

Whenua Māori - *Hokia ki Tō Whenua, He Taonga Tuku Iho*

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Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Development**

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Tauparapara¹

*Ka pāpā te whatitiri
Hikohiko te uira
Kahukura ki te rangi
He aitu ka riri rongo mai ka hē
Ko ngunguru
Ko ngangana
Ko apārangi
Ko te titi o te rua ko te tao whakawahine
Ko te motumotu o te riri
Te awa o ngā rangatira
Taumarere herehere i te riri
Te puna i keteriki
E tū atu nei Ngāti Hine pukepukerau
Tiheiwa Mauriora!*

Nā Hineamaru
Nō Ngāti Hine

¹ Sacred rituals such as tauparapara are rarely translated into English to uphold their integrity and maintain their spiritual essence.

Dedication

He hono tangata e kore e motu; ka pa he taura waka e motu
A canoe rope can be severed. The human bond never...



Figure 1. *Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene.* Copyright Armstrong family.

This work is inspired by the efforts of my great-grandmother who dared to challenge the Crown over the dispossession of our lands. The impact of land loss and the personal cost to her personally reverberates throughout the generations. The following statement from the Waitangi Tribunal hearing is testament to this legacy.

This is a protracted battle that has never eased for generations of our whānau. We have never resailed from the battle. We never will. We are charged with our mothers, grandmothers and great grandmothers' memory to never give up until the land is returned in total. Her courage and unwavering persistence is present with us every day. We cannot do any less than she did.
(Downs, 2014, p. 144)

E kui, moe mai rā okioki ai i to moenga roa.

Abstract

The thesis is a microcosm of the Māori colonial experience and its aftermath (postcolonialism). It is explored through a case study of contemporary Māori land ownership in a post-colonial context. The painful reality of land alienation is a constant that whānau are all too familiar with and is palpable throughout this work. This reality is multi-faceted, taking into account the spiritual, physical and emotional connection that Māori have with the land. I ask: How does the history of the whenua shape the relationship between people and the land?

This work explores 'the lived reality' of whānau and foregrounds the impacts of colonisation. The outcome of the research is not only about shedding light on the painful experiences of severance but seeks to move beyond grievance, to enable future generations to move forward and to navigate powerful solutions.

As a case study it investigates the alienation of whenua Māori and the losses incurred, both collective and personal, by Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene. In many ways this research is about the future and the potential opportunities to develop ancestral lands in a way that empowers whānau to move beyond the imposition of colonisation.

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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 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.

Ripeka Te Arani Read

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Acknowledgements

*E hara taku toa i te toa takitahi,
engari kē he toa takitini*

My success should not be bestowed onto me alone,
it was not individual success but the success of a collective

Ki tōku whānau me ōku hoa, me tukua atu ngā mihi nūnui kia koutou katoa i runga i tēnei kaupapa. He mihi anō ki a Professor Hinematau McNeill, nā tō korowai manaaki me ō pūkenga hoki i āwhinatia ahau. Nā reira kei te mihi ki a koutou.

Ki te kāhore he whakakitenga o te whenua ka ngaro te whānau
Without foresight or vision of the land, the family will be lost

Mum – Ko koe te pouwhirinaki o tō tātou whānau, nā tēnā ngā mihi nui kia koe mō tō pukumahi hei tautokohia te whakahokia mai o tō tātou whenua. Nā tō wairua hūmarie i whangaia mai ngā whakapapa me ngā hītori o tō tātou whenua. E mihi maioha ana. Māku ēnei kōrero whakahirahira e tiaki mō ngā rā katoa.

He tohu aroha tēnei mahi ki a Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene, Samuel Armstrong, Rua Codling (Armstrong), Ariel Armstrong me Varron Te Ara Armstrong.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Our concern is for our mokopuna. They get the sense that something very wrong has happened in the past and it is them that really suffer the consequences of the Crown's actions because they have, to some extent, been cut off from their home and whenua. We want our mokopuna to know what happened during the 1960's and understand how this has changed our lives and the way we live today. We want them to remember what their grandparents and tūpuna experienced. Future generations must know our rangatiratanga, mana, whenua, reo and tikanga despite the violations that were enacted by the crown (Downs, 2014, p. 147).

Māori have always maintained a sense of belonging and connection to *whenua* (land). Traditionally, Māori would bind themselves and their descendants to the whenua through customary cultural practices, to establish a relationship to the land (Marsden, 1992; Kawharu, 2000). Interestingly, the word whenua is also the word for placenta. Papatūānuku, the primeval earth mother, is the personification of the earth. The custom of *te whenua ki te whenua* (the placenta to the earth), burying the placenta in the earth and soil, reinforces our relationship with Papatūānuku. At death our bodies return to Papatūānuku, the earth, before ascending to the realm of her *mokopuna* (granddaughter) Hinenuitepō in the after world (Abel et al., 2001; Gabel, 2013; Mead, 2003; Mikaere, 2003).

This study is inspired by the struggle of my *kuia* (great grandmother) for the return of ancestral land. It is fitting that this struggle was led by a woman. The relationship between women and the land can be traced to celestial times (Awekotuku, 1995). In Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene's quest to have the land returned, she embodies and captures the ethos of *mana wahine* (power of women), a legacy from the female *atua* (gods).

In Māori epistemology the female and male elements are finely attuned and balanced. The sky father Ranginui's grief at the separation from Papatūānuku waters their *uri* (offspring) with his tears, sustaining life on earth. To that end I have also felt the *wairua* (spirit) of my papa, Samuel Armstrong, with me throughout this journey. In assisting *whānau* (family) with the WAI 1527 research I was fulfilling his need to have his mokopuna take up the challenge that began with his mother. They understood the duty and that *whakapapa* (kinship) to the environment is a web of nurturing relationships between each other, the land and its resources.

He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene, the documentary that forms part of this thesis, is informed by the four themes that emerged throughout the inquiry.

1. *Whakapapa me te hononga ki te ūkaipō*—Identity and connection to the land
2. *Ngā hara me ngā tukinotanga o te karauna*—Colonisation and legislation
3. *Ko te mamae me te pouritanga o te whānau*—Impact on the family
4. *Te ao hurihuri*—Envisioning the future

These themes allow for a story to be told which is an emergence of the events that took place in the life of Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene. The documentary encapsulates the complexities of our relationship with the whenua, that is constantly evolving.

This exegesis is a counter narrative that speaks to the silencing of Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene in relation to her whenua. It is a story that revives the truth and highlights the theatrical performance and devastation of colonisation, and the perpetuation of oppression on whānau.

Structure of the exegesis

Chapter 2: Positioning the researcher

Prior to undertaking this research, I knew little of my *tūpuna* (ancestors) except her name and a photograph, yet I have felt compelled to tell her story. As a child my mum would take me and my whānau back to Pipiwai regularly. These early experiences have shaped my identity and instilled within me an intimate understanding of my whakapapa and a connection to Pipiwai.

My papa (Samuel Armstrong) was fiercely committed to having the whenua returned and managed in a way that would bring peace and equity for his whānau. The complexities of colonisation, enacted at all levels within my whānau, are an interplay that draws us all into the microcosm of colonisation, which entraps us to react differently to the experience. I have come to the realisation that if my whānau want to prosper with the whenua then it is essential that, as a whānau, we take responsibility for a new narrative, for a new future.

Chapter 3: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene. A portrait of the woman behind the “wero”

Ataiti Te Rehu Waa Hoterene was born on 13 March 1912 in Pipiwai and raised at Manawatōpū. She was the fifth child of Te Rehu Waa Hoterene and Heeni Tame Horomona (née Whatipu). Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene was educated at Queen Victoria School and was known for her business acumen and relentless fight for her whenua. This astuteness came to the fore when the Crown began its encroachment on Pipiwai. She constantly engaged with lawyers in opposition to the amalgamation of Māori land for the Te Horo Development Scheme. Ultimately Ataiti’s whenua was included in the amalgamations and taken for the Scheme. As a result, Ataiti and her whānau were forced to leave their land and reside elsewhere, and their income sources were destroyed. Her businesses were demolished and her health deteriorated. She was forced to leave Pipiwai and moved to Moerewa, close to her son.

Chapter 4: Review of contextual knowledge

The contextual review of knowledge will examine several topics, including:

- *Tangata Whenua* (People of the land)

The customary relationship between Māori and the whenua is anchored in Māori cosmological beliefs that view the natural environment as a vast and complex web of genealogical relationships (Royal, 2010; Kingi, 2008). Traditionally, the use of land and natural resources was conducted under strict obligations of *kaitiakitanga* (Māori environmental ethics), firmly embedded in and guided by whakapapa, *tikanga Māori* (customary practices and lore) and *te reo Māori* (Māori language) (Mead, 2003; King et al., 2007; Harmsworth & Awatere, 2003; Huntington, 2000). This section highlights customary Māori land tenure and provides an account of the relational rules that governed land use.

- Colonisation

Colonisation has been the foremost destructive mechanism to disrupt the relationship that Māori have held with the whenua. Recognising the coloniser’s imperialist ideologies is the starting point to understanding the severance of Māori relationships with the whenua. The Treaty of Waitangi heralded a new dawn for the Crown in establishing itself as a colonial

imperialist power. The implementation of legislation under the colonial government had colossal implications for Māori. The Native Land Court essentially detribalised and severed customary Māori land tenure, and with it, many of the values deeply embedded within Māori and their land relationships. It replaced and displaced what Māori considered to be well-functioning systems. The replacement of traditional Māori land tenure systems with colonial legislation continues to create tension and limit the management of Māori land today.

- Māori Land Development Schemes

The future of their ancestral lands was of grave concern to Māori, as land continued to be alienated from them. (Morrow, 2014; Walker, 2004). Māori began to develop their own methods to combat further land loss and to gain further representation in government. In 1928, when Sir Āpirana Ngata was appointed Native Minister, significant Māori land legislation began to be implemented (Bassett & Kay, 2006).

Ngata viewed Māori land development schemes as an opportunity for establishing a Māori dairy industry, which could support Māori families and communities while developing Māori land. Whilst Ngata's attempt to grow Māori whenua opportunities was initially seen as positive, it began to unfold as a chain of broken promises, with little to no benefit for Māori. The Māori land development schemes imposed a considerable range of Crown controls on Māori land.

- Te Horo Development Scheme (Pipiwai)

On the 20th of October 1965 a meeting was held at Tau Henare, Pipiwai, between the Department of Māori Affairs and the whānau of Te Orewai, to discuss amalgamation. Māori Affairs argued that lands could be farmed more efficiently under their management. In spite of this view, whānau in Pipiwai were hesitant about the development scheme, due to the loss of occupation rights which would be regulated by the Board of Māori Affairs.

In 1965 the Māori Land Court cancelled 62 separate titles in Pipiwai, amalgamating the whenua into one title, known as Te Horo 2B2B2B (Miles, 1993). Ataiti's rights as a 'landholder or landowner' were effectively transferred to the Board of Māori Affairs, and in exchange she received shareholdings.

- Māori Affairs Administration

In March 1966 the Board of Māori Affairs consented to a development scheme at Pipiwai for sheep and cattle farming (Miles, 1993; Bassett & Kay, 2006). Once consent was granted for the scheme, Māori Affairs staff and farmers began to move onto the whenua, removing fences and padlocking gates in an attempt to create confusion over boundaries and whānau ownership of the whenua—effectively causing major disruptions among whānau in the valley of Pipiwai. In 1978 Ataiti was involved in presenting a complaint to the Ombudsman regarding the Crown’s management of Te Horo, and in 1988 the Director of Māori Affairs recognised that the development scheme should have never been implemented.

- Te Orewai Te Horo Trust

During the 1980s Māori Affairs and Māori landowners had reached an agreement that the land be returned to the Māori owners’ ‘control’. On the 8th of September 1986, the Te Horo 2B2B2B Trust was established, and the Te Horo block was released from the administration of Māori Affairs and transferred to the Te Horo 2B2B2B Trust to manage (Bassett & Kay, 2006; Miles, 1993). The Trust has managed the Te Horo Block up to the present day. However, numerous and serious complaints regarding mismanagement have been levied against the Trust.

- Waitangi Tribunal Claim (WAI 1527)

On the 28th of August 2008, Lavona Hogan, daughter of Ataiti, filed the Wai 1527 claim. This was a claim on the behalf of Ataiti Te Rehu (Hoterene) Armstrong and Descendants, primarily concerning the Crown’s amalgamation and taking of land for the Te Horo Development Scheme. The foundation of the claim is the loss of *tino rangatiratanga* (sovereignty) over the whenua, along with the social, cultural and economic prosperity of Ataiti and her whānau.

- Contemporary Māori Land Ownership

Contemporary Māori land continues to be stifled by ongoing legislation that retains remnants of colonial ideologies and continues to inhibit Māori tino rangatiratanga. The contemporary system of Māori landownership and management creates psychological perceptions of hierarchical supremacy, a notion substantively different from tikanga Māori, which reinforces an obligation to maintain relationships to the land (Dell, 2017).

Chapter 5: Research design and methodology

The research paradigms that inform and guide this research are grounded in Kaupapa Māori and Heuristic Inquiry. Kaupapa Māori research draws upon Māori epistemology and tikanga Māori principles to guide culturally appropriate research processes and practices (Smith, 2012). A Heuristic Inquiry approach relies on the personal (Moustakas, 1990), and is an appropriate research methodology for this exegesis as it facilitates a process of self-reflection and deep exploration of the topic, my relationship and history with my kuia's land. Fortunately, both approaches are mutually compatible while retaining their distinctive differences.

Kaupapa Māori intersects with Heuristic Inquiry to form a collaborative methodological approach. The Kaupapa Māori methods utilised were *karakia* (invoking spiritual guidance), *kohinga kōrero* (gathering information) and *whakaraupeka whakāro* (turning over thoughts). Heuristic Inquiry methods used include immersion, explication and creative synthesis.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The conclusion highlights the research undertaken and the complexities associated with whenua Māori and legislation imposed by the Crown. The purpose of the study was to investigate how the history of the whenua shapes the relationship between people and the land. The literature discussed within this exegesis clearly indicates that colonisation has been the foremost destructive mechanism to sever the relationships between people and the whenua.

This exegesis tells a story of what really happened. My goal is to contribute a new narrative that will empower our whānau to envision a brighter future. This will not be an easy task to complete, but if there is to be any hope for our future and the aspirations of our tūpuna we have to keep pushing forward with continued perseverance to have our whenua returned. The documentary as a completed form is a powerful instrument to envision and restore the life works of our tūpuna, and will assist in the decolonisation of my whānau.

Chapter 2: Positioning the researcher

Ki ngā whenua tāngaengae, ki ngā huarahi i takahia e au, ko Pipiwai te ūkaipo, te kaipupuri i taku manawa, te wāhi kotahi o te ao i tangata whenua ai ahau. He āhuru mōwai, he whenua i tū whakahīhi ai āku mātua tūpuna. Koinei taku hononga ki te whenua, te taura here i a au ki taku tuakiri, koinei te wāhi i wātea ai ahau.

To all the familiar places and tracks that I once did roam, Pipiwai is the womb that holds my soul, the only place in the world that I can call my own. It is a a haven of peace, a place where my tupuna once stood proud. It is my connection to this land, it keeps me in touch with who I am. This is the only place where I feel free.



Figure 2. *Hononga ki te Whenua: Our Relationship with Our Land.* Copyright Armstrong family.

Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene was born in Pipiwai, the place that she referred to as her *ūkaipō* (the womb that held her soul). Prior to this research I knew little of my tūpuna except her name and a photograph, yet I have felt compelled to tell her story. As a child my mum would take me and my whānau back to Pipiwai regularly. We would attend *wānanga* (gatherings to discuss tribal matters), *tangi* (funerals), reunions and many land meetings, and visit whānau. I have fond memories of visiting Pipiwai, swimming in the *awa* (river) and running on the whenua and at the *marae* (tribal land and complex of buildings). These early experiences have shaped my identity and instilled within me an intimate understanding of my whakapapa and a connection to Pipiwai.



Figure 3. *Whānau Reunion Held at Tau Henare Marae, Pipiwai, October 24, 2005.* Copyright Armstrong family.

My papa is Samuel Armstrong. He was the eldest son of Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene and I have often felt his *wairua* (spiritual presence) where he has guided my thinking in the emergence of this topic. My papa was fiercely committed to having the whenua returned and managed in a way that would bring peace and equity for his whānau.



Figure 4. *Samuel Armstrong (Papa), Arvay Armstrong-Read (My Mum) and Myself as a Baby.* Copyright Armstrong family.

As a child I always wondered why papa seemed to be busy on a mission when he would come to visit. He would sit at the table for hours talking about land, and even though I was very young I knew that his lengthy discussions with my mum were of significance. After he passed, struggles concerning the land became amplified and highly contentious, often to the point where they were destructive to the whakapapa of our whānau.

The complexities of colonisation that is enacted at all levels within my whānau is an interplay that draws us all into the microcosm of colonisation, which entraps us to react differently to the experience. This realisation came to me when I would experience the trauma, deep hurt and sudden outbursts of crying of my grand-aunties, as they recalled these stories of violations, silencing and negating their mother's *mana wahine* (female power and integrity). I have come to accept that if my whānau want to prosper with the whenua then it is essential that, as a whānau, we have to take responsibility for a new narrative for a new future.

In 2012 my mum was given the task of researching her grandmothers' lands for the WAI 1527 Waitangi Tribunal Claim. During this journey my mum would often share with me the stories of trauma through loss of the whenua that plagued my great-grandmother until her death. She would often tell me about the recurring dreams that she would have about our tūpuna. In those dreams she would feel Ataiti's longing for her story to be told so her mokopuna would know the truth. She wanted her mokopuna to know who she really was.

Chapter 3: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene - A portrait of the woman behind the “wero”

“Should the story of Māori land be kept from the children ... lest they learn not the love of land but only the painful reality of severance” (Durie, 1981, p. 2).



Figure 5. Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene Aged 73 Years Old. Copyright Armstrong family.

I dreamt last night that you came to me, so clear and vivid was your appearance. You sat on your chair in the warm sunlight, a place I remember you sitting. What were you thinking as you sat there from morn until night, not saying much but looking out toward the horizon? You were so far away; a sense of longing embraced your posture and your eyes beheld a story none of us knew.

I dreamt last night that you came to me, and tonight you stayed a little longer. You talked to me for a long time and again as you faded in silence, I saw your face with sadness.

I dreamt last night that you came to me and brought with you others. They had much to say, but only to recall a little. Each time I awoke, the message became clearer and stronger than before.

I dreamt last night you came to me, you told me this time that you wanted your story to be told, the truth, my story, so my mokopuna will know what really happened.

I dreamt tonight, a smile on your face ...

(A. Armstrong-Read, personal communication, May 20, 2013)

My mother's journey uncovering her story is an ongoing dialogue. In the process she began revealing who Ataiti Te Rehu really was. Ataiti Te Rehu Waa Hoterene was born on 13 March 1912, in Pipiwai. She was the fifth child of Te Rehu Waa Hoterene and Heeni Tame Horomona (née Whatipu).

Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene was raised at Manawatōpū, in Pipiwai. She was educated at Queen Victoria School and was known for her business acumen. She was the postmistress at Pipiwai, assisting the community to navigate the alien world of pensions and modern communications. She also owned and operated a range of small retail businesses, including tearooms and shops providing school lunches and *hokohoko* (second-hand wares). This astuteness came to the fore when the Crown began its encroachment on Pipiwai.

In opposition to the amalgamation of Māori land, she engaged with lawyers to prevent the amalgamations of her whenua for the Te Horo Development Scheme. Her children gave evidence of her battle with the Māori Land Court to the Waitangi tribunal and in the process gave a sense of who Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene was, as a *wahine toa* (courageous woman).

She was always going to Court. Back then the Court house was on Rathbone Street in town. She used to be there all the time forever fighting. After the amalgamation most of her time was spent in town then. It was an all-day trip from Pipiwai for her when she went into town, because she'd have to come back on the 3 o'clock bus. That was if the family wasn't around to take her. So, she'd get the bus early and come and spend the day in Court and represent herself. I don't recall her having much help if any, she did it all herself. She'd fight with them all the time. She would spend hours there looking through books and asking for things. She was well known to the Court staff. They would never give her the answer she wanted. She would leave mostly frustrated and dissatisfied. (Downs, 2014, p. 41)

Furthermore, the Department of Māori Affairs had claimed that houses in Pipiwai were of substandard living conditions, and that due to an outbreak of typhoid fever in the district, houses needed to be destroyed.

Mum started to get depression after the amalgamation. It was a consequence of all of the trauma she had been through. Things were going on in the valley too. People were becoming fractioned and broken up. The health department just came in and started to condemn the living conditions of homes and declare them as substandard. I don't understand this. They said the houses were demolished because of typhoid. I think this was fabricated, I think they just used this to justify the destruction of homes because people were digging in and resisting amalgamation...Nobody ever got or died from typhoid that I remember... It was around 1969 that the houses were being destroyed. They just bought the blimen bulldozers in without notice. Mum never

received an eviction notice or anything... No one told us that they were going to demolish our shop... We weren't home at the time that the shop was destroyed...all we knew was it was there in the morning and when we returned in the evening, it was gone. Totally demolished. No reasons provided except that it was unfit for living in. We were devastated... I don't think I have got anything good to say about Māori Affairs. I have deep seated feelings about what happened and what we are left to carry. It is hard to see that there is no progression. But the biggest pain is what they tried to do to the families. It just divided us...Māori Affairs achieved nothing, yet they caused this animosity between the families...They just came in and caused a lot of damage. Damage is what they have done. (Downs, 2014, p.150 – 152)

As a result of the amalgamation Ataiti and her whānau were forced to leave their land and reside elsewhere, and their income sources were destroyed. Her businesses were demolished, and her health deteriorated. She was forced to leave Pipiwai and moved to Moerewa, close to her son.

We say she moved because of her health. But if we are honest, as far as her health she was really quite well. What deteriorated was her state of mind. Out of everything, all of the issues, it hurts me the most when I think about the impact the taking of her lands had on her mind. I watched it every day. I saw it all. It is not so much about the land for me, it is what the taking of her land did to her. To the day she died she was a broken woman. They trampled on her. She was a mother of twelve children. She was a strong woman. By the time it got to the point that she moved to Moerewa her mental state was totally broken. Every day, for most of her waking day she was imagining things, people talking to her, people that were long gone. She constantly talked as if she was in a land court hearing. She was talking like that because of everything that went on with the land years before. It was hard for us as her children. That wasn't our Mum we remembered. That's not how we remember her. (Downs, 2014, p. 75)

Ataiti fought the last 20 years of her life to have her lands returned. Eventually, Samuel Armstrong was given power of attorney in respect of Ataiti's land and continued to become her voice and advocate concerning the whenua. Through the eyes of Ataiti's whānau we get a sense of the essence, the *mauri* of Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene.

Chapter 4: Review of Contextual Knowledge



Figure 6. *Ko Manukorihi te Maunga*. Screenshot from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 01:30.

Whakataukī

E kore e mōnehunehu te pūmahara ki ngā momo rangatira o neherā, nā rātou nei i toro te nukuroa o Te Moananui-a-Kiwa me Papatūānuku. Ko ngā tohu a ō rātou tapuwae i kākahutia ki runga i te mata o te whenua — he taonga, he tapu.

Time will not dim the memory of the special class of rangatira of the past who braved the wide expanse of the ocean and land. Their sacred footprints are scattered over the surface of the land, treasured and sacred.

Nā Tā Hēmi Henare

Tangata Whenua (People of the Land)

The customary relationship between Māori and the whenua is anchored in Māori cosmological beliefs that view the natural environment as a vast and complex web of genealogical relationships (Royal, 2010; Kingi, 2008). Māori believe that all living things and elements within the natural environment (including people) descend from the union between Papatūānuku (earth mother) and Ranginui (sky father). This whakapapa (Figure 7) forms a direct genealogical connection between people and the land (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004; Marsden, 2003; Royal, 2007).

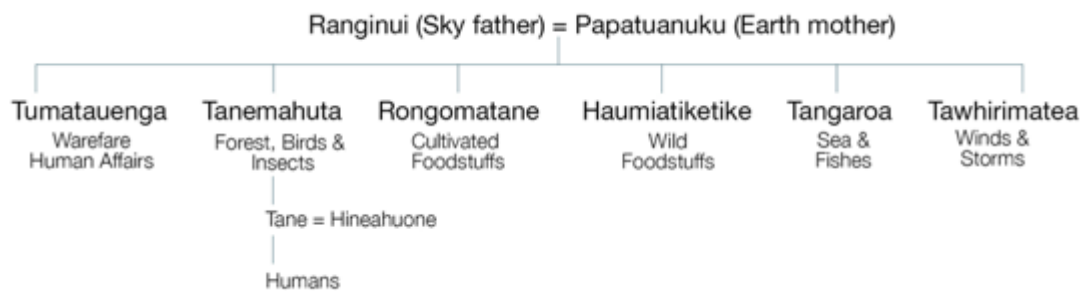


Figure 7. *The Environment as Family: The Offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku.*² Whakapapa (genealogy) showing kin relationships between people and natural resources.

Traditionally the use of land and natural resources was conducted under strict obligations of *kaitiakitanga*, Māori environmental ethics, firmly embedded and guided by *whakapapa*, *tikanga* Māori and *te reo* Māori (Mead, 2003; King et al., 2007; Harmsworth & Awatere, 2003; Huntington, 2000). It is through *whakapapa* that Māori are born as *kaitiaki* (guardians and stewards), instilled with a manifold of *mana* (spiritual power), authority, prestige and sovereignty. Māori are bestowed, imparted and empowered from birth with responsibilities and obligations to maintain respect and preserve the *mauri* (life force) in each other and the environment, to bring forth, develop and create *mauri ora* (conscious wellbeing) (Harmsworth, 1997; Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Kawharu, 2000; Spiller et al., 2011).

Roberts et al. (1995) explain that this relationship between Māori and land provides the clearest, and deepest expression of what can be termed “environmental whanaungatanga” or a “familial relationship” with the other components of the environment (p. 10). The idea of a kin-based relationship between people and the environment, and the *kaitiakitanga* (stewardship) obligation explains why *iwi* (tribal groups) refer to iconic mountains, rivers, lakes, and harbours in the same way that they refer to close human relations.

The WAI 27 Waitangi Tribunal Report provides an account of the customary relational rules that governed land use:

- (i) A reverence for the total creation as one whole;
- (ii) A sense of kinship with fellow beings;

² Adapted from “Kaitiakitanga: Māori Perspectives on Conservation,” by M. Roberts, W. Norman, N. Minhinnick, D. Wihongi, and C. Kirkwood, 1995, *Pacific Conservation Biology*, 2(1), p. 11.

- (iii) A sacred regard for the whole of nature and its resources as being gifts from the gods;
- (iv) A sense of responsibility for these gifts as the appointed stewards, guardians and rangatira;
- (v) A distinctive economic ethic of reciprocity; and
- (vi) A sense of commitment to safeguard all of nature's resources (taonga) for the future generations. (Waitangi Tribunal, 1992, p. 97)



Figure 8. *Te Awa o Hikurangi.* Screenshot from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 00:18.

Customary Māori land tenure was established through tikanga Māori, and acquired its own robust classification system of usage rights to the whenua and natural resources. Māori have always maintained a sense of belonging and connection to land and this has continued through the custom of naming the land (Kingi, 2008; Barlow, 1991).

Ahi kā (continuous occupation) determined the rights, access and use to the land by settlement and occupation and this subsequently transformed into *take tūpuna*, an ancestral right. Customarily, occupancy, use and the protection of resources became sufficient evidence of belonging, and in a modern context equated to kaitiakitanga, a form of ownership which served the collective. This became the foundation of collective and whānau property rights. This knowledge was transmitted through the generations as evidence of occupation and belonging (Asher & Naulls, 1987; Kingi, 2008).

Colonisation

“For Māori, land is felt as inseparable from the self. To separate a Māori from the land is to separate a Māori from themselves, or their sense of belonging” (Dell, 2017, p. 114).

Colonisation has been the foremost destructive mechanism which disrupts and dismantles the relationship that Māori have held with the whenua. The chasm between indigenous reality and the coloniser’s perception of that reality is a theme that emerges time and time again, in any colonial context (Mikaere, 2019). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) encapsulates this sense of confusion aptly when she describes Māori as being caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality.

Colonisation is based on a doctrine of white cultural supremacy and hierarchy (Mikaere, 2011; Walker, 2004; Smith, 2012). Recognising the coloniser's imperialist ideologies is the starting point to understand how Māori relationships with the whenua were severed. This severing was the beginning of the traumatic erosion of Māori culture and society.

Land loss separated and dislodged people from their whenua, destabilising place-based whānau, *hapū* (sub-tribal) and *iwi* (tribal) identities, breaking long established knowledge practices around land use, resulting in dependence on colonial economic systems and undermining the very fabric of Māori society (Walker, 1996, 2004; Mikaere, 2011; Durie, 1997; Smith, 2012). The framework of assimilation “allowed that Māori might survive in a physically diluted form after having pakeha-ness grafted on to them” (Morrow, 2014, p. 87).

The lived experience of colonisation is fraught with complexities: loss, debilitating sadness, grief, anger, identity damage and cultural erosion. Continued tensions and the erosion of relationships with the whenua have severely impacted Māori. Overpowered and overwhelmed, many Māori were physically and psychologically defeated by the land confiscation experience (Dell, 2017; Mikaere, 2011). This has significantly severed and altered Māori values and views in relation to whenua Māori.

The Treaty of Waitangi heralded a new dawn for the Crown in establishing itself as a colonial imperialist power. With the the disregard for Māori rangatiratanga and mana, the Crown quickly set about putting into place legislation to assimilate Māori and to enforce hegemonic policies to alienate Māori land. The implementation of legislation under the colonial

government had colossal implications for Māori in terms of the alienation and loss of Māori whenua and land relationships. A plethora of legislation quickly unfolded to change the distribution and forever change the authority of power and control concerning Māori land ownership and rights (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011; Walker, 2004). The Crown, with “the exclusive right of pre-emption,” opened the doors to a wave of British migrants, hungry for land and all looking to fill their pockets and create a new life of wealth.

Henry Sewell, 19th-century Minister of Justice laid out the objective of the Native Land Court, which was to “bring the great bulk of the land in the Northern Island...within the reach of colonisation” (Sewell, 1870, p. 361). Ultimately, the Court’s aim was:

the detribalisation of the Māori – to destroy, if it were possible, the principle of communism upon which their social system is based and which stands as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the Māori race into our social and political system. (Sewell, 1870, p. 361)



Figure 9. *Te Mamae me te Pouritanga o te Whānau, ngā Hara me ngā Tukinotanga o te Karauna*
Screenshot of frame from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mōkōpuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 01:55.

The Native Land Court essentially detribalised and severed customary Māori land tenure, and with it many of the values deeply embedded within Māori and their land relationships. It replaced and displaced what Māori considered to be well-functioning systems. The

replacement of the traditional Māori land tenure system with colonial legislation, a process continuing into the present, creates tensions and rifts in the functioning of Māori land trust.

Williams (1999) summarises the effects of the Native Land Court on Māori and their land:

1. Māori groups losing control of their land, with individuals selling land without the consent of the Māori group;
2. Individuals being omitted from land titles, and /or endured by the actions of those in who the land was vested;
3. Land titles becoming cluttered with multiple owners, each having an undivided interest, making it difficult to deal with the land. There was little provision for Māori to develop alternative ownership structures such as trusts;
4. Unfair outcomes for some Māori groups and individual owners;
5. Māori losing their land through unfair practices of government agents, or because the Crown did not adequately protect them from the actions of private buyers; and
6. Māori having to pay excessive costs to participate in the Court process. (pp. 6–7)

This was achieved through the implementation of assimilative legislation, under the colonial government, that determined rights to land according to British law, while disregarding Māori customary land tenure. The future of their ancestral lands was of grave concern to Māori, as land continued to be alienated from them. Morrow, 2014; Walker, 2004). Māori began to strategize and develop their own methods to combat further loss in land and to gain further representation in government.

Māori Land Development Schemes

The foundation of Māori land development policies can be traced to The Rees Commission of 1891, who proposed a policy of Māori land development and settlement. Āpirana Ngata was impressed by the notion, and began advocating for finance to become available to assist the development of Māori land and communities (Harris, 1996; Miles, 1993). Initially, Ngata secured support in principle for the development of Māori land, and under the Native Land Court Act 1894 and Native Land Act 1909 land incorporations could be set up. This meant scattered interests could be consolidated into one block, so that a whānau or individual could amass sufficient land to create a workable farm (Miles, 1993; Bassett & Kay, 2006).



Figure 10. *Whenua Māori—Pīpiwai, Northland.* Screenshot of frame from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 06:16.

In spite of Ngata receiving support in 1909 to develop Māori land, it wasn't until 1928, when he was appointed Native Minister, that significant Māori land legislation began to be implemented (Bassett & Kay, 2006). The Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929 provided the legal framework and Crown funding for the implementation of Māori land development schemes. The schemes provided the Native Minister and Native Affairs Department with the opportunity to develop the physical infrastructure and stock on Māori land, in order to bring farms into production. This was supplemented by a comprehensive training programme which educated Māori farmers in pastoral agriculture and the dairy industry (Gilling, 1993; Harris, 1996; Bassett & Kay, 2006).

Ngata viewed Māori land development schemes as an opportunity for establishing a Māori dairy industry, which could support Māori families and communities, while developing Māori land. When Ngata advocated assistance to Māori farmers, he was focused on more than land development, and saw the schemes as part of sustaining and advancing Māori communities by providing a working economic base (Bassett & Kay, 2006). The constant lack of access to finance from banks was a major obstacle that Māori farmers and landowners faced at the

time, and was one of Ngata's justifications for the land development schemes (Harris, 1996; Morrow, 2014).

The potential to develop farms encouraged the amalgamation of land titles into single administrative structures. Māori land development schemes imposed a range of considerable Crown controls on Māori land. The legislation specified that once land had been proclaimed and gazetted under the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929, the Native Minister had full legal powers of ownership, and the Māori 'owners' could no longer exercise any ownership rights over the farming or other use of their land—instead they received a shareholding.

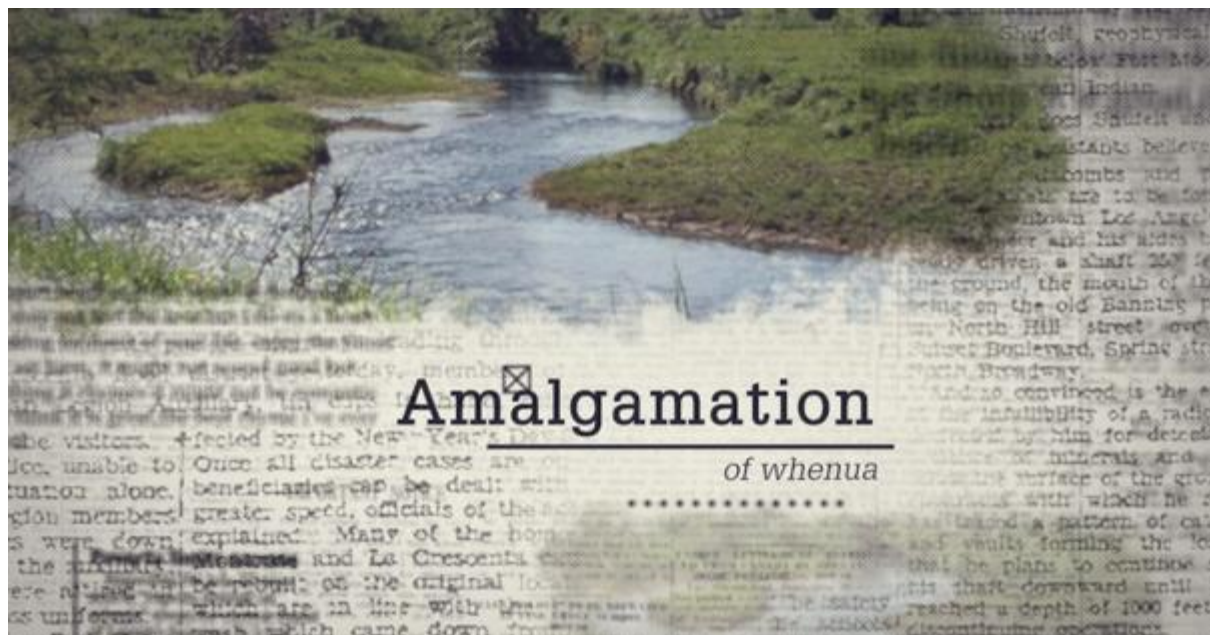


Figure 11. *Amalgamation of Māori Land.* Screenshot of frame from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 02:18.

Ngata justified the complete nullification of Māori ownership rights under the 1929 legislation as a necessary response to the problems caused by fragmented Māori land ownership (Bassett & Kay, 2006). Section 23(3) of the Act further enabled the Minister to have works carried out within Māori development schemes where “he thinks fit, including (but without in any way limiting his powers hereunder) the survey, draining, reclamation, roading, bridging, fencing, clearing, grassing, planting, top-dressing, manuring, or otherwise improving such lands” (Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1929, s 23).

To execute the works the minister was permitted to “purchase or otherwise acquire all such tools, plant, machinery, and other equipment as may, in his opinion, be required ... including purchasing livestock” (Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act, 1929, s 23).

The 1929 Act further stated that development cost became a recoverable charge on the land. It was envisioned that the cost of the development would become recoverable once the land was productive. The financial arrangements of development schemes meant that, rather than the Crown providing loans to Māori landowners and farmers, the minister of Native Affairs assumed complete control of the scheme.

Whilst Ngata’s attempt to grow Māori whenua opportunities was initially seen as positive, it began to unfold as a chain of broken promises with little to no benefit for Māori. The traditional Māori landowners no longer had any rights to make decisions about the leasing, reserving, or management and development of their land, which caused confusion and anger for Māori landowners.

A Royal Commission into Native Affairs in 1934 found that there was too much executive power vested in the Native Minister, leading to the establishment of the Board of Native Affairs. The Board of Native Affairs Act 1934 and Native Land Amendment Act 1936 transferred the extensive powers of the Native Minister to the Board of Native Affairs. The Board of Native Affairs then administered and controlled the development and settlement of schemes for the next 50 years (Bassett & Kay, 2006). During that period, any Māori land owners who delayed or obstructed in any way the workmen or officer on the development scheme land were subject to a £20 fine or 3-month imprisonment. Vesting all ownership rights in the Board of Native Affairs effectively alienated the land from the Māori owners, who could be treated as trespassers on their own whenua, regardless of any interest in or connection to the land.



Figure 12. *Te Horo, Pipiwai, Northland, Aotearoa.* Screenshot of frame from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 06:10.

Te Horo Development Scheme (Pipiwai)

In the early 1960s, investigations by the Māori Affairs were underway in Pipiwai to pursue the feasibility of amalgamating ‘uneconomic’ Māori shares, in order to bring the land into production through a development scheme. According to Bassett and Kay (2006), Māori Affairs viewed a proposed development scheme as part of an

overall rehabilitation of the Pipiwai district. This area was seen as a backward one almost solely Māori occupied with a typhoid outbreak in the district...conditions being what they were, it was considered that the department be held responsible for the welfare and protection of the Pipiwai community. (p. 18)

Māori Affairs had labelled Pipiwai as a stereotypically poor, rural and isolated community, despite the reality that whānau were living fully self-sufficient lifestyles, in a cohesive and collective manner that upheld traditional values and practices (Downs, 2014; Miles, 1993).

Māori Affairs affirmed that:

In the long-term interest of the district it is probable that development of a large area on a face would be the most suitable form of development with the Department farming the land for a number of years. In this way prospective settlers from the youth of the district could be properly trained in farming methods outside the district with a view of taking over the subdivisions as they become available. This would overcome one of the main difficulties with settlement in the district, namely, the ability of the people as farmers. (Lawrence, 1960, p. 1)

Prior to the establishment of the development scheme in 1965, five small farming units in the area were operating with assistance from Māori Affairs. The tangata whenua in the valley noted the presence of Māori Affairs and were wary of their intentions. In order for the development scheme to be implemented, a sufficient amount of land was necessary.



Figure 13. *Pipiwai A1 Land Block.* Screenshot of frame from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 02:33.

On the 20th of October 1965 a meeting was held at Tau Henare, Pipiwai, between Māori Affairs and the whānau of Te Orewai, to discuss the amalgamation. Māori Affairs argued that lands could be farmed more efficiently under their management. In spite of this view, whānau in Pipiwai were hesitant about the development scheme, due to the loss of occupation rights which would be regulated by the Board of Māori Affairs, along with the loss of their whānau connection with the land, which would result from the proposed change. Ataiti and her siblings were major landholders in Pipiwai, who totally opposed the amalgamation of their whenua and objected to the proposal for a development scheme. Together, they pursued legal avenues and sought to have their lands excluded from the amalgamation, however Māori Affairs disregarded and overruled them (Miles, 1993; Bassett & Kay, 2006; Downs, 2014). In June of 1965 the District Officer wrote an internal memo on the proposed land development:

There are many people in Pipiwai who would be quite happy with scheme development but there are few major owners who want individual farm development. This opposition if it is maintained at the Pt. XXIV meeting, could possibly be

disregarded by the Board of Māori Affairs in general interest of the district. Another possibility would be for the Māori Trustee to buy out any interest of any objectors. (District Officer, 1965, p.1)

A court hearing was held in Whangarei on the 17th of December 1965, regarding the application for amalgamation of titles, before Judge Gillander-Scott.

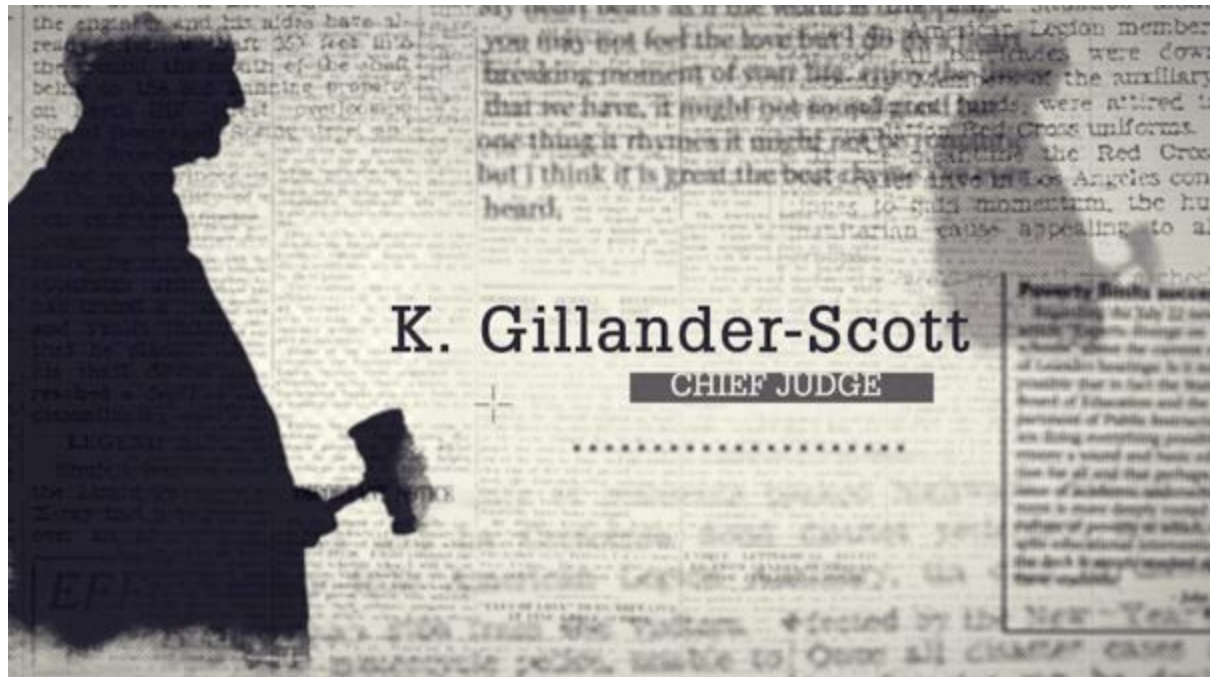


Figure 14. Chief Judge K. Gillander-Scott. Screenshot of frame from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 02:05.

At the hearing, the Department of Māori Affairs outlined its 'concerns' at the state of the development and health in Pipiwai. Māori Affairs alleged that there were unhygienic housing facilities and underdeveloped land, reporting the inadequate use of lands by Māori owners, the lack of boundaries and fences, and free-range roaming cattle. The department conveyed the impression that Pipiwai required State supervision if it was to become viable for farming (Miles, 1993; Bassett & Kay, 2006).

The Department of Māori Affairs has been in personal contact with the bulk of the owners...A number of owners have evidence in the Court opposing amalgamation...As to Mrs Ataiti Te Rehu (Hoterene) Armstrong: This lady is of middle age and suffers from a disability in the vicinity of her hip which affects her gait. She is quite clearly physically unfit to vigorously undertake farming activities and it is clear from her evidence that the only use to which she has put a portion of Kaikou X is the casual grazing of some cattle. Who is the true owner of the cattle is not clear from the evidence, but the Court is satisfied on the evidence that she has neglected to farm or otherwise manage the land with due diligence and in consequence of her neglect the

land is not being used to proper advantage. Partition out of her interest is clearly inexpedient both the public interest and the private interest, Judge K. Gillanders-Scott 1965 (Downs, 2014, p. 88).

In 1965 the Māori Land Court made an order pursuant to section 435 of the Māori Affairs Act 1953, cancelling 62 separate titles in Pipiwai and amalgamating the whenua into one title, known as Te Horo 2B2B2B (Miles, 1993). Ataiti's rights as a 'landholder or landowner' were effectively transferred to the board of Māori Affairs and in exchange she received shareholdings. Table 1 outlines Ataiti's land interest and shares amalgamated into the Te Horo block.

Block Title	Area acres	Total Shares	Ataiti's Share	Partition date
Kaikou B1	908.0.00	1200.000	.304	27 June 1917
Kaikou B8B	23.3.01	385.000	.042	28 July 1948
Kaikou C1A3	20.3/4			21 January 1947
Kaikou D 3	173.0.04	210.000	.275	23 June 1920
Kaikou X	756.26.5	7410.000	1174.254	31 July 1963
Kaikou 3 Lot 3B	50.2.10	620.000	547.767	18 May 1948
Kaikou 3 Lot 34	127.1.26	140.000	140.000	22 April 1912
Kaikou 3 Lot 36	120.1.37	160.000	160.000	22 April 1912
Kaikou 3 Lot 45				22 April 1912
Omanene 3	98.0.00	260.000	5.058	4 November 1908
Pipiwai Z	76.0.03	1220.000	29.883	29 March 1961
Pipiwai A 1				16 August 1944

Table 1. *Ataiti's Land Interest and Shares in the Te Horo Block.* Adapted from Downs, 2014, p. 43.

Māori Affairs Administration

In March 1966 the Board of Māori Affairs consented to a development scheme at Pipiwai for sheep and cattle farming, and on 23 June 1966 the Te Horo development scheme was gazetted pursuant to section 330 of the Māori Affairs Act 1953 (Miles, 1993; Bassett & Kay, 2006).



Figure 15. *Māori Affairs*. Screenshot of frame from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 02:14.

The initial development programme involved approximately 2,000 acres and the cost of developing the land to station stage, with livestock, was estimated at £187,000. Full interest payments were to be made on the development advance. The settlement objective was ten dairy and one sheep farm. The Board expected that after five years of development three or four dairy farms would be completed, with the balance of the land remaining as a single station for a longer period (Miles, 1993).

In 1996, when the Te Horo development proposal was submitted, out of the total 547 owners, 390 held shares under £25, classifying them as holding uneconomic interest. Upon amalgamation those shares were acquired by the Māori Trustee, and furthermore, the Board of Māori Affairs approved live buying in 1966. This provided the Crown with an opportunity to gain significant shareholdings in the development scheme, enabling further control of the final settlement. In total the Crown acquired 12,255.787 shares out of a total of 29,256.987, of which 4,113.820 shares were compulsorily acquired, and 8,142.967 from live buying, equating to 42% interest in Te Horo 2B2B2B (Miles, 1993; Bassett & Kay, 2006).

Once consent was granted for the development scheme, Māori Affairs staff and farmers began to move onto the whenua, removing fences and padlocking gates, in an attempt to create confusion over boundaries and whānau ownership of the whenua—effectively causing major disruptions among whānau in the valley of Pipiwai.



Figure 16. *Locked Gates.* Screenshot of frame from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 04:45.

Ataiti was outraged by the removal of fences and re-fencing of the whenua:

Such was her riri that she would get bolt cutters and cut the chains. She would call the cops and complain about the Māori Affairs and Māori Affairs would ring the police and complain that she was trespassing ... They treated her terribly. They ignored her ... They harassed her. She was a lady, and she was made to fight. This changed her character. She was victimised. Can you imagine how she would have felt wanting to go on her land? (Downs, 2014, p. 99)

By 1969, officials were reviewing the financial arrangements of the scheme and noted that the scheme would be in the hands of the Department of Affairs much longer than envisaged, due to increased costs and debt. The District Officer of Māori Affairs decided that continued farming as a station and eventual return as a trust or incorporation would be the best option, until such time that the debt had been reduced to a recoverable position.

The Māori landowners immediately began looking towards debt reduction and income generating opportunities, in order to regain control of the land as soon as possible. In 1978

Ataiti was involved in presenting a complaint to the Ombudsman regarding the Crown's management of Te Horo, stating that:

- the scheme had not been settled within 5 years as promised by Māori Affairs;
- the scheme had been mismanaged, with areas of the land reverting to scrub;
- there was financial mismanagement with a debt of \$581,000 which was not maintained;
- contracts had been given to incompetent peoples;
- a range of smaller interest and land in the block had been sold;
- boundaries were rearranged without consent;
- [complainants were] enraged by the demolition of buildings and homes without consent.

The Ombudsman's report concluded that the owners were adamant that the department did not improve their lands and that the owners would only accept the return of their land debt free (Bassett & Kay, 2006; Downs, 2014; Miles, 1993).

Walker (2016) asserts that the Te Horo Development Scheme was "an abject failure due to managerial ineptitude"—a financial assessment from the commencement of the scheme by the Director found that the scheme was a financial failure for the owners. The Crown alone has benefitted from the Scheme having the use and occupation of the land for the past 22 years, and for that time, "the landowners received not one cent in rent" (Walker, 2016). The Māori owners obtained nothing from the scheme.

In 1988, the Director of Māori Affairs recognised that the development scheme should never have been implemented, acknowledging that major shareholders opposing the amalgamations of their lands were totally disregarded by Māori Affairs, who acted in the interest of the country, rather than the best interest of the people, stating that at the time of amalgamation:

The alleged inadequacies of the people in using their land properly, the reverted and undeveloped nature of the whole Pipiwai valley, the alleged squalid and unhealthy living conditions, the non-payments of rates, the lack of finance to put up boundary fences, and the consequential lack of control of livestock – all of these factors were considered far more important than the needs of the Māori owners. The court was facing numerous demands and pressure from the County Council, Health Department, neighbouring farmers – mainly – non-Māori, and from public at large, to sort the mess out and make Pipiwai valley contribute its fair share to the welfare and economy of this county. The needs of the tangata whenua were totally ignored – and reason for

strong protest then, and right throughout the history of this departments administration.” (Director Department of Māori Affairs, 1988, p. 995)

Te Orewai Te Horo Trust

During the 1980s Māori Affairs and Māori landowners had reached an agreement that the land be returned to the Māori owners’ ‘control’. Some owners were considering moving forward with the development, away from the Department’s control, while those who opposed the amalgamation wanted their lands returned and partitioned out of any incorporation or trust, instigating a debate among the owners on how to make a trust work. At the Te Horo Annual General Meeting, Samuel Armstrong moved that the owners take over control of the scheme immediately, and the motion was seconded by John Davis (Downs, 2014). On the 8th of September, 1986, pursuant to section 438 of the Māori Affairs Act 1953, the Te Horo 2B2B2B Trust was established. The Te Horo block was released from the administration of Māori Affairs through a Gazette notice published on the 9th of June 1988, and transferred to the Te Horo 2B2B2B Trust to manage (Bassett & Kay, 2006; Miles, 1993).



Figure 17. *Te Horo 2B2B2B Trust.* Screenshot of frame from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 02:24.

The handover of the scheme from Māori Affairs can be perceived as an evasion: Māori Affairs created a mess, then walked away, leaving the trust with debt and without necessary capability and resources. The land and share deals arranged by Māori Affairs during the

amalgamation made it difficult to simply de-partition and return the land to the original owners, while the Crown had come to acquire significant shares in the block. Establishing a system for the division of Crown shares has proved highly problematic. The Te Horo 2B2B2B Trust simply inherited all these issues from Māori Affairs (Downs, 2014).

To date, the Trust has managed the Te Horo Block. However, numerous serious complaints of mismanagement have been levied against the Trust, while historical frictions experienced by whānau continue to distort relationships, attitudes and views towards the whenua and Trust (Miles, 1993; Downs, 2014).



Figure 18. *Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*. Screenshot of frame from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 03:14.

Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene Armstrong, along with her son Samuel Armstrong, died fighting the injustices enforced upon their whānau. Samuel Armstrong continued seeking the partition of Ataiti's whenua through the Te Horo Trust. This has become an intergenerational injustice that continues to perpetuate and violate their rights of tangata whenua and rangatiratanga. As the whānau attempt to reconcile their whenua, they have formed the Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene Armstrong Trust, to work together to identify how they can remove their whenua from the amalgamated lands. Their goal is to work collectively to partition their lands so that they can have greater autonomy and control over their whenua, to re-establish links and relationships for future generations.

Waitangi Tribunal Claim - Wai 1527

On the 28th of August 2008, Lavona Hogan, daughter of Ataiti, filed the Wai 1527 claim, a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal for Ataiti Te Rehu (Hoterene) Armstrong and Descendants, primarily concerning the Crown's amalgamation and appropriation of land for the Te Horo Development Scheme. The foundation of the claim is the loss of tino rangatiratanga over the whenua, along with the social, cultural and economic prosperity of Ataiti and her whānau. Ataiti's rights as an owner to live on and manage her lands were completely diminished, taken away and transferred to Māori Affairs, who gained all rights of ownership and control of her lands. In return, she was only given a shareholding in the new Te Horo Block.



Figure 19. *Morning of the Tribunal Hearing.* Screenshot from Screenshot of frame from *He Kōrero Tuku Iho Mō Ōku Mokopuna: Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene*, 03:36. On the morning of the hearing, mokopuna Hohaia and Garry put up boards raising awareness and highlighting of the injustices of the Crown.

Contemporary Māori Land Ownership

As Tawhiri Morehu summarises,

Māori land, it can make or break you. It can divide families and unite subtribes, when we inherit land, sometimes we inherit debt, sometimes we inherit feuds, but it is our birth rights, lest we forget, people will perish but the land remains forever.
(wakahuiatvnz, 2016, 0:08)

Contemporary Māori land continues to be stifled by ongoing legislation enforced by the government. Today all Māori land is defined and governed by Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993, and is administered by a variety of Māori land trusts and the Māori Land Court.

The contemporary system of Māori landownership and management creates psychological perceptions of hierarchical supremacy, a notion substantively different from tikanga Māori, which reinforces a duty and obligation to maintain relationships to the land (Dell, 2017). In particular, the introduction of shareholdings has severely compromised the quality of relationship between Māori and the whenua.

Contemporary Māori land legislation retains remnants of colonial ideologies and continues to inhibit Māori tino rangatiratanga. Dell's study exposes Māori land ownership as problematic due to the legislative constraints which encumber Māori landowners. She argues that Māori land trusts are fraught with legislative constraints and multiple levels of complexity, which hinder the progress and development of Māori land trusts. She describes contemporary Māori land ownership as a battlefield, a combat zone for 'landowners' and 'stakeholders' (Dell, 2017).

Dell highlights that these types of systemic structures often bring about negative emotions such as *whakamā* (shame), *mataku* (fear), *mamae* (grief), *riri* (anger) and *pūhaehae* (envy). A research participant provides an example of the challenges that are experienced by whānau within these structures:

It's very hard to work around a history of whānau politics or dynamics, it not like we have a blank piece of paper when we set up a trust. A lot of trustees and whānau themselves, bring a lot of that past and history to the boardroom or the kitchen table, that can have a negative effect on how the trust operates and how things can be done. If there is history in the past you go into the room already with a degree of mistrust (Dell, 2017, p. 176).

Dell (2017) proposes that the constant tensions that are experienced at these junctures are a matter of urgency, which, if not dealt with, will continue to obstruct and infiltrate effective governance and hinder the vision for the future of Māori land trusts.

A reoccurring theme emerging from the research by Dell (2017) is the sense of loss and hopelessness, which manifests as trauma. Duran and Duran (1995) describe trauma as dysfunctional behaviours which enlighten the environment of, and are passed on to, successive generations.

Due to the arduous historical events and frictions of the past experienced by Māori, it is essential that Māori land 'owners', whānau and trusts critically examine and reflect more fully on the context in which they operate. What is required is a robust interrogation of colonisation within trust structures and operations, both in its current form and past experiences. Creating a decolonising agenda will assist to highlight forms of oppression and lived trauma that have taken place for whānau.

A decolonisation project (Smith, 1999) will assist to emancipate the constructs of lived trauma and will be anchored in tikanga Māori as a shield against Western framing that distorts whānau and whenua relationships.

Chapter 5: Research Design and Methodology

The research paradigms that inform and guide this research are grounded in Kaupapa Māori and Heuristic Inquiry. Fortunately, Kaupapa Māori intersects with Heuristic Inquiry in such a way that both approaches are mutually compatible while retaining their distinctive differences. Kaupapa Māori and Heuristic Inquiry are used within this study to form a collaborative methodological approach.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Kaupapa Māori research draws upon Māori epistemology and tikanga Māori principles to guide culturally appropriate research processes and practices. At its core it is the philosophy and practice of conducting research in process that is culturally appropriate, robust and informed by cultural values, practices and beliefs (Henry & Pene, 2001; Smith, 2012). Kaupapa Māori exists to benefit and advantage Māori through reflecting a Māori world-view (Bishop, 1999). Smith (2012) argues that Māori “have a different epistemological tradition that frames the way we see the world, the way we organize ourselves in it, the questions we ask, and the solutions we seek” (p. 230).

Kaupapa Māori theory has been devised to ensure that Māori knowledge, language and research is conducted by, for, with and alongside Māori to allow for transformative outcomes that benefit Māori (Eketone, 2008). Kiro (2000) asserts that Kaupapa Māori theory acts as a politicising agent for conscientisation and emancipation.

Kaupapa Māori theory was designed for the empowerment of Māori while affirming the right to be Māori and constructing critique societal structures that deconstruct western hegemonies which have disempowered Māori from controlling and defining their own knowledge within the context of unequal power relations in New Zealand. (Bishop, 1996, p. 13)

Mahuika (2008) affirms that Kaupapa Māori theory has aspects of critical theory, in that it seeks to invoke ambitions of empowerment, liberation and emancipation for Māori. Critical theory provides a cultural template and a philosophy that asserts that the theoretical framework being employed is culturally defined, determined and safe (Smith, 2012). Graham (2005) argues that a Kaupapa Māori methodology

legitimizes Māori epistemology; is at the heart of Māori ways of knowing and knowledge; can establish a framework in which information can be structured in a

logical and rational manner; provides the basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things; and is a means and a way of acquiring new knowledge, it is the all-important link between the past, present and future.” (p. 89)

Heuristic Inquiry

Heuristic inquiry is a demanding process that requires the researcher to engage in a disciplined pursuit of fundamental meanings connected to human experiences. It requires a rigorous commitment and robust self-searching and self-reflection. Moustakas (1990) contends that heuristic inquiry is;

a process that begins with a question or problem which the researcher seeks to illuminate or answer: The question is one that has been a personal challenge and puzzlement. The search to understand one’s self and the world in which one lives. The heuristic process is autobiographic, yet with virtually every question that matters personally there is also a social—and perhaps universal—significant. (p. 15)

In its essence it is a research methodology designed for the exploration and interpretation of experiences (Kenny, 2012; Hiles, 2001). This approach relies on the personal and is an appropriate research methodology for this exegesis, as it facilitates a process of self-reflection and deep exploration of the topic, relationship and history of my kuia’s (great-grandmother’s) land.

Heuristic methodology endeavours to discover the nature and meaning of phenomena through self-search and internal exploration. This methodology encourages the researcher to pursue the creative journey that begins inside one’s being and ultimately uncovers its direction and meaning through internal discovery (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985). The methodology resonates with Kaupapa Māori, as Grace (1995) explains, noting that “the Māori was a mystic. He was at home in the realms of abstract thought, of symbol and interpretation, of imaginative insight and of spiritual significance. He was acutely aware of a spiritual process underlying the material world” (p. 388).

Methods

The methods that are utilised within this exegesis are drawn from Kaupapa Māori and Heuristic Inquiry. Tikanga Māori informs and engages every aspect of this methodology, guiding culturally appropriate research methods that encapsulate both Kaupapa Māori and Heuristic Inquiry methods.

Kaupapa Māori methods

Karakia was chosen as a research method as it invokes spiritual guidance and protection (Barlow, 1991). According to Rewi (2010) “*Karakia* acts as intermediary between the spiritual world and the temporal world” (pp. 138-139). *Karakia* enables one to carry out research in union and accordance with *tūpuna* (ancestors) (Rewi, 2010), as *karakia* establishes a bond between the person praying and the spiritual dimension (Barlow, 1991). The use of *karakia* throughout this project has been essential for me and has always provided a deeper spiritual connection to my work and my *tūpuna*. *Karakia* functions as the conduit between the source of knowledge and protection needed to guide and safeguard myself in the pursuit of crafting the artefact (documentary) and excavating the true narrative. I would always begin my work with *karakia*, seeking guidance from my *tūpuna*, and always be alert and attuned to the sacred task and work I was engaging in. *Karakia* gave me a sense of calm when the topic became complex and clarity when delving into readings or archives. I always completed my work with the same ritual-ending with *karakia* to bring closure to the work I was doing.

Kohinga kōrero is best articulated as the method used to gather information from a range of data sources. *Kohinga kōrero* was informed by the accumulation of *whānau* archives, *whakapapa*, letters, *whakataukī*, *waiata*, Māori Land Court documents and WAI 1527 Waitangi Tribunal research. The *kohinga kōrero* method has been pivotal in understanding the true narrative that occurred when the *whenua* was amalgamated for the development scheme. I could not rely on the Crown documents, as they often misconstrued and twisted the truth to fit their own agenda.

Whakaraupeka whakāro is another method that I selected, which can be literally translated as ‘turning over your thoughts’, both spiritually and mentally (R. Makiha, personal communication, May 22, 2017). This method can be explained as a deep reflective process, which is organic rather than deconstructive, allowing for knowledge to be guided, explored and reflected upon by the *wairua*, in order to gain a deeper and more precise understanding. Within the context of this research and in the production of the artefact, *whakaraupeka whakaaro* and *wairua* were embodied and employed as a means of constant reflection and review, pondering interpretations and perspectives.

This method consisted of random thoughts which revealed themselves to me at different times of the day, not in any particular sequence. Sometimes this would occur when I was able to reflect in quiet spaces, other times it would occur when I would watch a video or read a personal document. This would cause me to be moved, both spiritually and mentally.

Sometimes whakaraupēka whakāro would come to me in a deep thought, all at once, and sometimes I was given pieces of information that would fill in or be a part of the full story. It was as though a puzzle was being constructed. As each piece of the puzzle was revealed, it gave me a greater sense of clarity about the research. Often, I would look to my wall, where I would be reminded of the research (see Figure 20).

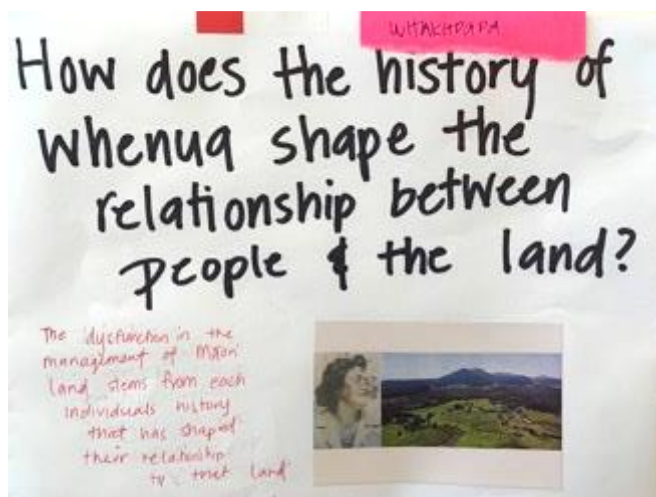


Figure 20. Image of Research Question Hanging on My Wall.

This would cause me to think about the whenua, my kuia and papa, and wonder what it was that they truly wanted me to pursue in this research. Numerous times this image, placed on my wall, would remind me to think more deeply of the messages that they wanted me to convey. Over the period of this research, I became aware that every time I stared at the image my deepest thoughts would spring to the front of my mind, with clarity like no other.

Heuristic Inquiry methods

Immersion in materials is very much a heuristic method. It involves immersing and surrounding oneself with relevant materials, images, ideas, thoughts and research, which evolve to construct a model of engagement with the research topic and assist the researcher in finding connections and patterns to pursue in the research (Candy, 2006). It engages the researcher in a "spontaneous self-dialogue and self-searching, pursuing intuitive clues and

hunches and drawing from the mystery and sources of energy and knowledge within the tacit dimension” (Moustakas, 1990, p. 28).



Figure 21. Image of Whānau Archives and Research Material Covering the Floor in My House.

The further into the research and construction of the true narrative I travelled, the more I was immersed in the research, and my environment reflected this. My *whare* (house) was covered in images, hunches, notes and questions about the history of the whenua.

Explication requires a comprehensive examination of what has been awakened in consciousness (Hiles, 2001). Moustakas (1990) contends that it requires the organization and robust depiction of the core themes. It involves examining what has arisen in the research and the journey, leading one to understand what meaning it might hold. “In explication, the complete picture of the phenomenon begins forming ... and a comprehensive of picture of the phenomenon is painted” (Djuraskovic & Arthur, 2010, p. 1578).

In trying to bring a greater understanding to this complex topic and how it applies to me, I constructed a wall of sticky notes with timelines to bring a sense of clarity to the chaos of the land’s alienation and constant mismanagement, as well as the history and experiences of Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene and her whānau (see Figure 22). The timeline has assisted me to convey key messages within the documentary.



Figure 22. *Explication.*

It was through this method that I came to understand that the dysfunction in the management of Māori land stems from each individual's history, which has shaped their relationship with that land. The research topic and question became very clear and I had truly come to understand how the history of whenua shapes the relationship between people and the land, at an individual, whānau, trust and hapū level.

Creative synthesis: The documentary

The final phase of heuristics is the creative synthesis. It represents the final integration of the research and themes discovered through explication (Moustakas, 1990). In applying this method, I was able to synthesise the stories I found throughout this journey, and craft a completed documentary from them. The creative synthesis is presented in a documentary that provides an opportunity to examine the lived reality of whānau, and the implications of land amalgamations and development schemes. The documentary is assembled into four themes:

Whakapapa me te hononga ki te ūkaipō – Identity and connection to the land

Ko Hikurangi, Motatau, Manukorihi nga maunga tapu o Te Orewai
Ko Hikurangi te awa
Ko Manawatapu te kainga
Ko Tau Henare te whare tūpuna
Ko Te Orewai te hapū
Ko Ngāti Hine te iwi

*Ki ngā whenua tāngaengae, ki ngā huarahi i takahia e au,
Ko Pipiwai te ūkaipo, te kaipupuri i taku manawa,
te wāhi kotahi o te ao i tangata whenua ai ahau. He āhuru mōwai,
he whenua i tū whakahīhi ai aku mātua tūpuna,
Koinei taku hononga ki te whenua, te taura here i a au ki taku tuakiri,
Koinei te wāhi i wātea ai ahau.*

1. Ngā hara me ngā tukinotanga o te karauna – Colonisation and legislation

I Judge Gliander-Scott, declare on the 17th December 1965, that under Section 435 of the Māori Affairs Act 1953, the following blocks will be held in common ownership under one title, under the management of the crown.

- Amalgamated Land Blocks Montage

Well she is quiet clearly physically unfit to vigorously undertake farming activities. Therefore, all lands are all to be amalgamated.

Ko wai koe! Ki te raupatu i aku whenua, ki te tohutohu mai i tāku anō whakahaere i aua whenua rā. Nōku te whenua.

Whakarongo mai, e te karauna. Kia areare mai rā ngā taringa, he uri ahau nō te whenua, kia tūpato, koinei tōku whenua, koinei tōku ahi kā.

2. Ko te mamae me te pouritanga o te whānau – Impact on the family

I huri tō mātou ao i te taenga mai o te karauna, o ngāi kiritea. Ko te ao i mōhio ai mātou, e kore e hokia. Tuakoka ana ko te iwi ki muri, kāore he kāinga hei whāngai i te whānau, he taupā kua tū, he puehu kua pupū ake i waenga whānau. Raupatu tangata, raupatu whenua taurikura, ka whakapōhara noa ai e.

Ē, kī atu au ki toku mama, “E Mā, whakamutua atu, ka nui tēnā.” Ānō nei ko ōna whenua rā i noho ki te mātārae o ōna whakaaro i te ao, i te pō, ā mate noa.

Ko te karauna i takahi i tona mana. Ko ia tētahi wahine mana nui, wahine taikaha, wahine Māori hoki. Ko te taura o tōna aroha ki ōna whenua, e kore e motukia!

3. Te ao hurhuri – Envisioning the future

Mokopuna mā, hokia tō whenua, he whenua houkura, he whenua tupu, he whenua tawhito. Whakarenarenahia te taukaea o te matemateāone, mā konā hoki e mauru ake ai te mamae, ka roa e hae nei i te tau o te ate.

These themes allow for the story to be told and emerge from the events that took place in the life of Ataiti Te Rehu Hoterene. The documentary encapsulates the complexities that were constantly evolving. The compilation of dialogue is a re-enactment of Ataiti's experiences and the trauma that she endured over her lifetime. The narration and soundtrack that are used in

the documentary are a deliberate attempt to create a connectedness to the topic, and have been carefully chosen to provide an intimate resonance with the events that took place. The images and collages depicted in the visual presentation allow for the documentary to come to life, and draw the audience into a shifting emotional narrative.

The documentary in its final construction is a powerful mechanism to retell the lived experiences of Ataiti and to convey her legacy to her mokopuna. The documentary foregrounds the importance of her identity through highlighting her ūkaipō and her mana as a wahine.

It uses te reo Māori as a counter narrative to the destructive forces of colonisation. More importantly it is about privileging the voice of Ataiti, who was continuously silenced and entrapped by a colonised reality. Te reo restores the power that was taken from her and is an attempt to challenge the imbalances that were created through perpetuated colonial impositions. After completing this research exegesis, I have come to know my tūpuna intimately and understand her legacy, as she has long desired for her mokopuna.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

As I grew up, I never really understood who my great grandmother was, or her legacy. This research has given me the opportunity to delve deeper into her life story and to better understand the complexities associated with whenua Māori and the imposed legislation of the Crown. In navigating this journey, I have learnt much about myself, increasing my consciousness concerning colonisation, its impact on me and on my whānau. I have become attuned to negating behaviours, the intergenerational trauma, and can now call it out for what it is, rather than continuing to lay that blame at the feet of my whānau who are entrapped in this colonised reality.

The purpose of the study was to investigate how the history of the whenua shapes the relationship between people and the land. The literature discussed within this exegesis clearly indicates that colonisation has been the foremost destructive mechanism to sever the relationships between people and the whenua. My own observed and lived experiences, and those of my whānau, are a constant reminder of the impact of colonisation and its ability to play itself out across generations.

For so long we did not talk about what happened to our mother, because it was too emotionally painful ... we want to be able to communicate what we feel, but each time we come forward it is very emotional and trying for us. Unless you live through it you won't know how we feel. We are not trying to harbour emotions, but you can understand that the hurt and experiences have not been easy to carry. As a whole we have all gone through it and each one has been affected in a different way. We are trying to portray the feeling we had, we were children at the time. We are now adults and we think differently. We are still crying and what for? Because the hurt has been there all that time. It is quite a burden to carry. (Downs, 2014, pp. 146–147)

This research will bring a conscientisation that will be helpful for whānau who are experiencing similar challenges with whenua Māori and the imposition of amalgamations and land developments schemes across Aotearoa, New Zealand. There is a recorded history of these Crown impositions that run the breadth of this country, and therefore this research will assist whānau to arrive at their own realisation of the journey they have undertaken. Knowing and learning that they are not alone in this chaotic journey will bring a greater understanding to their experiences and a sense of clarity in relation to these oppressive colonial structures.

Creating this documentary has brought a greater consciousness to myself about the impact of colonisation. This exegesis tells a story of what really happened and will create a new narrative that seeks to empower our whānau to envision a brighter future. This will not be an easy task to complete, but if there is to be any hope for our future and the aspirations of our tūpuna, we have to keep pushing forward with continued perseverance to have our whenua returned. The documentary as a completed form is a powerful instrument to envision and restore the life works of our tūpuna and will assist in the decolonisation of my whānau.

My papa was consumed with having the whenua returned. He died on his turangawaewae, he fought his whole life alongside his Mum in reclaiming what was always their whenua. My papa and great-grandmother have both passed and will be pleased with the efforts of their mokopuna to continue the work to have their whenua restored to their ownership. The exegesis will reignite a trajectory to create opportunities for their mokopuna to return to their tūrangawaewae and ūkaipō.

Hokia ki to whenua - he taonga tuku iho
Return to your lands, the legacy of your ancestors

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