there they still used to have the poles in from the whare[s]. That guy ("Name") he was the father he had photos of things on the lake, I don't know if they are still there, whether they still got them or not and that because, they had a lot of respect, they had places of where his kids weren't allowed to go to on places not to go to because of the burial area. (Participant five)

The environmental impacts over the years and especially in recent years have been of concern. Two participants discuss the water quality deterioration and wildlife.

Firstly my impression is without looking at any numbers is that the sharp deterioration in quality is quite recent and may well be linked to the logging of forest, the substantial logging of forest on the non-Māori side about two or three years ago which was not well done. And there was a lot of run-off in there. But after the logging was done there was quite a lot of silt came into the lake and affected the fresh water mussels and that may have well been what caused the very sharp deterioration. (Participant seven)

Council have stopped putting any trout spawn into lake as private. They are USA rainbow trout which we are now relying on them to hatch in the wild. You can still get wild fish. It would be one if not the only lake where you could get first introduced fish – no hybrids. Koura, eels and kakahi are still in lake. Kakahi is not as abundant and accessible because of the weed pollution. (Participant four)

### **Question six**

The following question was concentrated around conceptualisations of Tūhourangi management and control of the lake and environs, based firmly in traditional ways of being i.e. whakapapa. Question six was designed to embrace and reorder the interview process within a European construct which has been assimilated into the hapū value systems and vice-versa. This paradigm of a European construct grounded in a hapū belief system has been utilised in the management and control of the lake for nearly a century.

*Do you know how the lake is currently being governed and managed?*

Two participants are unclear on how the lake is currently being managed.

I do wonder how it is managed, is it part of the whole Lakes Trust? I made the assumption that it was being managed somehow. (Participant six)

But whenever Rotokākahi has been discussed our belief has been that the owners have not been eager for it to be monitored and wish to look after it in their own way. (Participant seven)

One participant assumed that the lake is managed under the main tribal authority which oversees and co-governs the rest of the lakes in the district.

I don't know if it is part of the Te Arawa lakes settlement or if it has its own Trust. Because it is a private lake it must have its own trust. (Participant three)

Two of the participants have intimate knowledge and are active participants in the Board of Control which manages, oversees and governs the Green Lake. Operational management including fishing permits, policing of the lake and signage are all elements the Board is responsible for.

Yeh there is signs on there now. Oh they've been up there for a few years now, because I think when we went up quite a while ago there was no signage, and I was like how does that work?...We've got big ones up there, and we've put it in words so it doesn't offend anyone...We actually got those made through Timberlands, that was part of the deal when they wanted to take the trees, we said we want the signs, we want gates, so we got gates up there now, so we lock them all the time when the fishing season's closed, we lock them. They are locked most of the time now at both ends. (Participant five)

A range of reasons has been mentioned for the inactivity of the board.

Well the Board of Control sets the rules and as far as I am aware nothing has been done since ("Name") died. Intergenerational raruraru is halting progress, even within immediate whānau. Misinformation is taken as gospel. (Participant four)

There is a lot of people on this Board of Control ... Well we used to meet, when ("Name") was alive and then ("Name") sort of took over and that's it. But a lot of them my own thing is that I worked out later on is that they just wanted to go on the Board of Control just to say put it in their cv. That was my understanding after a while. ...

There was too many for a start we should have left it at 6 or 7 sort of thing.  
(Participant five)

Well we've got trustees; we've only two from Ngapuna. ("Name") and ("Name") only two that bother to go up and have a look, out of the other 12 trustees... since uncle's been dead now 3 years, we've never had meeting and we need a new chairman. I asked ("Name")- he was the acting chairman - and I said to him, "hey boy we need a meeting, get our permits so our people can go on the lake. Look I'm too busy; if you want to do it you do it." (Participant one)

## **Question seven**

Question 7 was developed to allow participants to make suggestions on the future direction for the lake and island. It provided them an opportunity to discuss what, if any change they would like to see.

Would you like to see any change with the lake?

Oh yes, I would like to see it restored like all the others. For all the other lakes targets were set, the targets were sometime in 1999 and the targets were set to take them back to a quality where they were somewhere round about 1970, 1960, 1970 so they are not to take it back to pristine quality but each lake to take it back to what it was 30 years ago and those were quite realistic targets yes. ... There is no point in setting the same target for each of them, each of them were realistic. When you look at the way what's happened with the other lakes and the attitude that a lot of Pakeha have taken to the other lakes I think the owners of lakes like Rotokākahi have every reason to be cautious and protective. (Participant seven)

But you know what I would like to see is actually all our names get taken off the Board and restarted again. (Participant five)

Could open it up for the lake but I don't want them to make it free for-all. I don't want them going to Motutawa. It is still tapu. (Participant three)

Although there is an unsavoury history on the lake it would be nice to be left alone, a spiritual footprint on everything that happens. Look at the battlefields overseas they are all marked as memorials, cemeteries and wāhi tapu. (Participant four)

The discussion on the future direction for the lakes enabled the participants to reflect largely on its history and this was expressed in their responses.

## **Conclusion**

These findings represent the perspectives and views of seven participants that have a range of backgrounds, a diversity of age groups and which reside both inside and outside of the research region.

Each participant had a different knowledge base based on 'lived experiences and engagement' with the lake, the tribe and the area. Six out of the seven participants positioned themselves from within a Tūhourangi tribal context and one external participant from a purely scientific management and control perspective.

The semi-structured interview process enabled the participants to communicate viewpoints relevant to each individual and added value to the research result.

## Chapter Five: Discussion

The first part of this chapter will discuss the themes that have revealed themselves throughout the research study and from which the researcher has formulated this discussion chapter.

1. Tūhourangi and Lake Rotokākahi
2. Mana whenua, mana moana and hunga tiaki
3. Sacred space – evolving the tikanga
4. Tribal governance in a European construct
5. Future vision for the Green lake

### Theme One: Tūhourangi and Lake Rotokākahi

Ko te ihu o te waka kei Maketu, ko te kei o te waka kei Tongariro  
The bow of Te Arawa rests at Maketu and the stern at Tongariro

This tribal proverb defines the territorial boundaries of the Te Arawa waka and iwi inferring the prow of the Te Arawa canoe (waka from the emigration of this tribe from their ancestral homelands) lies at Maketu and the stern based at Mount Tongariro. Settlement within this territory was initiated and defined by the great Te Arawa progenitor Rangitihi and his seven sons and daughter, each child claiming sections of the district for settlement and dominance over the area. Identity to the tribe can be traced back to one or more children of Rangitihi and the iwi is now commonly known as Ngā Pūmanawa e Waru – the eight beating hearts or the Te Arawa Confederation of Tribes (Stafford, 1967).

Territorial boundaries within this region changed inter-tribally over the five centuries following the landing of the waka in approximately 1350AD due to conflict, conquest, intermarriage and migration (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008). Tūhourangi was the youngest child of Rangitihi (refer Table 1).

**Figure 3: Whakapapa/genealogy of Rangitihi**



*(Tapsell, 2000)*

By the late eighteenth century Tūhourangi had established a stronghold around Tarawera, Rotokākahi and the island of Motutawa (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008). The Tarawera eruption in 1886 resulted in the hapū being displaced and re-settlement was established in other areas although tribal connections to the land through genealogical links remained (Keam, 1988).

Pene (2011) describes the settlement pattern of the sub-tribes living around Tarawera just prior to the 1886 eruption as:

- Ngāti Tumatawera lived at Kaiteriria, situated at the southern end of the Green Lake.
- Tūhourangi stretched from the Green Lake to Te Wairoa.
- Ngāti Hinemihi occupied from Te Wairoa to the shores of Tarawera.
- Ngāti Rangitihi lived at Moura, Waingongoro, Tapahoro and Rotomakariri.
- Ngāti Taoi lived at Te Ariki and Puai Island on Rotomahana (p. 21).

The research study has identified that the Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera sub-tribes of the principal tribe Te Arawa have occupied and retained dominance of the Lake Rotokākahi area for centuries. Motutawa Island based in the centre of Lake Rotokākahi was a primary location of residence for the hapū until the late eighteenth century, with abundant natural resources both on and around the island plus a tactical location, not easily accessible for any rival war parties. The lakeside provided a primary transport and communication track for travellers and tourists enroute to Te



Wairoa which was the main access out to the famous Pink and White Terraces, also another stronghold and major economic base for Tūhourangi.

The eruption of Mount Tarawera in 1886 resulted in the entire hapū being displaced from their tribal homelands. Post the eruption the Tūhourangi refugees were offered residence throughout the country and primarily settled at Whakarewarewa and Ngapuna located in central Rotorua. The geothermal features of Whakarewarewa aligned well to the tourism entrepreneurial pursuits the hapū had acquired at Te Wairoa and thus Tūhourangi continued a tourism legacy which continues today.

Over more than a century with intermarriage and settlement claims Tūhourangi are established firmly in Rotorua. Traditional hapū knowledge systems still maintain hapū identity in the form of mana whenua, mana moana at Tarawera and Lake Rotokākahi and now with recent treaty settlements land tenure and compensation are now influencing tribal governance restructure (discussed further in theme 4). Mātauranga Māori or tribal knowledge systems continue to maintain strong whakapapa and histories based in the Tarawera, Lake Rotokākahi areas. This is evidenced in traditional waiata tawhito (ancestral chants), such as Tera te auahi. This waiata tawhito continues to be recited in tribal gatherings. It re-confirms the tribal boundaries of the Lakes region, the history of the eruption of Mt Tarawera in 1886 and has featured in tribal wānanga as part of reclaiming Tūhourangi traditional knowledge transmission and systems (Pene, 2011).

The evidence from this study validates and strengthens the connections Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera have with Lake Rotokākahi and the surrounding environs. This is corroborated in the literature review (chapter two) which determines clearly the tribal links, through whakapapa, settlement and occupation of this area. According to Mead (1994) whakapapa is a primary element of Māori identity and connects one to their tūrangawaewae (place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa), linking them to their respective landscapes and forms the basis for identity. Whakapapa is embedded in Tūhourangi whaikōrero and is commonly found in traditional narrative such as pepeha and waiata. It is a genealogical inheritance passed down through the generations. The importance of Tūhourangi identity for the research participants revealed the

strengths placed on their whakapapa connections both to the tribe and to the whenua.

Lake Rotokākahi has been integral to Tūhourangi identity as a source of occupation, food and transport routes spanning centuries. Although the area has not been inhabited for over 130 years other traditional contexts by which the hapū engage with the lake remain e.g. fishing, tangihanga etc. (Butterworth, 2008). The research provided numerous forms by which participants engage both actively and spiritually with the lake, the majority utilising it as a recreational zone. Evidence shows that those participants are the ones who reside within the rohe (tribal region). Furthermore the research results indicate that these participants due to their proximity and location are more in-tune with environmental change and impacts which occur such as the change in water quality and the rise and decline of wildlife activity. In addition it is these tribal members who have engaged actively in discussion of governance and management.

For those tribal members interviewed and who live outside of the rohe their primary purpose of engagement with the lake is the tangihanga (funeral) process for family members. In the last two decades the adoption of non-Māori traditions such as placing memorial stones has increased the level of engagement the hapū has with the lake and island, subsequently enhancing their level of intimacy and connectedness. This is further discussed in theme 3, 'Sacred space, changing/evolving the tikanga.

## **Theme Two: Mana whenua, mana moana and hunga tiaki**

Te toto o te tangata, he kai; te orange o te tangata, he whenua.  
The blood of the people: food: the sustenance of people: land.

The research has revealed that mana whenua, mana moana are terms not commonly used by these individuals, (the participants in this study are aged between 50 to 80 years) particularly the generation who participated in this study. The interpretation of these terms, while semantic, have reflected non-Māori concepts of land tenure which support the crown negotiation processes and are of little effect to

the hunga tiaki and spiritual notions of connectedness to the area. They are terms commonly utilised in non-Māori contexts and have been introduced as a result of things such as treaty settlements and government related initiatives and publications.

The research results showed that Tūhourangi continue to describe mana whenua and mana moana definitions from a mātauranga Māori position founded in tribal narratives such as whaikōrero, waiata tawhito and whakataukī which guides the tikanga on the Lake. The definition 'mana whenua, mana moana' in its interpretation has been problematic for both the crown and iwi as the complexities of customary land, control, management and ownership cannot be demarcated by geographical markers alone. The processes enforced on iwi by the crown especially seen through the Treaty of Waitangi process have caused significant grievances, stripped some iwi of land, mana, and contributed to negative and detrimental health and wellbeing statistics. This overlay of crown rule and interpretation has interfered with individuals' tribal understandings of tūrangawaewae. These effects are discussed further in theme four of this chapter.

### ***Motutawa and Punaruku Islands***

Motutawa and Punaruku Islands are located on the southern half of Lake Rotokākahi. The former island comprising a larger land mass and on which the Tūhourangi hapū occupied through to the late eighteenth century. Motutawa is no longer occupied and is solely now a Tūhourangi urupā (cemetery).

Punaruku Island did not feature much in the research although records show that under the Public Works Act 1920 the island was appropriated by the crown for use in a forestry planting programme.

Mita Taupopoki a revered leader of Tūhourangi/Ngāti Wahiao in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was steeped in tribal knowledge and also renowned for his reputation in Māori Land Court proceedings, tribal forums and even on the international tourism and diplomatic stages (Waaka, 1993). His descriptive accounts of landmarks, occupations and authority over tribal lands have proved invaluable for Te Arawa especially those records found within Māori Land Court minutes and governmental records. These records have provided the tribe with oratory and

written accounts which have assisted Te Arawa and (in regards to this study) Tūhourangi in reaffirming and maintaining mana whenua and mana moana over their customary lands. Pene (2011) provides a description of the settlement of Lake Rotokākahi by Mita Taupopoki and the derivation of mana over this area.

- Ngāti Umukaria and Ngāti Wāhiao lived on the highest point of the island
- Ngāti Tūkiterangi had a settlement between places called Te Hīnau and Hikapae, also on the island of Motutawa
- Ngāti Tūohonoa also had rights there (and its hapū Ngāti Tūtahi)
- Mita Taupopoki considered that mana over the island and its environs, derived from Wāhiao, passed to Tūohonoa, from him to Pakakī, from him to others (Pene, 2011).

Mita goes on to state that in the late nineteenth century the heir of these chiefs was Wī Keepa Te Rangipūawhe and he 'is the representative of these manas, whose voice is obeyed by the people and whose influence protects the land' (Pene, 2011). Tūhourangi and Ngāti Wāhiao quarrelled over a section of land called Te Whakahoronga which led to Ngāti Wāhiao to move by stages to Parekārangi, which left only two hapū on Motutawa, Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera. These recordings support further evidence of mana whenua, mana moana over this area.

### ***Historical events establishing 'mana whenua, mana moana; Lake Rotokākahi'***

The establishment of mana whenua, mana moana for Tūhourangi over Lake Rotokākahi can be identified through the continued occupation of the lake and environs by the hapū not only physically but spiritually. There were also two significant events that took place that affirmed Tūhourangi mana over this area which were highlighted in the research study.

### ***The death of Umukaria***

Approximately ten generations from the landing of the Te Arawa waka in Maketu, Tūhourangi maintained a stronghold at Lake Rotokākahi across to Te Pukeroa Pa (Current Township) in Rotorua (Tapsell, 2000). Umukaria, the grandson of Tūhourangi resided at the pā (village) of his grandfather. Umukaria was killed by rivals from Ngāti Apumoana and a number of other hapū. A large contingent of Tūhourangi exacted their revenge for the killing of this Rangatira (chief) by converging on Motutawa Island and not only did they defeat Ngāti Apumoana but

drove them out of the area completely. Tūhourangi therefore extended their mana whenua for the hapū. This act of murder and subsequent reprisals was one of a number of incidents that occurred over the last two centuries involving the lake. The murder of Umukaria was one of significance as he was of high ranking bloodlines and therefore reciprocity had to be followed through to maintain tribal mana. The late Mita Taupopoki (Paramount chief) affirmed this in stating 'Tūhourangi occupied this land from the time of the conquest and since the fight at Moura, they have occupied Motutawa down to the present time' (Pene, 2011, p. 21).

The daughter of Umukaria was Hinemoa whose love story with Tutanekai is immortalised in New Zealand's literary history. Her legendary status was profiled in the research and reference was made by participants that both Umukaria and Hinemoa have been interred on Motutawa Island in unmarked graves.

### ***Hongi Hika brings war***

Both the research and literature highlights one of the most significant events in regards to both the lake and the tribe was the 1822 battle between Ngāpuhi led by Hongi Hika and Tūhourangi on Motutawa Island. A strategic and ultimately bloody battle took place on the island where Ngāpuhi were ferried across the lake by Tūhourangi waka (canoes) and led ultimately to their slaughter. This secured Tūhourangi dominance of this area and was acclaimed as a great success in battle yet the return of Ngāpuhi a year later to exact revenge resulted in Tūhourangi and Ngāti Whakaue (another Te Arawa sub-tribe) losing over a thousand lives at Mokoia Island on Lake Rotorua (Stafford, 1967). From the slaughter on Motutawa in 1822 the hapū commenced vacating the island. Inter-tribal disputes over land also facilitated relocations (Pene, 2011). The research indicates the island was fully abandoned and became solely an urupā some years before the eruption of Mount Tarawera in 1886.

Although Motutawa was vacated and converted solely to an urupā, Tūhourangi maintained a relationship with the area in various forms such as transport routes, some scattered settlements and the lake itself continued to provide a prolific source of traditional food and resources which remains to this day. In the early 1870s the lakeside was inhabited by the Te Arawa Armed Constabulary a military force formed

to protect the region from Te Kooti (Tuhoe leader) and his invading war party during the Māori land wars (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008).

**Figure 4: Kaiteriria Pa on the shores of Lake Rotokākahi**



(Artist Charles Blomfeld 1822 source <http://www.artis-jgg.co.nz/iframe3>)

Land adjacent to the lake has been and is now utilised by numerous external groups that do not have the genealogical affiliation to Tūhourangi. Government groups operated a number of organisations on the land surrounding the lake for example, for a short period of time a European prison was erected; business operators used the lake as part of their tourism experience; and today the Department of Conservation have built and manage a walking track for public use that partially circumnavigates the majority of land around the lake exclusive of a private farm which spans a large section of land on side. In addition Timberlands, an international conglomerate, have forestry interests in sections of the land surrounding the lake. With multiple organisations utilising the lakes resources Tūhourangi have remained constant in their relationships and connections with the lake and maintain mana whenua, mana moana through hunga tiaki (stewardship).

### ***Descendancy from Tūhourangi and access rights onto the lake***

Cultural identity, for Māori, it is argued is based on whakapapa connections that not only form relationships between people but also confirms connections to whenua and cultural landscapes. This notion is based metaphysically on connections to the

celestial parents (Ranginui and Papatūānuku) and thus guides our ways of being (Rikihana, 1988). The relationship Tūhourangi has with Lake Rotokākahi is surrounded with its own set of complexities and dynamics, for example not only do tribal practices and self-governance play a role but genealogical connections are paramount. Within this context the research highlighted that identity to Tūhourangi and therefore access rights to the lake and islands were contained solely within blood connections to the hapū.

As previously mentioned in chapter two and theme one of this chapter, blood ties to either Rangitihi or one of his eight children proves connections to the Te Arawa Confederation of Tribes – commonly referred to as Ngā Pūmanawa e Waru (the Eight Beating Hearts). Although all eight children settled within the Rotorua Lakes region internal conflicts and battles continued, many lasting generations. The conflicts were focussed around land domination, women or revenge. Peace was usually settled by intermarriage (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008). The rangatiratanga and autonomy of each of the Te Arawa hapū is reflected in these battles, land domination and ultimately in genealogical ties. This research has highlighted the importance Tūhourangi places in blood ascendancy and rights of access.

A point was made that someone who could prove descent to Rangitihi was also excluded from the lake even though Tūhourangi descended from this father. This suggests mana tangata of Tūhourangi and a clear understanding of tribal boundaries inter-tribally. Intermarriage is common in tribal contexts especially as a practice to settling disputes and strengthening blood connections within tribes/communities. For many of the participants connections to one, two or more of the sub-tribes was easy to establish but their understanding of rights of access to Lake Rotokākahi was clear and was the exclusive right of members of the Tūhourangi hapū alone.

Access on to the lake has raised some issues as the policing of this is not easy. For example, proof of a legitimate connection to Tūhourangi cannot be easily established in this forum i.e. on the lakeside, in a boat. On the flipside of this it relies on one knowing Tūhourangi whakapapa clearly and unfortunately over successive generations the passing down of this knowledge has been restricted to only a few.

The research is unclear on land tenure outside of the hapū, in around Lake Rotokākahi. There is also some uncertainty by tribal owners how they have acquired land shares. Although there is some uncertainty about which tupuna (ancestor) they have inherited from, the belief is strong that the connections and shareholdings are based within whakapapa rights of ownership.

### ***Hunga tiaki versus kaitiakitanga***

The word kaitiakitanga today has been contextualised and is universally used in reference to an inherent obligation for Māori to their ancestors and future generations for the preservation of resources, maintaining order and balance within the spiritual and metaphysical realms and sustainability (Pohatu, 2003). Selby et al (2010) concurs and explains:

Kaitiakitanga is not an obligation which we choose to adopt or to ignore; it is an inherited commitment that links mana atua, mana tangata and mana whenua, the spiritual realm with the human worlds and both of those with the earth and all that is on it (p. 1).

Kaitiaki in Te Arawa is a word specifically used to describe guardians and these guardians commonly took the form of taniwha, animals or creatures. Huhana Mihinui a Tūhourangi kuia (female elder) explained that some terminology from tribe to tribe can reflect distinctive and unique meanings:

Another mita used specific to Te Arawa is 'hunga manaaki' and 'hunga tiaki', groups which have a responsibility to care for others and to provide hospitality. These differences in terms may be semantic but the intent between tribes could reflect different meanings. For example utilised in government literature 'kaitiakitanga', tribal definition, current understandings of kaitiakitanga for Māori in general...Kaitiaki (trustee) is another example. The prefix 'hunga' is more common than 'kai' amongst Te Arawa, hence te hunga tiaki rather than Kaitiaki. The essence of hunga is a group with common purpose. Hunga may also link with the sense of communal responsibilities. The same meaning is not conveyed with 'kai' (Mihinui cited in Kawharu, 2002, p. 22).

Traditionally kaitiakitanga is the role performed by kaitiaki who are the spiritual guardians of the natural world and resources. The genealogical descent line from one Supreme God to Papatūānuku and Ranginui (commonly referred to as the Earth Mother and Sky Father) their children and descendants does not only personify the Māori creation story, but each of their children represent a natural and physical



element of our world. As kaitiaki there is an inherent responsibility that has been passed down from generation to generation to protect the mauri or life-force of everything living within the natural world.

The responsibility to live respectfully with the environment was observed as kaitiakitanga – a value promoted by our Tipuna to maintain the delicate balance between tangata whenua and the natural environment (Kawharu, 2002, p. vii).

The descendants of Tūhourangi are the hunga tiaki of this region and as such are obligated through their connections to the land and to each other to uphold the integrity and mana of all living things within it. Failure to do so could result in severe penalties and repercussions not only physically but within the spiritual realm. Physical and spiritual repercussions as dictated by tribal belief systems.

The Lake Rotokākahi Board of Control was established in 1948 (discussed further in theme four) to manage, control and govern the lakes day-to-day care and can be considered primary caretakers or hunga tiaki of this resource although this does not extinguish the rights and responsibilities of those hapū members outside of this board. As a consequence of tribal identity being interwoven into this landscape it becomes the responsibility of the hapū to uphold the mana whenua, mana moana of Lake Rotokākahi.

To most contemporary Māori, kaitiakitanga is not about passive custodianship, neither is it simply the exercise of traditional property rights; rather it entails an active exercise of power in a manner beneficial to the resource. For many Māori it confers responsibilities and obligations, and reinforces the spiritual attachment to the natural environment. Kaitiaki who practice kaitiakitanga do so because they hold authority; that is, they have the mana to be kaitiaki. Kaitiaki are the persons and/or agents who perform the tasks of guardianship over a particular resource or area. This can be carried out at the individual, whanau, hapū, or iwi level (Mikaere, c2009, p.99).

As hunga tiaki (guardianship) of this resource and the obligations of caring for the lake, the Board of Control as representatives of the hapū, are tasked with creating and communicating the tikanga practices for the area.

### ***Rangatiratanga and Resource management***

The impacts of colonisation, environmental change and tribal politics have forced Tūhourangi to evolve their management and control practices over the lake to adapt

to meet the needs of the current environment. Traditionally tikanga was guided by the environment. Mihinui (cited in Kawharu, 2002) stated 'Our routines were very much determined by our environment, climate, seasons and daily weather. Formerly our maramataka, or calendar, gave indication about resource use' (p. 22). She goes on to suggest that tribal tikanga is pragmatic and that while many of our customs continue, practice may change 'because they are about management and protection of our resources and our own well-being' (p. 22).

Due to the changing nature of the lake it is evident that for many of the research participants today's environment is dramatically different to how things were in their earlier years. Successive generations although some learned in Tūhourangitanga have not been able to maintain many of the practices and leadership qualities of those that have gone before them. Discussions illustrate a variety of reasons this has occurred; many live outside of the region, many do not engage actively in tribal hui (meetings), lack of fluency in Te Reo Māori, knowledge dissemination (especially of whakapapa) has not been learnt and passed down, engagement with tribal landscapes is intermittent etc. The ever-changing landscape has also determined the way the tribe interacts with their environments and natural resources.

### **Theme Three: Sacred space – evolution of tikanga**

For the purposes of this study it has been prudent to define the term tapu as this concept dominated the discussions with participants. The research results provided two distinctive points when discussing 'tapu' in relation to Lake Rotokākahi.

1. Tribal perspective – mana whenua - e.g. prohibition of women on the island
2. Public and tourist perspectives of tapu

For Māori the physical landscape is interwoven into a belief system made up of traditional and spiritual values and is grounded in tribal ideology. A delicate system of spirituality and connectedness with the gods is integral to how Māori view and engage with the world. This system provides Māori with a sense of belonging and cultural identity (Durie, 1998; Pohatu, 2003; Rikihana, 1988; Waka Huia TVNZ, 2007). Furthermore physical landscapes provide for tribal knowledge systems that imbue cultural values that direct tikanga and the way Māori behave and manage

their landscapes (Asher, 1987; Stokes, 1994). Tapu is one of those values and is described by Mihinui cited in (Kawharu, 2002) who defined the term tapu pre European contact:

When people speak of 'tapu' and interpret it as holy, sacred, that is the influence of Christianity. We had the word tapu long before Christianity arrived. My definition of that word is restrictive, which involves discipline too. All principles have a purpose, and are underpinned by respect and a balance between all things. (pp. 28-29)

Tapu is a Māori concept and has a wide range of applications that extends across a large variety of interpretations, value judgements and contextualisations. Tapu is commonly interpreted as sacred although the term sacred does not encapsulate the fullness of this value. Tapu is not only sacred but in different contexts operates or is defined across multiple functions and aspects. Tapu is most commonly positioned within dichotomous notions of opposite elements for example e.g. male and female, tapu and noa, good and bad etc. in all cases opposed but balanced (Mikaere, 2003).

Sims and Thompson-Fawcett cited in (Kawharu, 2002) elucidate further on the role spirituality plays in the Māori world:

The relationship is seen as a two-way process. If the gods sustain and protect people and the environment, people reciprocate the links by means of ritual. Consequently, spirituality guides Māori in their attitudes and practices regarding the natural environment and shapes their interactive relationship with the landscape (p. 254).

The research results have indicated that the tribal tikanga (practices) of tapu when applied to the lake and island are all around restrictions for certain groups to certain spaces.

### ***Contextualising tapu of the lake from Tūhourangi perspectives***

With the establishment of the first Te Arawa Trust Board in 1920 an edict was passed that Lake Rotokākahi be put under the private control of Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera together with the island of Motutawa as being declared a tribal urupā (Pene, 2011). Since this time the interpretation of tapu by some tribal members has influenced tikanga which for a short time placed a prohibition for living women going on to the island of Motutawa. The research findings indicated that the rationale for this tikanga was unknown. This section of the study will discuss this

tikanga in-depth. There was a significant amount of data produced relevant to this theme especially around the evolution of this practice over time.

### ***Motutawa Island – wāhi tapu (sacred space)***

Motutawa Island has not been occupied since the late eighteenth century. It has become a main burial ground for tribal members.

***Figure 5: Lake Rotokākahi, Motutawa Island foreground***



[www.davidwallphoto.com](http://www.davidwallphoto.com)

The literature and the research findings correspond regarding the closure of the lake for public access and decreed ‘tapu’. In 1948 a party of students desecrated graves on Motutawa Island and subsequently the Board of Control ordered the lake closed to non-tribal members. This evolved into the whole notion of toto (blood) only regardless of connections via marriage or whāngai (adoption).

### ***Prohibition of women on Motutawa Island***

The research results indicate that there has been a tikanga or practice for a restriction on living women going on to Motutawa. The results do not specify from which era this tikanga was established. The research responses were concentrated around two themes;

1. The unmarked graves on the island; men not wanting women accidentally stepping over the graves of men and reversing the tapu element to noa
2. Historical battles (e.g. Hongi Hika, Ngā Puhi 1822) killings and bloodshed

Traditionally Māori social organisation was grounded in tribal value systems i.e. tapu/noa and subsequently the application of tikanga practices. Within the notion of tapu there are extensive interpretations concerning women and blood, principally this is substantiated in the protection of the *whare tangata*.

### ***Whare Tangata – Houses of Humanity***

Māori society was based around a tribal communal concept of living as opposed to a non-Māori individualistic approach. For Māori the survival of the tribe was dependant on women being able to reproduce therefore ensuring the continuity of the generations (King, 2003). There is considerable importance placed on their ability to bear children and produce the next generation. The common term for women in this context is 'Whare Tangata'. Therefore their role as *whare tangata* is fundamental to the tribe's survival, they hold the past, the present and the future (Mikaere, 2003). The tikanga around the protection of *whare tangata* reflects the importance of women in *whakapapa* and the subsequent tikanga practice on Motutawa Island. Pere cited in (Mikaere, 2003) explains the importance of women as *whare tangata*.

Within the Māori context, the continuity of descent-lines and the flow of ancestral blood through the generations is of the utmost importance ... If a woman conceives then the menstrual blood remains within the womb, and has a vital role in the development of a future ancestor. The expression 'he tapu, tapu, tapu rawa atu te wāhine' refers to the very special quality that women have in regard to their role as 'whare tangata' (houses of humanity) (p.32).

The *whare tangata* whilst vitally important to the survival of the tribe is also inextricably linked with *whenua*. There are two distinctive meanings of 'whenua' and each of these meanings play quite separate roles in Māori society which extend from conception, through life and into death – the circle of life. Rickard (1977) discusses some of the meanings and a connection within the term *whenua* linking the organ that sustains amniotic fluid within a woman's womb (ascendancy and descendancy runs through it) also being the same word that sustains the living (by the physical landscape).

Firstly whenua is land. Secondly, whenua is the placenta within the mother that feeds the child before birth. And when it is born this whenua is treated with respect, dignity, and taken to a place in the earth and dedicated to Papatūanuku ... And there it will nurture the child. You know our food and living come from the earth, and there also this whenua of the child stays and says, "This is your little bit of land. No matter where you wander in the world I will be here and at the end of your days you can come back and this is your papakāinga and this – I will receive you in death" (Rickard, 1977).

The term 'whenua' is contextualised throughout this study to link the theoretical, spiritual and physical dimensions across its multitude of interpretations. Whare Tangata and the tapu embodied in this concept when applied against tribal tikanga (and in the case of Motutawa Island) provide an example of the tribal control mechanisms of protection and restriction.

### ***Whakanoa (to remove tapu) and women***

Fundamental to the concept of tapu is the complementary institution of noa. Together these roles played significant parts in social organisation and control and it was imperative that these roles be upheld to safeguard the individual and the tribe's spiritual balance. Whakanoa as defined in the Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary (Moorfield, 2011) is 'to remove tapu - to free things that have the extensions of tapu, but it does not affect intrinsic tapu'. The ability to perform a whakanoa ritual, while not the exclusive domain of one gender it is argued that by virtue of their being women and whare tangata, women have a greater spiritual capacity to negotiate between both the realms of tapu and noa.

The power of women to whakanoa is clearly of vital importance, for it establishes their ability to traverse the spiritual boundaries of tapu and noa, thereby nurturing and protecting their communities. However, it does limit the recognition of women's roles to a one way process: the transformation of people and things from a tapu state to a noa state. It is argued that this may be only half of the full picture. It may be that women's powers in fact allowed movement both to and from the state of tapu – in other words, that women possessed not only the ability to whakanoa, but also the power to whakatapu (Mikaere, 2003, p. 29).

Motutawa Island is a primary burial ground for Tūhourangi members. Tapu plays a prominent part on the management and control of the island with its association to death and the final resting place of prominent tribal members. Traditional burial methods have adapted over time and with the assimilation of European constructs

such as coffins and headstones resulting in tikanga practices of the hapū having adapted with them. The research suggests that one of the reasons the tikanga restrictions for women could be derived from their role as whare tangata and the many unmarked graves and tapu sites on the island. Traditional teachings for women included multiple restrictions, learnt from an early age.

On the marae, the girls were schooled in the myriad of restrictions that applied to us by virtue of our femaleness: never to step over a man, never to sit on the paepae, never to enter a whare that was under construction (Pere cited in Mikaere, 2003, p. 7).

Another suggestion regarding the origin of the tikanga restrictions for women is that of the blood and killings that was shed in tribal battles. Particularly relevant to this study is the battle fought between the Ngapuhi war party led by Hongi Hika against Tūhourangi at the lake in 1822. This battle is recorded as a slaughter with death and blood contaminating the land. The tapu associated with the lake and island (suggested in the research) could be linked to the bloodshed, death and fallen men. Not long after this battle the hapū started vacating the island and by the late nineteenth century it was exclusively used as an urupā. The research is not clear on when the tikanga prohibiting women on the island was first initiated but the notion of tapu has been associated with this place for many generations. Pere, cited in (Mikaere, 2003) elaborates further on the special association women have with the neutral state of noa and provides examples of the special ability women have to lift the restrictions of tapu:

It is a high ranking woman who is the first to enter a completed whare tūpuna, thereby lifting the tapu. Pere gives an example of a woman who was specially chosen to be trained for the role of protecting her whānau from negative spiritual influences through the process of whakanoa. And in former times, when warriors returned from the field of battle, it was customary for the tapu of blood to be lifted from them by their crawling between the legs of a ruāhine, a woman elder of high rank (p. 28).

Again the association with women, tapu and noa is made, from the battle, death and bloodshed, the contamination of the whenua, making it tapu and the implementation of a tikanga which prevents women to whakanoa this space and take it out of a tapu realm. The Tūhourangi participant's responses although indicating that these two notions (mentioned above) may have been the rationale behind the implementation

of this tikanga (restricting women from going on to the island) do not consider this relevant in the current environment. The discussions from here focussed on their current practices and engagement with the lake and questioned the applicability this tikanga has in today's world.

### ***Transgressing tapu***

Tapu was integrated into every aspect of day-to-day life and dominated and directed the tribe's social organisation, it helped to maintain balance. Tikanga practices were developed based on the fundamental elements of tapu such as personal and intrinsic tapu of oneself and spiritual protection. Ultimately the main functions of tapu explained by Pere cited in (Mikaere, 2003) "are the maintenance of social control and discipline, and the protection of people and property" (p. 26). Strict rules were applied and communicated across the tribe so that one could avoid transgressing 'tapu' in all its many forms. For those that neglected to uphold these rules, transgressed or disregarded the laws of tapu, serious consequences were bestowed on them.

To defy the laws of tapu, or even to break them in ignorance, was to court disaster. Retribution was considered inevitable, regardless of whether or not the breach had been detected by others in the community, for what had been breached was much more than a compact with the whānau, hapū and iwi. It was a covenant with the atua, reinforced through centuries of ancestral precedent (Mikaere, 2003, p. 27).

The Tūhourangi respondents in this research study recognise that the island and lake has a certain quality of tapu assigned to it although the research revealed that the tikanga placed on the island is a relatively new phenomenon, something that has been introduced post colonisation and one that includes a Christian ethic. As time has passed many families are disregarding this practice and argue the restriction for women that has been placed on the island is of no relevance in today's environment.

### ***Arguments against this theory – he whare tangata, blood and tapu***

The study revealed a prominent theme where a select few whānau and elders ("Name") within the hapū set a directive or tikanga stating the restriction of females from going on to the island when alive. Whilst this tikanga is still being communicated within the tribe the conflicting practices and discussions on where this tikanga is founded and the basis for the restriction to be maintained, continues.



For some whānau this practice is maintained but it is important to note here that the majority of respondents do not uphold this in practice today.

Some of the conflicting arguments were that:

1. This tikanga is not a traditional hapū practice – the tikanga was developed and implemented post colonisation. Tribal ideology has adapted and evolved to include a Christian overlay of holiness and sacred.
2. This was a man-made rule (continued by few whānau) that is not relevant today. The research suggests that tikanga practices for Motutawa Island should be by definition under 'rāhui' but tribal concepts have evolved to encompass the tribal understandings of urupā therefore tribal tikanga reflects this.
3. If women can be buried on the island - why can they not go on to the island when they are alive
4. Fishing from the lake and no restrictions about eating on the island – food and death are never combined, this is a transgression of tapu
5. Men are able to drink and eat on the island (gravediggers) – transgression of tapu
6. Women have been utilising the island for years and no consequences have been recorded

In addition, this tikanga has been perceived by some as a male dominated lore and one that is being questioned heavily by both men and women. Mihinui cited in (Kawharu, 2002) states the reasons why people struggle with the understanding of such concepts are because there are differences in theory and practice from traditional to modern society:

Māori are very much practice-orientated and armed with basic principles or theory. Problems occur, though, when either practice is limited or both theory and practice are not well understood ... The difference between now and earlier days is that survival is not always dependent on customary values and practices and while these customary values are provided for in policy, greater understanding of those principles in application is still required (p. 32).

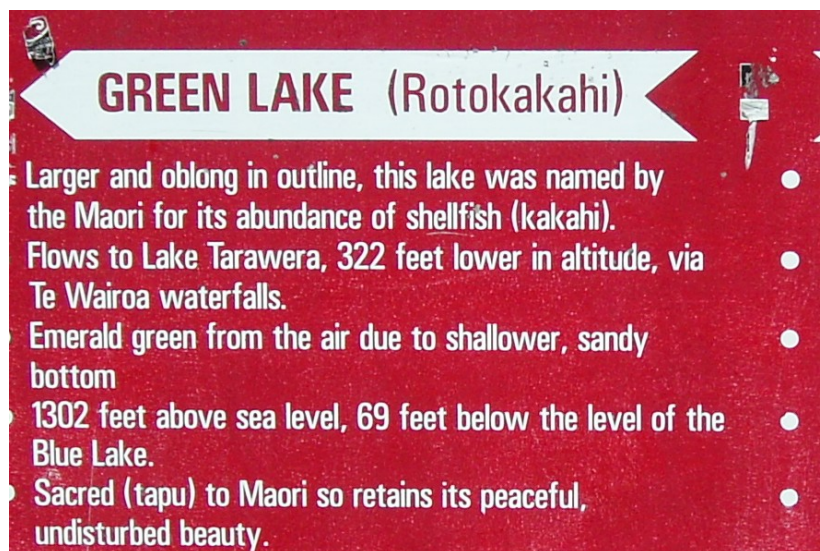
The research results concur with Mihinui and in addition it appears that there is no correlation between the concept of tapu in its purest form and the participants' responses.

### ***Public interpretation of tapu in relation to Lake Rotokākahi***

Public discourse submits the lake is sacred-tapu. The lake was closed to public access in 1948 due to the desecration of graves on the island of Motutawa. From this time the lake has been open exclusively to only members of the Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera tribes.

Rotorua and Tūhourangi are synonymous with the tourism industry, with the hapū establishing the first tourism venture in the country with the operations at the famous Pink and White Terraces located on the side of the tribe's ancestral mountain Tarawera in the mid-nineteenth century. Lake Rotokākahi neighboured the village of Te Wairoa (village which fronted the entrance to access of the Pink and White Terraces) and the hapū shared residences and kin connections across this area.

***Figure 6: Signage at Lookout between Lake Rotokakahi and Lake Tikitapu***



*(Photograph taken by author January 2011)*

The sign above is located at a lookout between Lake Rotokākahi (The Green Lake) and Lake Tikitapu (The Blue Lake) and is a focal point for tourism operators who transport visitors through this valley to enjoy the lush scenery and to visit the famous Te Wairoa Buried Village. Although the signage outlines statistical information it does

acknowledge Tūhourangi through their tribal authority and ownership. The messaging although simple commands a level of respect, privacy and protection for the Lake in which the hapū decrees and inadvertently adds value to the tourism product.

Although some respondents mention a small number of outsiders do encroach on the lake it is a very rare occurrence. The monitoring on who is on the lake has been a very ad hoc approach, but it seems very effective in identifying who one is and therefore access rights.

#### **Theme Four: Tribal governance in a European construct**

Traditional society was based within a communal as opposed to individualistic model (Ballara, 1998). Since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, Māori have experienced detrimental and negative impacts brought on by colonisation and subsequent Crown legislation. As European immigration increased in the early nineteenth century this resulted in a process of assimilation and land acquisition from Māori control. Since this time tribal assets and resources have diminished to a fraction of the original tribal estate. What resources Māori have been able to retain and are having returned through Treaty of Waitangi settlements are now controlled within non-Māori models of governance. As a result of these changes in society, Māori now operate and have adapted Māori models of governance to co-exist within a Western paradigm and context.

Tūhourangi prospered in the late nineteenth century as a result of the tourism operations at Te Wairoa and the fame of the Pink and White Terraces. As a result, Tūhourangi were acclaimed as being the wealthiest tribe in the country at this time (Keam, 1988). With the eruption of Mount Tarawera in 1886 the hapū were displaced and found refuge in several areas across the country, many taking residence with kin and the majority relocated to Whakarewarewa in the centre of Rotorua. The devastation left from the eruption of Mount Tarawera left a profound and lasting impact on not only the hapū but of Te Arawa. Coupled with ongoing land and resource disputes with the Crown, the tribe found they continually had to defend their position of ownership and protection over not only the land but waterways and other ancestral sites. Over time, Te Arawa lost large tracts of land mostly through Crown

appropriation and dubious land deals. This has been described within the Deed of Settlement 2004 concerning the return of Lakes to Te Arawa through a Waitangi Tribunal claim:

From the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, we have struggled to protect and maintain our relationship with our lakes: Rotoehu, Rotoma, Rotoiti, Rotorua, Okataina/Ngāpouri and Ngākaroro/Okaro. Crown actions in relation to the Lakes have breached the Treaty and caused significant grievances within Te Arawa. The effects of these breaches are still felt by our people today. Te Arawa considers that, through the loss of Te Arawa's ownership and control of the Lakes and their resources and failing to properly manage the Lakes, the Crown has breached the Treaty and has caused significant prejudice to the Iwi (Te Arawa Maori Trust Board, 2005a, p. 5).

Subsequent to the Treaty of Waitangi, and the constitution of a new system of government traditional forms of mana and rangatiratanga became secondary to Crown established structures of governance. In addition, the introduction of foreign species to the lakes dramatically changed the environmental conditions of both the lake and native species and thus how Te Arawa operated, managed and controlled their customary and ancestral lands. An example of the negative impact of the introduction of trout to the Lakes was outlined within the Deed of Settlement (Te Arawa Maori Trust Board, 2005a):

... the serious negative impact on Te Arawa of the introduction of foreign fish species into the Lakes, which seriously depleted the indigenous fish stock, and the imposition of the fishing licence regime, which undermined Te Arawa's ability to trade economically and provide hospitality and koha (p. 17).

At that time, each hapū was making a concerted effort to remain independent and autonomous from one another the government was not encouraging Māori nationwide to come together as tribal representative groups to streamline communication in order to assimilate Māori to fulfil the colonist programme. The Crown claims of ownership over the Te Arawa Lakes in the late nineteenth century forced the tribe to establish one entity to represent and voice the concerns of its people and try to protect their own rights of ownership. Thus, the Arawa District Trust Board was set up in 1922 under section 27(4) of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008).

The first provisional members appointed were Tai Mitchell, Wiremu Ereatara, Raniera Kīngi, Rev. Munro, Mōrehu Te Kirikau, Wirihana Tāmati, Peeti Hareti, Hugh

McPherson, Hemi Te Uara, Mika Āporo, Rev. Te Rohu Wikiriwhi Te Tūāhu, Raureti Mokonuiārangi, and Kepa Ehau. The term of office was fixed at two years (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008, p. 277).

Subsequent Trust Boards and tribal governance groups have been established since 1922 to represent Te Arawa and hapū in numerous arenas of tribal governance and management. Relevant to this study is the establishment of the Lake Rotokākahi Board of Control.

### ***Lake Rotokākahi Board of Control***

In 1922 the Arawa District Lakes Settlement was agreed by the crown and the Te Arawa confederation of tribes. Lake Rotokākahi was the only lake excluded from this settlement by special request of the Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera hapū. The research indicates that because of the nature of Motutawa Island and waahi tapu (discussed in theme three) sites around the lake it was to remain within the hapū so they could determine and manage the integrity and mana of the lake. This effectively gave Tūhourangi ownership rights. Although ownership was confirmed legislation during this time was being passed which impacted on the management and control of the lake and islands.

The Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act passed in 1923 conferred control of the lake and islands therein to the sub-tribes of Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera. In 1926 under section 14 of this same Act Charles Fergusson the Governor General constituted that the lake and islands be administered under a governance board. A Board of Control was confirmed at this time with an inter-tribal composition of membership, with a minimum of six persons to convene a board at any given time.

This Board of Control has had full authority and management over the lake and islands since this time. The only significant change to how the lake was managed (prior to the Board's conception in 1923) has been the exclusion of public access to the lake and islands since 1948. It is well known and documented that a group of students in 1948 desecrated graves on the island of Motutawa which compelled the Board to exercise their rights of exclusion for public access.

The Board of Control is constituted with the management and control of Lake Rotokākahi. They are tasked with ensuring tribal integrity and mana is upheld, traditional practices are maintained in conjunction with an ever-changing environmental and political setting. An integration of complex, multi-levelled variables are best illustrated by Cooper and Brooking cited in (Kawharu, 2002) when describing some of the characteristics involved in resource management of tribal areas:

- Ecological communities and ecosystem processes;
- The mauri, tapu and whakapapa of natural resources, taonga, places, and people;
- The mana and rangatiratanga of iwi, hapū and whānau;
- The character of communities and local groups of people, and the ways this influences their interactions with the environment;
- The kaupapa, guiding principles or approaches of different sectors in society;
- The institutional structures of agencies, legislation and policy;
- Politics, whether local, tribal, sectoral, national or international;
- Economic and capacity parameters (p. 209).

The first schedule for the Board of Control 1923 to 1963 lists a membership exceeding 25 which is way beyond the constituted six required. It was primarily made-up of tribal leaders and elders who were active in hapū politics and had intimate knowledge of whakapapa. Perhaps this excessive number reflected their mana whenua, mana moana notions of full representation and obligations of whakapapa connections. Descendant communities now number in excess of 25,000 people. An intergenerational process of succession seems to have applied and while there is a large membership, succession has been maintained from whakapapa of the members from the original schedule. I argue that this form of whakapapa succession is necessary to continue the knowledge systems of the hapū; there is also the need now to include skill sets that responds to the political and social contexts of the lake and islands today.

It is prudent to mention here that the research highlighted that since the inception of the Board of Control in 1923 the environment has dramatically changed in both the social and physical landscapes and therefore the requisite skill sets of the Board have also changed. This may or may not be reflected in the current Board membership which is problematic as significant issues with regard to management and governance are not being addressed. Indeed succession of Board members in

the last decade has not occurred and six of the listed members have died and not been replaced. This may reflect the perspectives of the tapu nature placed on Motutawa and the reluctance of Tūhourangi to develop the area both economically and culturally. This is also indicative of the deaths of central figures that were members on the Board of Control and who provided both political and cultural leadership of the area. It might also be indicative of a reluctance to admit new members because they might challenge the authority of those who have been there for a long time in addition to the fact they would have to give up some of the authority they currently have.

Traditionally the hapū interacted with the lake daily so the resource management was visibly practiced across all age groups although decision making was left to the elder members of the tribe who also held roles of leadership on the marae. Because of change this is not necessarily the case anymore and the majority of board membership and representation is through succession. This is not surprising as there is a large number of hapū members living outside of the region and the research indicates that the absence of an active and direct relationship to this whenua correlates to a lack of participation in how it is managed – ‘it is just part of the tribe’s assets’ (Participant six).

As a legal entity, the Board of Control is tasked with the responsibility to meet regularly. While, tribal hui are commonplace this study highlighted that Board activity is dependent on the will of the members to be pro-active in meeting and working on lake matters. Membership of the Board has not been changed since 1998, from this time meetings have been sporadic and have focussed on responses to environmental degradation as well as the control of trout fishing on the lake. The issuing of trout fishing licenses is a major focus for the Board. This study highlights some of the challenges the Board is presented with:

- The hapū are largely dependent on whether the Board of Control processes permits in time for the fishing season and communicates this to the hapū.

- Communication in the past regarding the permits has been through the local paper and has been costly. No mention was made of any other form of communication e.g. online media, marae notices.
- Most significantly of all of these is whether the trustees have the whakapapa knowledge to ensure the integrity and protection of the lake is upheld.

Whilst the Board of Control has ultimate governing authority over the lake, it does not extinguish the rights and responsibilities of all tribal members. In some small way everyone can participate in upholding the mana of the lake and its environs for future generations whether it is through physical engagement with the lake or perhaps strengthening one's Tūhourangitanga and connections to this landscape.

### **Theme Five: Future vision for Lake Rotokākahi**

Resource management, protection and sustainability are common terms found in New Zealand's environmental strategies. Protection of the environment is key to government economic policies particularly in regards to our main export markets i.e. agriculture and fisheries and tourism (see for example 100% PURE campaign) (Tourism New Zealand, 2011). The impact of global warming, development and pollution of natural resources are presenting global communities with major challenges (Walker-Painemilla, 2010). Within this complex environment, Māori are faced with negotiating not only economic imperatives but the sustainability of cultural capital such as customary resource management and traditional knowledge transmission.

In the last decade Te Arawa have negotiated and settled long-standing grievances with the Crown in regard to the Lakes in the region. Sitting outside of the settlements process, Tūhourangi have managed to maintain and control Lake Rotokākahi within a private ownership context. Whilst the hapū continues to assert their mana over this resource, the negative environmental impacts are still being felt. In the last few years the lake has presented with algae bloom and water discolouration suggesting that the water quality has been affected in some way (Butterworth, 2008). Ad-hoc responses have been enacted and the work of individuals (tribal members) alongside external groups has been insufficient in improving pollution. The Board of Control



have not put into action a monitoring or environmental programme or strategy, however this is on the agenda for the incoming Board.

The Board of Control has recently had what could be considered their first Annual General Meeting since 1998. The election of new members was undertaken with nine members being selected. This Board will hold their first meeting on the 1<sup>st</sup> November 2013 to regroup and identify priority areas. The meeting participants through this study have submitted that one of their priority areas concerning the lake centres on the environmental pollution and the potential clean-up.

Lake Rotokākahi has a large catchment which drains into Lake Tarawera, further exacerbating water pollution from one lake to another. Due to concerns for Lake Tarawera and ongoing pollution the Rotorua District Council and the Te Arawa Lakes Trust in collaboration with scientists from the University of Waikato have pledged to continue to monitor water quality on Tarawera. The Board of Control discontinued monitoring of water quality on Lake Rotokākahi in the mid 1990s. Now the pollution of the lake has come to the fore and has been identified as a priority area the incoming Board will need to address these concerns to ensure the mana of the lake continues.

There were limited future aspirations outlined for Lake Rotokākahi by the respondents. The three key points highlighted were:

1. Continue 'status-quo' – private status, and exclusive use of the lake for Tūhourangi members
2. The environmental impacts and clean-up
3. To continue to promote the tapu associated with this landscape

While the discussions for the future aspirations of the lake were limited further questions arise from within these points:

- Will Tūhourangi tikanga continue to be applied and will tikanga evolve to reflect the changing environment?

- What are the current environmental issues that need to be addressed?
- How will the Board of Control address these issues?
- How to continue to monitor the lake?

All the respondents acknowledged the importance of the lake to the cultural identity of Tūhourangi. There was some reluctance by the Board of Control to work with the Te Arawa Lakes Trust because of the private ownership however the respondents would like the Board of Control to work with external stakeholders to address environmental impacts. The respondents were all keen to see the lake restored to a healthier level, one participant suggesting a target for the lake to be returned to the condition it was in thirty years ago. To improve the lake would also mean to improve the population and health of native species. In addition, the respondents stated the desire to continue to protect the lake from exploitation. They are therefore depending on the Board of Control to support these aspirations.

## Chapter Six: Conclusion

An examination has been made into the historical and current realities of Tūhourangi and how they have applied and continue to apply mana whenua and mana moana over one of their tribal landscapes, Lake Rotokākahi. The study has examined areas related to tribal settlement, occupation, and changes in the tribe's socio-political, economic and environmental arenas from the onset of colonisation in the mid-nineteenth century. A small group of participants shared their insights, perspectives and 'lived experiences' each has had with the lake and shared their connections with Tūhourangi with special focus on connection/whakapapa and tribal tikanga. Discussions on traditional knowledge systems were included in this study to fully contextualise the positions of the participants and to fully encapsulate their worldviews.

Successive generations of Tūhourangi and their engagement with the lake have been limited mainly to those who live within the region and to those who utilise the lake's natural resources. As a large percentage of the tribal population are living in the cities and overseas away from their ancestral lands it is hoped this study will provide a collation of material by which tribal members can base further discussion, reconnect with this tribal landscape and reaffirm and strengthen their identity/whakapapa through the stories and narratives in this study.

There is some tribal narrative which includes Tūhourangi occupation of Lake Rotokākahi embodied within kōrero tuku iho (traditional stories), whakataukī (tribal proverbs), and mōteatea (traditional chant/lament). Although these forms of communication continue to provide the hapū the requisite tribal knowledge, the reality is these forms of knowledge transfer are limited to full engagement with marae in the region or with whānau who continue to engage with the lake on a regular basis. This study does not presume to provide a definitive and absolute historical and current position on the lake's management and control instead it provides an interpretative and comprehensive account based on archival literature and the perspectives of a small group of participants.

Research results were based on the perspectives of seven participants both Māori and non-Māori. They shared insights into their connections with the lake through whakapapa or interest in environmental management and sustainability. Individuals shared stories either passed down from tūpuna (ancestors) or from their own personal experiences. As the research was positioned from an insider perspective six of the research participants were hapū members that are versed in traditional tikanga on the lake or utilise the lake for cultural and recreational activities such as fishing. The seventh participant (non-Māori) is concerned with the environmental aspects of all the lakes in the region and the improvement of water quality. Although this participant did not have the connections to the research through tribal membership his input from the perspective of a governance representative on external groups concerned with environmental sustainability was valuable.

Each of the participants contributed to the research results through an interview process. The research findings illustrated common themes. A correlation of key points was determined and identified between participants' responses. Six participants framed their responses within a Kaupapa Māori worldview.

### ***Access to the lake – 'blood only'***

A prominent theme identified in the research results was the one of control over accessibility, lake usage, recreation, and fishing being exclusive to what participants termed 'blood only on the lake'. This common thread of discussion concurs with what McIntosh (2007) maintains is a method of sustaining traditional knowledge:

Have many inclusionary mechanisms that allow Māori to find a valued place for themselves but...it can exclude some Māori by having relatively unyielding criteria in place to prove ones 'Māoriness' (McIntosh, 2007, p. Slide 10)

Exclusivity in this context is framed within whakapapa, identity and Tūhourangitanga. The importance of whakapapa, identity and connection to tribal spaces and resources has been revealed as one of the primary features of this study. To understand the complexities involved in the notion of whakapapa is to have an understanding of tribal knowledge systems founded within the atua (gods). All seven participants provided perspectives on who was allowed on the lake and who was not. All seven participants agreed that only Tūhourangi members were granted access on

the lake and islands. What became apparent as the interviews progressed was there were unclear views on how strong or how close your bloodlines and Tūhourangitanga needed to be to be able to go unchallenged.

Tūhourangi is one of eight hapū within the Te Arawa Confederation of tribes and the hapū affiliation is estimated to be at around 35,000 people, with numerous sub-tribes of its own. Three participants named various hapū and family groups included in the wider Tūhourangi network who could maintain mana whenua, mana moana over the area. Of those hapū that were named only Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera continued to be identified as maintaining mana whenua, mana moana. Furthermore, two participants mentioned that shareholders with interests in the Tumunui Land block (large property adjacent to the lake) had access entitlements. It was agreed by both participants that as shareholders in this block you must have requisite genealogical connections into Tūhourangi. Three participants could not offer further whakapapa groups outside of Tūhourangi, which was interesting as all three had immediate whānau buried in the urupā on the island. Additionally, they had not considered that sub-tribes of Tūhourangi had separate requisite and exclusivity rights over other various sections of Tūhourangi tribal lands.

### ***Engagement with the lake; how, why, when?***

Lake Rotokākahi, its islands and the surrounding environs have traditionally provided a residence and refuge for Tūhourangi and Ngāti Tumatawera. The hapū withdrew from the lake in the late 1870s and then a full evacuation of the area following the eruption of Mount Tarawera in 1886. From this time the main island Motutawa located in the centre of the lake has been utilised solely as an ancestral urupā and the lake has continued to provide the hapū with food resources and recreation.

Three of the tribal participants commented the main reason for returning to the lake has been for tangihanga. Interestingly, these participants are the ones that live outside of the tribal rohe (region). Furthermore, all three participants commented that although they have immediate whānau buried in the urupā on Motutawa Island a number of factors have restricted regular visits. For two of these participants the last time they were on the lake was over 17 years. Commonalities were highlighted in the research findings by three of the participants. Reasons for not returning to this

whenua were primarily based around the long distances needed to travel; the resources required to access the lake such as vehicles and a boat; disconnect with whānau who have familiarity with the terrain and environment, and most significant (for the female participants) was the tapu context placed on the lake and island. However, three of the participants who were local to the area commented on their continued usage of the lake with recreational fishing (in the fishing season) and two of the three continue to maintain Motutawa Island with scrub cutting, general maintenance on graves and the makeshift jetty.

### ***Sacred space – Wāhi tapu***

Through a variety of communication channels such as tourism material, publications, signage, multi-media and tribal accounts the lake is considered and endorsed as tapu or sacred to both Māori and non-Māori. Below is a script written on the Rotorua Te Arawa Lakes Programme webpage used here as an example of a piece of information that is commonly used in the media and refers to the tapu and sacred nature of the lake:

Rotokākahi is privately owned by local iwi and considered tapu or sacred, with no swimming or boating permitted on the lake. A small island on the lake is also of historical significance, and many people are buried there (Rotorua Te Arawa Lakes Programme, 2013, p. 1).

The research findings reveal that although public access to the lake is restricted and promoted in all forms of media it is contradictory to what is being practiced at a tribal level. The results reveal that dependant on your family stance on the tapu tikanga the majority of tribal members who engage with the lake utilise it for activities of recreation and gathering of food resources. Conversely, in reality the research results indicated that contrary to the conditions of the tapu in the traditional sense, it appears, the status of the tikanga is more about controlling the use of the lake to tribal member access only.

In addition, the findings suggest Tūhourangi may be using tapu to maintain their rangatiratanga (sovereignty) over this resource. Tapu has been applied in this context as a control mechanism, and whilst participants and their whānau continue to

breach this tikanga it does seem that the restrictive and prohibitive notions contained within the concept of tapu does apply in non-Māori and non-tribal settings.

Additionally, tribal narrative also extends this tapu to a restriction for living women going on Motutawa Island located in the centre of the lake. According to all six of the tribal participants in this study not one could confirm specifically why the lake and Motutawa are categorised as 'tapu' although tribal tikanga still maintains the rules and notion of tapu. Furthermore, all the participants have their own thoughts and accounts of why it could be categorised as tapu.

The research findings also highlighted that the tapu tikanga for women derived and continues to be communicated from one particular kaumātua (tribal elder). Although he is deceased his family and other Tūhourangi whānau continue to maintain the tapu of women on the island. Interestingly, five participants repeated the tikanga which was laid down by this kaumātua and at some time during their lifetimes upheld this practice. Moreover, all five participants have or have females in their whānau that go on to Motutawa Island for tangihanga, picnics, maintenance of the urupā and as a place for rest.

Overwhelmingly, it appears the tapu nature of the lake and surrounds is based on the wishes of the iwi to maintain the status quo and not have it utilised in the ways of other Te Arawa lakes such as public access to fishing, boating and recreation.

### ***Governance – critical issues***

Participants lived in and out of the region and the contributions from the ones that lived within the region revealed a different angle/position from the ones that lived outside of the region. For example, the three participants that lived within the tribal boundaries had regular engagement with the lake and they also participated regularly in tribal hui, this could largely be attributed to easy 'location' to tribal venues such as marae. Interestingly, two of the participants that lived within the rohe (region) also had roles on the Board of Control as members and advisors.

Three participants who live inside the tribal boundaries appear to limit their engagement with the lake and surrounds around the trout fishing season and

transporting people for burial on Motutawa Island. While these participants also witnessed pollution on the lake, no action has yet been taken.

Four participants comment on the fact that no Board of Control meetings has been held since 1998, where elections and a formal annual general meeting is held. A concern as within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, communication and relationships/whakapapa is paramount to maintaining mana whenua, mana moana.

The Board of Control has continued to issue fishing licenses and three participants commented on the ad hoc nature by which these have been issued in the last few years. Reliance has been put on just a few tribal members to continue to organise fishing licenses and to uphold any decisions that may impact on the lake such as pollution, surrounding land development by external agencies, access and signage and communication with organisations such as the Department of Conservation and Carter Holt Harvey who manage the forests and walkways surrounding the circumference of the lake. The research results indicate that there are limited discussions with the farmer who owns land at the southern end of the lake, his property backing on to the waterline. Interestingly, mention was made by two of the participants on how the previous Chairman had attended a meeting with the farmer and the Bay of Plenty Regional Council regarding land development and instead of a discussion about developing that section of land a challenge was laid down on when the land would be returned to the hapū. This resulted in the development being opposed.

The Board of Control rules and regulations fall outside of the Trust Board structure and as such the Board have been able to continue to maintain rangatiratanga according to whakapapa. The first Board of Control consisted of tribal members with strong whakapapa connections and who primarily had whānau who had occupied the island of Motutawa previous to its evacuation. The rules and regulations were created within the context of Tūhourangitanga therefore reflecting a true whakapapa centred group, however, alongside that there were no stipulations for regular hui, the taking of minutes, no Annual General Meetings, and no elections. Records and the findings of this study reveal the Board of Control schedule, listing the membership was outdated and was rarely updated, some members being deceased for over a



generation. Until very recently the schedule of Board of Control membership reflects that of the first board with many members being deceased. This has been attributed to the lack of hui.

### ***Future vision – status quo***

Five participants identified that their aspirations for the future of the lake is to continue the current restrictions within the hapū tikanga of tapu on the lake. Whilst environmental issues were a concern these participants foresee the restrictions and usage of the lake be maintained within the hapū which specifies strictly bloodlines only. While all participants had a vision for the future of the lake, six participants considered the status quo as acceptable.

Obvious concerns over the pollution, degradation and usage of surrounding land were raised but only in the context of improving water quality and controlling accessibility. There is a Rotorua Te Arawa Lakes Programme that was instigated under the formation of the Te Arawa Lakes Trust and is a collaborative partnership between The Rotorua Te Arawa Lakes Programme, Rotorua District Council, Te Arawa Lakes Trust and the Bay of Plenty Regional Council. Their purpose is to ‘work together to protect and restore water quality in twelve Rotorua lakes for the enjoyment and use of present and future generations...and each have specific responsibilities for the water quality of the Rotorua Te Arawa Lakes’ (Rotorua Te Arawa Lakes Programme, 2013, p. 2). While this lakes programme has mentioned Rotokākahi within the context of Te Arawa Lakes, the Board of Control is yet to be consulted with and have input into the lakes programme and its strategies (K.Wikitera, personal communication, September 28, 2013).

Lake Rotokākahi is guided under the terms of private ownership and therefore the scientific research is limited to the water quality measurements taken from Lake Tarawera. All of the participants’ responses reflected their wishes to maintain the mana of the lake and therefore the control. Until a collaborative approach can be decided in terms of the pollution and degradation of Lake Rotokākahi and actions made the wishes of the participants and of the wider hapū will not be met.

This chapter has outlined part of the journey Tūhourangi has undertaken with regards to ensuring the mana whenua, mana moana of Lake Rotokākahi. It has identified hapū environmental aspirations and highlighted the importance this resource has for Tūhourangi identity. Furthermore, it has emphasised the significance tribal knowledge and connections to this landscape play in the well-being and welfare of Tūhourangi members, past, present and future.

This thesis hoped to capture but a small essence of Lake Rotokākahi and Tūhourangi reflecting on aspects of governance, management and tribal knowledge. As the Board of Control negotiates change both physical and cultural they are firm in the knowledge that they are supported by the hapū and the guidance of kaumātua and tūpuna. Furthermore, although this Board has been tasked with this mantle, it does not negate the responsibilities of the wider hapū to uphold mana whenua, mana moana. The particular challenges Tūhourangi face, as highlighted in this chapter, not only demonstrate the importance of connection and tribal identity as well as the need for the hapū to build tribal knowledge and understanding of this ancestral landscape for the benefit and sustenance of future generations. To this end, this thesis concludes with a challenge for Tūhourangi to continue to learn, enhance and take pride in our uniqueness and identity:

A ha Te Arawa e!

A ha Te Arawa e!

Ko te whakaariki

Ko te whakaariki

Tukua mai ki a piri, tukua mai ki a tata

Kia eke mai i runga ki te paepae poto a Houmaitawhiti!

## APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

# Participant Information Sheet



### Date Information Sheet Produced:

25<sup>th</sup> November 2011

### Project Title

Mana whenua, mana moana: Tūhourangi and Lake Rotokākahi

### An Invitation

Kia ora, my name is Nari Faiers. I am looking at governance and leadership by the Tūhourangi sub tribe in relation to the control and management of Lake Rotokākahi. I am conducting this research to complete a Master of Arts Thesis.

I would like to invite you to participate in this study by taking part in an interview. Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw (from this research) at whatever time prior to completion of the final draft of the report. If you do choose to withdraw you will not be disadvantaged.

### What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this study is to identify indigenous models and approaches of management which have spanned multiple generations of the Tūhourangi sub tribe and ascertain how these models have changed and been maintained into practice today. The completion of this research will enable me to finalise the academic requirement for me to attain a Master of Arts.

### How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

The recruitment process for selection of participants was based on those who will be able to provide a valuable contribution to the research project. Participants will have an association to Lake Rotokākahi whether through whakapapa/genealogical links and/or governance connections. Only six participants will be required to complete this research study as this is a sufficient sample size for the information needed and for completion within the time frame.

### What will happen in this research?

An audio or video tape interview will be conducted during which I will ask you a series of questions.

### What are the discomforts and risks?

The research process does not have any obvious discomforts or risks associated.

### How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

If for any reason you feel uncomfortable in disclosing any information you can withdraw from participating in the process. I will reiterate this again at the start of each interview.

### **What are the benefits?**

Tūhourangi may benefit from an understanding of how the sub tribe has managed to maintain governance over the lake according to the kawa of their ancestors despite the imposition of non-Māori laws.

The completion of this research will enable me to finalise the academic requirement for me attain a Master of Arts Thesis.

### **How will my privacy be protected?**

All audio-video taped interviews and recorded notes will be stored separately to all consent forms in two secure locations in the Faculty of Māori Development at AUT University. All paper documents and audio-video recordings will be destroyed after six years.

Please note your identity and that of the other five who will be interviewed will not be confidential. That is because as someone knowledgeable in the sub tribe in relation to the lake, I would like to be able to acknowledge your contribution to the research.

### **What are the costs of participating in this research?**

The interviews will take around 2 hours of your time. No monetary costs will be incurred by you.

### **What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?**

You will have up to the 1<sup>st</sup> April 2013 to consider this invitation to allow me time to secure all six participants and to finalise the interview questions and process.

### **How do I agree to participate in this research?**

If you agree to participate in this research I will post (with a return self-addressed envelope) a Consent Form.

### **Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?**

I will forward a summary of the findings on request.

### **What do I do if I have concerns about this research?**

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, *Dr Teorongonui Keelan*, [Jkeelan@aut.ac.nz](mailto:Jkeelan@aut.ac.nz), (09) 921-9999 ext 6104.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEK, Dr Rosemary Godbold, [rosemary.godbold@aut.ac.nz](mailto:rosemary.godbold@aut.ac.nz), 921 9999 ext 6902.

### **Whom do I contact for further information about this research?**

#### ***Researcher Contact Details:***

Nari Faiers, [nfaiers@aut.ac.nz](mailto:nfaiers@aut.ac.nz), 021 916 872

#### ***Project Supervisor Contact Details:***

Dr Teorongonui Keelan, [Jkeelan@aut.ac.nz](mailto:Jkeelan@aut.ac.nz), (09) 921-9999 ext 6104.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 5<sup>th</sup> June 2012

AUTEK Reference number 12/15

## APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM

# Consent Form



**Project title:** *Mana whenua, mana moana: Tūhourangi and Lake Rotokākahi*

**Project Supervisor:** *Dr Teorongonui Keelan*

**Researcher:** *Nari Faiers*

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 17 December 2011.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that I will have a choice whether the interview is recorded using an audio or video tape.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ I understand that I will be acknowledged and identified in the thesis.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I consent to being named in the publication of the research findings (please tick one):  
Yes ☐ No ☐
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of a summary of findings from the research (please tick one):  
Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant's \_\_\_\_\_ signature:

Participant's \_\_\_\_\_ name:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):  
\_\_\_\_\_

Date:

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date on which the final approval was granted* AUTEC Reference number *type the AUTEC reference number***

*Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.*

## APPENDIX C: GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Ahi kā	Burning fires of occupation - title to land through occupation by a group, generally over a long period of time
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Atua	Gods, ancestor with continuing influence
AUT	Auckland University of Technology
AUTEC	Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Hawaiiki	Spiritual homeland
Hui	Meeting, gathering, conference
Hunga tiaki	Traditional guardianship
Iwi	Tribe, often refers to a large group of descendants from a common ancestor
Kāhui Wānanga Nui o Te Arawa	The great learned assembly of Te Arawa
Kaitiaki	Guardian, custodian, keeper
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship, trustee
Kapa haka	Concert party, Māori cultural group, Māori performing group
Kaumātua	Elders
Kaupapa	Topic, policy, matter for discussion
Kawa	Marae Protocol
Kāwanatanga	Government, dominion, rule, authority, governorship, province
Koha	Gift, offering, donation
Kōrero	Talk/Speak
Kōrero tuku iho	Traditional Stories, history
Kuia	Elderly woman, grandmother
Lake Rotokākahi	Lake (commonly known as the Green Lake) in Rotorua, New Zealand
Mana	Authority, prestige, control, power, influence
Mana tangata	Tribal authority
Mana whakahaere	Māori governance/authority
Mana whenua	Land authority

Māori	Indigenous peoples of New Zealand
Marae	Courtyard - the open area in front of the <i>wharenuī</i> , often also used to include the complex of buildings around the <i>marae</i>
Mātauranga	Knowledge, education, wisdom, understanding
Mauri	Life principle, source of emotions, special nature
Moana	Sea/Ocean
Mokopuna	Grandchildren
Mōteatea	Lament
Ngāpuhi	A Māori tribal group of the Northern part of the North Island
Noa	Be free from the extensions of <i>tapu</i> , ordinary, unrestricted
Pākehā	European, fair skinned, often refers to people of European ethnicity
Paki Waitara	Tribal stories
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
Pepeha	Tribal proverb
Rangatira	Chief, leader
Rangatiratanga	Authority, self-determination, sovereignty
Rangi-nui	Sky Father
Rohe	Tribal Region
Tangata whenua	Indigenous peoples/people of the land
Tangihanga	Death ritual, funeral
Taniwha	Mythical creature
Taonga	Treasure, resources, property, goods
Tapu	Sacred/Holy
Te Arawa	Māori tribe from the Bay of Plenty region, New Zealand
Te Reo Māori	The Māori Language
Tikanga	Tribal protocols
Tohunga	Ancestral high priest
Toto	Blood
Tūhourangi	Name of one of the sub-tribes in Rotorua, Bay of Plenty, New Zealand
Tumatawera	Name of one of the sub-tribes in Rotorua, Bay of Plenty, New Zealand
Tūpuna	Ancestors, grandparents

Tūrangawaewae	Place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship
Urupā	Ancestral cemetery
Utu	Reciprocity, maintenance of balance and harmony
Wāhi tapu	Sacred place/space
Waiata	Song, chant
Waiata tawhito	Ancestral chant
Wairua	Spirit, soul
Waka	Canoe, boat
Wānanga	Conference, forum, educational seminar, commonly used for tribal discussion and dialogue
Whāea	Mother
Whaikōrero	Tribal narrative, formal speech
Whakanoa	To 'remove tapu'
Whakapapa	Genealogy, lineage, descent
Whakarewarewa	Name of a Māori village in Rotorua, New Zealand
Whakataukī	Proverbs
Whānau	Family
Whāngai	Adoption
Whare tangata	Houses of humanity
Whenua	Land, placenta



## References

- Asher, G., & Naulls, D. (1987). *Māori land*. Wellington (N.Z.): New Zealand Planning Council
- Auckland University of Technology. (2013). *Research ethics*. Retrieved 20 June, 2013, from <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics>
- Ballara, A. (1998). *Iwi: The dynamics of Maori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Bernard, H. R. (1995). *Research methods in anthropology: qualitative and quantitative approaches*. California: AltaMira Press.
- Bishop, R. (1999). Research and Practice. In N. Robertson (Ed.), *Maori & Psychology Research Unit, University of Waikato*. Proceedings of the Maori and Psychology: Research and Practice Symposium, Hamilton.
- Bremner, H. (2004). *Constructing, contesting and consuming New Zealand's tourism landscape: a history of Te Wairoa*. (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis). AUT University of Technology, Auckland.
- Brewer, J., Miller, R. (Eds.). (2003). *The A-Z of social research*. London: Sage Publishers Limited.
- Bryman, A. (2004). *Social research methods*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Butterworth, J. (2008). *Lake Rotokāhiki: The kakahi (Hyridella menziesi) in a general framework of lake health*. The University of Waikato, Hamilton.
- Davies, B. M. (2007). *Doing a successful research project: using qualitative or quantitative methods*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Durie, M. (1998). *Te mana, te kāwanatanga: The politics of Māori self-determination*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. (2005). *Ngā tai matatū; tides of Māori endurance*. Australia: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. (2009). *Pae mana: Waitangi and the evolving state*. Paper presented at the Manu Ao: The paerangi lectures Maori horizons 2020 and beyond. Retrieved 4 September, 2012, from <http://www.manu-ao.ac.nz/massey/fms/manu-ao/documents/Pae/20Mana/20/20Waitangi/20&20The20Evolving20State.pdf>
- Frankfort-Nachmias, C., Nachmias, D. (1996). *Research methods in the social sciences*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Gomm, R. (2004). *Social research methodology : a critical introduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Government, N. Z. (2010). *Waikato-Tainui Raupatu Claims (Waikato River) Settlement Act 2010*, Schedule 1 subsection 1 & 2. Retrieved 2 June, 2013 from <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2010/0024/latest/DLM1630173.html>
- Grinlinton, D., and Taylor, P. (Eds.). (2011). *Property rights and sustainability; the evolution of property rights to meet ecological challenges* (Vol. 11). Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Hamilton-Pearce, J. (2009). *Mana wāhine in information technology: Ngā kaiwhatu ākahu me te kākahu*. AUT University, Auckland. Retrieved 20, September 2013 from <http://aut.researchgateway.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10292/816/Hamilton-PearceJ.pdf?sequence=4>

- Henare, M. (1995). *Te Tiriti, te tangata, te whānau: the Treaty, the human person, the family rights and responsibilities*. Paper presented at the International Year of the Family Symposium.
- Hill, R. S. (2004). *State authority, indigenous autonomy, Crown -Maori relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Hill, R. S. (2009). *Maori and the State: Crown-Maori relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950-2000*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Houkamau, C. (2006). *Identity and socio-historical context: transformations and change among Māori women*. (Unpublished doctoral thesis in Psychology). University of Auckland, Auckland.
- Howe, K. R. (2012). *Ideas of Māori origins*. Retrieved 2 May, 2013 from <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ideas-of-maori-origins>
- Jackson, M. (2011). *Hui reflections: research and the consolations of bravery*; Paper presented at the Kei tua o te pae, Pipitea marae, Wellington.
- Ka'ai, T., & Higgins, R. (2004). Te ao Māori: Māori world-view. In T. Ka'ai, J. Moorfield, M. Reilly & S. Mosely (Eds.), *Ki Te Whaiao: An Introduction to Māori Culture and Society* (pp. 13-25). Auckland: Pearson Longman.
- Ka'ai, T., Moorfield, J., Reilly, M., & Mosley, S. (2004). *Ki te whaiao: An introduction to Māori culture and society*. Auckland: Pearson Longman.
- Kamira, R. (2003). *Kaitiakitanga: Introducing useful indigenous concepts of governance*. Paper presented at the Government Information System Managers' Forum (GOVIS), Wellington, New Zealand.
- Kawharu, M. (Ed.). (2002). *Whenua: managing our resources*. Auckland: Reed Books.
- Keam, R. (1988). *Tarawera, the volcanic eruption of 10 June 1886*. Auckland: Kean
- King, M. (2003). *The penguin history of New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Mahuika, A. (Ed.). (1977). *Leadership inherited and achieved*. New Zealand: Methuen.
- Marsden, M. (1992). *Kaitiakitanga: a definitive introduction to the holistic world view of the Maori*. Retrieved 6 July, 2013 from [www.marinenz.org.nz/documents/marsden\\_1992\\_Kaitiakitanga.pdf](http://www.marinenz.org.nz/documents/marsden_1992_Kaitiakitanga.pdf).
- McIntosh, T. (2007). *Contemporary Maori identity: some sociological reflections*. Paper presented at the Manu Ao Seminar, University of Auckland.
- Mead, S. M. (1994). *Te Maori: Taonga Maori treasures of the Maori*. Reed Publishing Ltd.
- Meredith, P., & Higgins, R. (2012, 10 October 2013). Kāwanatanga – Māori engagement with the state - defining kāwanatanga. Retrieved 18 August, 2013 from <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/kawanatanga-maori-engagement-with-the-state>
- Mikaere, A. (2003). *The balance destroyed: the consequences for Maori women of the colonisation of tikanga Māori* (Vol. One). Auckland (N.Z.): The International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education and A. Mikaere.
- Mikaere, A. (Ed.). (c2009). *Mā te rango te waka ka rere = Exploring a kaupapa Māori organisation framework : proceedings of a hui to examine the Waka Umanga (Māori Corporations) Bill, 3-4 November 2006*. Otaki, Aotearoa: Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa.
- Moon, P. (2003). *Tohunga: Hohepa Kereopa*. Auckland: David Ling Publishing Limited.

- Moon, P. (Ed.). (1995). *Documents on the Sealord deal*. Auckland: Auckland University of Technology.
- Moorfield, J. C. (Ed.). (2011). *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index* (3 ed.). Auckland: Pearson Longman.
- Nagy Hesse-Biber, S., & Leavy, P. (2006). *The practice of qualitative research*. California: Sage Publications Limited.
- New Zealand Government. (2006). *Te Arawa Lakes Settlement Act 2006, New Zealand Legislation*. Retrieved 21 February, 2012 from <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2006/0043/latest/DLM381398.html>.
- O'Malley, V., & Armstrong, D. (2008). *The beating heart: a political and socio-economic history of Te Arawa*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Papakura, M. (1938). *Makereti: The Old-Time Maori* (T.K.Penniman E.d.). London: Victor Gollance Ltd.
- Pene, R. (2011)., Auahi ana e! Nga moteatea o Tūhourangi, Te Wāhanga Tuatahi (Vol.1). Tūhourangi Wānanga. Rotorua.
- Pihama, L. E. (2001). *Tihei Mauri Ora: Honouring our voices: Mana wahine as a Kaupapa Maori Theoretical Framework*. (Unpublished PhD). University of Auckland, Auckland.
- Pohatu, T. (2003). *Maori world-views: Source of innovative social work choices*. Retrieved 2 March, 2013 from [http://www.kaupapamaori.com/assets/maori\\_worldviews.pdf](http://www.kaupapamaori.com/assets/maori_worldviews.pdf)
- Pool, I. (1991). *Te iwi Maori: A New Zealand population past, present & projected*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Reed, A. W. (2006). *Reed book of Māori exploration : stories of voyage and discovery*. Auckland: Reed.
- Rickard, E. (1977). Whenua, transcription of a television interview. In Gadd, B. *Pacific voices: an anthology of writing by and about pacific people*.
- Rikihana, H. T. (1988). *Social studies: Whakawhanaungatanga a noho*. Auckland College of Education.
- Rotorua Te Arawa Lakes Programme. (2013). *Rotorua Te Arawa Lakes Programme*. Retrieved 13th October, 2013 from [http://www.rotorualakes.co.nz/lake\\_rotokakahi](http://www.rotorualakes.co.nz/lake_rotokakahi)
- Salmond, A. (1976). *Hui: A study of ceremonial gatherings*. Wellington: Reed.
- Selby, R., Moore, P., Mulholland, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Māori and the environment: Kaitiaki*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Smelser, N. (1966). The modernisation of social relations. In M. Weiner (Ed.), *Modernisation: The dynamics of growth* (pp. 119-130). New York: Basic.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonising methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books.
- Spiller, C., Erakovic, L., Henare, M., & Pio, E. (2010). Relational well-being and wealth: Maori businesses and an ethic of care. *Journal of Business Ethics*.
- Spiller, C., Pio, E., Erakovic, L. & Henare, M. (2011). Wise up: Creating organizational wisdom through an ethic of kaitiakitanga. *Journal of Business Ethics*.
- Stafford, D. M. (1967). *Te Arawa: A history of the Arawa people*. Auckland: Reed Books.
- Stoker, G. (1998). *Governance as theory: five propositions*. UNESCO, 12.
- Stokes, E. (1994). *Rotokawa geothermal area: some historical perspectives*. Hamilton: Department of Geography, University of Waikato.
- Tapsell, P. (2000). *Pukaki a comet returns*. Auckland,(N.Z.): Reed.

- Tauhara Geothermal Charitable Trust. (2012). *Ngātoro-i-rangi and the taonga*. Retrieved 30th September, 2013 from <http://www.tauhara.co.nz/about-geothermal/ngatoro-i-rangi-and-the-taonga/>
- Taylor, S., & Bogden, R. (1998). *Intro to qualitative research methods*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Te Arawa Maori Trust Board. (2005a). *Crown settlement offer to Te Arawa concerning the Te Arawa lakes*. Rotorua.
- Te Arawa Maori Trust Board. (2005b). *Post settlement governance entity for the Te Arawa lakes*. Rotorua.
- Te Puni Kokiri: Ministry of Maori Development. (2012, 01 May). *In your region: Te Arawa*. Retrieved 29 September, 2013 from <http://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/region/te-arawa/>
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. (1996). *The settlement*. Retrieved 2 September, 2013 from <http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/ngai-tahu/the-settlement/>
- Thompson-Fawcett, M., & Freeman, C. (Eds.). (2006). *Living together : towards inclusive communities in New Zealand*. Dunedin: Otago University Press.
- Tourism New Zealand. (2011). *100% Pure New Zealand*. Retrieved 13 October, 2013 from <http://www.tourismnewzealand.com/about-us/what-we-do-and-how-we-do-it/campaign-and-activity/>
- The Trustee Act., NO.61 (1956). Retrieved 3 July, 2014 from <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1956/0061/latest/DLM304704.html>
- Tūhourangi Tribal Authority. (2012). *Who we are, tribal membership*. Retrieved 13 October, 2013 from <http://tuhourangi.iwi.nz/about/>
- TVNZ. (2007). *Waka Huia: Guide Bubbles Mihinui and Te Kuru Waaka talk about Tarawera*. (Motion picture).
- Waaka, P. (1993, 30 October 2012). *Taupopoki, Mita, from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. 2. Retrieved 3 February, 2013 from <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t11/taupopoki-mita>
- Waitangi Tribunal. (2007). *He maunga rongo: Report on Central North Island claims*. Retrieved 23 August, 2013 from <http://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/scripts/reports/reports/1200/B6EC6D59-51DA-481F-84AD-DB14C1A7EC40.pdf>.
- Waitangi Tribunal. (2008). *He maunga rongo: report on central North Island claims WAI 1200*. Wellington.
- Waitangi Tribunal. (2013). *The meaning of the Treaty*. Retrieved 10 September, 2013 from <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/meaning.asp>
- Wakatu Incorporation. (2013). *Governance mana whakahaere*. Retrieved from <http://wakatu.org.nz/>
- Walker-Painemilla, K. R., Woofter, A., Hughes, C. (Eds.). (2010). *Indigenous peoples and conservation; from rights to resource management*. Arlington: Conservation International.
- Walker, R. (1989). Maori Identity: In D. Novitz & W.E.Willmott (Eds.), *Culture and identity in New Zealand* (pp. 35-52). Wellington: Government Printer.
- Walker, R. (1991). *Ka whawhai tonu mātou: Struggle without end*. Auckland: Penguin Books Limited.
- Watters, L. (2004). *Indigenous peoples, the environment and law*. North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- Wheen, N., & Hayward, J. (Eds.). (2012). *Treaty of Waitangi settlements*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books with the New Zealand Law Foundation.

Williams, J. A. (1969). *Politics of the New Zealand Maori, protest and cooperation, 1891-1909*. United States of America: Oxford University Press.