

Hei Poai Pakeha koutou i muri nei. You shall be Pakeha boys.

The impact of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* on Ngati Hine resistance
to the Crown in the Treaty claims, mandate and settlement processes.

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Na taua tenei mahi Mama.

TE TANGI O KAWITI, 1846

E te whanau, i tu au ki te riri ki te atua o te po, a, kahore au i mate.
Na reira, i tenei ra takahia te kino ki raro i o koutou waewae.
Kei takahia e koutou nga papapounamu a koutou tupuna e takoto nei i te moana.
Tirohia atu nga tuatea o te moana.
Hei poai pakeha koutou i muri nei.
Kia mau kite whakapono.
Waiho mate kakati o te namu ki te wharangi o te pukapuka, ka tahuri atu ai.
Whai hoki, te tangata nana i tatai te kupenga, waiho mana ano a tuku, mana ano e kume.

My beloved people. I have stood before the God of Darkness, and I was not destroyed.
Therefore, from this day, trample hatred under your feet.
Do not dishonour your ancestors' peace memorials in greenstone that lie on many seas.
Observe the white objects of the ocean.
You shall be pakeha boys.
Be firm to retain religion, turning only when the sandfly bites upon the page of the book.
Also, whosoever weaves a net let him set it himself, and let him draw it in himself.
(Kawiti, 1956, p.46)¹

¹ There are whanau and hapu variations of some words and sentences of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*.

HE MIHI

Taupiri te maunga, ka titiro ki Motatau.

Waikato te awa ka tere ko Taikirau, rere atu ki Taumarere herehere i te riri.

Tainui, Waikato, Maniapoto nga iwi, ka here ki nga hapu kia

Ngati Te Tarawa me Ngati Hine ara kia Ngapuhi nui tonu.

Ko Wahi Pa, ko Korapatu nga marae, peka atu ki Te Rapunga me Motatau nga marae.

Ka tangi te ngakau tangata ka hotu manawa.

Ka puta ko te reo aroha a o tatou matua tupuna.

Moe mai e oku matua tupuna a Poai Pakeha Rata Tipene raua ko

Noema Kuti Peita Tipene i to kourua moengaroa.

Haere atu ra Tuhaka Jakeman raua ko Te Waa Moana Te Kanawa Jakeman, haere, okioki atu.

Moe mai ra toku mama i to moengaroa a Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, haere, okioki atu.

A ka huri atu ki toku papa a Tutu Noel Jakeman, tena koe toku papa.

Ko ahau te uri e mihi atu nei.

Ko Amadonna ahau.

Tena koe, ara tena koutou katoa.

TUHINGA WHAKARAPOOTO

Abstract

Ngati Hine, the descendants of Hineamaru and Koperu, is one of over a hundred hapu (people, subtribes) that make up the federation of hapu within Ngapuhi nui tonu, the largest tribe of Maori tangata whenua (people of the land) in Nu Tireni, Aotearoa, New Zealand. For decades, Ngati Hine have engaged in the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement processes with the Waitangi Tribunal and the Office of Treaty Settlements (OTS), concerning alleged Crown breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840. This thesis articulates different tensions and tolerances that Ngati Hine navigates with the Crown. The research is driven by the key question: How does *Te Tangi o Kawiti* impact Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown in the Treaty Settlement process?

This research investigates how Te Ruki Kawiti's 1846 ohaki (final speech, lament or prophesy), *Te Tangi o Kawiti* still impacts Ngati Hine resistance activities and contemporary engagement with the Crown in the Treaty claims, mandate and settlement processes. The research considers the minimising of Maori knowledge, epistemology and history through colonisation, examining how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* survived in tribal purakau (Maori narratives) and korero tuku iho (oral traditions).

A kaupapa Maori paradigm, hermeneutics and a qualitative research methodology are combined and the purakau of seven members of Ngati Hine are analysed. The findings reveal te reo Maori (Maori language), tikanga (customs, principles and protocols) and whakapapa (genealogy) nurtured by Ngati Hine have ensured the survival of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*. This is despite continued relentless assimilation and colonisation through the Crown and New Zealand government processes that distract from the issues of New Zealand's constitution, sovereignty, rangatiratanga, kawanatanga, law and power structures.

One of the important contributions of this thesis is the combination of western traditional models of literature with an indigenous understanding of what constitutes literature, often oral, but can take other forms such as place names, people's names, carvings, songs and historic artefacts. What

becomes evident through weaving those two forms of literature together is that both are equally valid but when combined they produce a transcultural body of literature that encompasses both worlds and enhances our understandings.

The signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 and the battle of Ruapekapeka in 1845 are significant events to *Te Tangi o Kawiti*. There is reference to the Treaty and Tiriti in *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and the battle of Ruapekapeka was the last Kawiti fought and won against the Crown. The battle symbolises Ngati Hine's assertion of mana, rangatiratanga (sovereignty, authority, autonomy), freedom and rejection of colonial rule. While *Te Tangi o Kawiti* rejects colonial rule, affirms Ngati Hine rangatiratanga and challenges the Crown and New Zealand government's actions, paradoxically it is critical in the maintenance of peace and binds the Crown and Ngati Hine together in a Tiriti relationship. This thesis hinges on different tensions and tolerances and discloses an ongoing tension and a mutual sense of resistance between the Crown and Ngati Hine.

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ATTESTATION

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.

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o Ngapuhi nui tonu, ngai Maori tangata whenua, tena koutou katoa.

Thank you to my aunties and uncles and all my cousins and friends who helped awhi me throughout my studies in many ways. Thank you to my bud for your messages of encouragement to keep going when I felt like giving up. Thank you to all my siblings, nieces and nephews for your encouragement and support. Thank you to my beautiful, patient and loving tamariki. I am blessed to have you all in my life. E kore mutu waku mihi atu kia koutou katoa.

This mahi does not attempt to resolve all the raruraru and mamae our people have endured for so long. I hope that after we see the pain and feel the realities of where our people are today that we may find peace, first within ourselves and then to share that peace for the love of humanity.

Mauri ora ki te whai ao, ki te ao marama.

TIMATANGA

Chapter 1 - Introduction

This research is driven by the key research question, which is how does *Te Tangi o Kawiti*² impact Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown in the Treaty Settlement process? This chapter provides an overview and outline of the thesis and summarises how the hypothesis of the study is tested. It includes a positioning of the research and the researcher, some details on the terminology, the research settings with some context, the research participants and an overview of the methodological approaches and theoretical underpinnings. It concludes with a brief outline to the remainder of the chapters and contents.

1.1 Te Rangahau/Positioning the Research

The thesis investigates how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* (1846) impacts Ngati Hine resistance activities against contemporary engagement with the Crown, particularly in relation to the Treaty claims, mandating and settlement processes in New Zealand. It aims to provide some insight over time since 1846 when *Te Tangi o Kawiti* was first uttered, into how Ngati Hine have engaged with the Crown in response to major Crown pressures to reach a Treaty Settlement for Ngapuhi. Factors considered in this thesis are how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* survived in purakau (Maori narratives) and korero tuku iho (oral traditions), the impact of colonisation on Ngati Hine and how Ngati Hine is influenced by *Te Tangi o Kawiti* today.

To give some context, for decades Ngati Hine have engaged with the Treaty claims, hearing and inquiry processes before the Waitangi Tribunal. Ngati Hine have been actively involved as part of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry (Wai 1040)³ and as part of collective hapu of Ngapuhi in Te Tai Tokerau, the northern part of the North Island. The Waitangi Tribunal is a commission of inquiry

² Kawiti's ohaki (final speech) spoken in 1846 at Pukepoto, Pehiaweri (see page two of this thesis).

³ Te Paparahi o Te Raki (Northland) inquiry (Wai 1040) currently has over 300 claims before the Waitangi Tribunal by hapu from across Ngapuhi, Ngati Wai, Hokianga, Ngati Hine, Ngati Manu, Te Kapotai, Ngati Hau, Whangarei, Patuharakeke, Whangaroa and many others.

established following the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and significant social unrest and protest from Maori. The tribunal is known in te reo Maori (Maori language) as Te Roopu Whakamana i Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Translated this suggests the tribunal upholds the integrity of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, arguably it can be seen to have been established at the time to defuse and pacify Maori (Moon, 2004). Te Tiriti o Waitangi of 1840 is considered the founding document of New Zealand. However, there are two versions. In English, the Treaty of Waitangi and in Maori, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and their meanings differ (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). The rangatira (chiefs) of Ngati Hine signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Following a hearing, the Waitangi Tribunal make recommendations, not necessarily binding, on claims by Maori relating to alleged Crown breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The Waitangi Tribunal falls under the Ministry of Justice, Special Jurisdictions and the New Zealand government (Ministry of Justice, 2017). The New Zealand government acts under the monarch of Queen Elizabeth II whose representative is the Governor General and principles of parliamentary sovereignty. Ngati Hine and other hapu have utilised the Waitangi Tribunal as a vehicle and platform to have their grievances against the Crown inquired into. Grievances that have largely been ignored since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. The claims and grievances against the Crown are extensive, and include legislation imposed on Maori, land, sea, language, culture, governance and sovereignty/rangatiratanga (Adair, 2016; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 2015).

In 2010 the Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry (Wai 1040) and hearings with the Waitangi Tribunal begun for Stage One inquiry on He Whakaputanga⁴ me te Tiriti (The Declaration and the Treaty), where Ngapuhi claims and historical grievances were being presented to the tribunal (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). In 2011, a settlement under the Maori Fisheries Act 2004 saw Te Runanga a iwi o Ngapuhi (TRAION) receive over \$66 million in Maori fisheries assets on behalf of the tribe of

⁴ In 1835, five years before the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Henry Williams and William Colenso drafted He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni. A proclamation where the chiefs declared their sovereignty and as rulers of Nu Tireni, New Zealand. He Whakaputanga was sent to King William IV and recognised by Britain (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014).

Ngapuhi. TRAION is a charitable trust, based in Kaikohekohe and was established in 1989 under the Charitable Trusts Act 1957 (Te Runanga a iwi o Ngapuhi, 2019). Ngati Hine has whakapapa (genealogy) links into Ngapuhi⁵. While TRAION received a Crown settlement of fisheries, negotiations for settlement of historical grievances and other claims with Ngapuhi were not underway at that time. Many members of Ngati Hine disputed TRAION as the charitable trust representing them as part of Ngapuhi in any settlement or negotiations with the Crown. The concerns included settlement, who was to represent Ngapuhi as a Crown mandated body and the Crown's role in the selection and mandating process (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 2015).

On Valentine's Day in February 2014, the Crown through the Office of Treaty Settlements (OTS) gave a conditional mandate to Tuhoronuku Independent Mandate Authority (TIMA). TIMA was an arm of TRAION and received a conditional mandate from the Minister of Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations to begin negotiating a Treaty Settlement. Ngati Hine and other hapu vehemently opposed and revealed several issues around the Treaty mandating process, the role of the Crown and the Treaty Settlement process overall (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015).

In November 2014, the hapu of Ngapuhi as part of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry (Wai 1040) received findings. The findings from the Waitangi Tribunal were part of the Stage One inquiry on He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti (The Declaration and the Treaty) that stated, "in February 1840 the rangatira who signed te Tiriti did not cede their sovereignty" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, p.xxii). That tribunal finding affirmed the stance of Ngati Hine and hapu in the Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry.

While the Treaty mandating process appeared to provide opportunities to recognise a body (namely TIMA) to begin negotiations for settlement and redress of Crown breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, it did not address fundamental issues of how the mandated body was selected or issues of sovereignty, rangatiratanga, kawanatanga and highlighted the process was largely Crown constructed (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). The process also had little regard to hapu like Ngati Hine

⁵ Ngati Hine's whakapapa and links into Ngapuhi is detailed further in section 1.4 of this chapter.

who did not recognise TRAION or Tuhoronuku (TIMA) as their mandated authority to negotiate their grievances with the Crown.

Te Tangi o Kawiti has been a guiding reference for Ngati Hine as they navigated contemporary engagement with the Crown to have their claims and historical grievances heard. As Ngati Hine moves through understanding the impact of the grievances, to a place of liberty, assertion and restoration, *Te Tangi o Kawiti* continues to guide the people. This thesis positions itself as a steppingstone to broader issues and context in relation to power, control, kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and sharing in Nu Tireni, Aotearoa, New Zealand. This thesis does not merely analyse the place of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, but it embraces narratives and on the surface appears as resistance but at the core of this research is the need to be heard; a story of two peoples, a story of a relationship.

1.2 Te Kairangahau/Positioning the Researcher

Knowledge about Ngati Hine whakapapa comes with a responsibility to safeguard and protect the mauri (life essence) and integrity of the whakapapa (Iwi Puihi Tipene, personal communication, August 8, 2014). Whakapapa can be considered tapu (sacred) at times and not to be shared lightly for fear of exploitation and abuse (Smith, 2012). I am acutely aware of my responsibility and accountability to my whanau (family), nga uri whakaheke (future descendants), my tupuna (ancestors) and those who have passed on and of the implications faced by sharing my whakapapa in this research. While I am reluctant to disclose who I am, as my upbringing was to contain this information and to let others find out in their own way understanding my whakapapa and background is necessary in understanding my position as the researcher.

I am from Ngati Hine. My father Tutu Noel Pakihi Jakeman is from Waikato, Tainui, Ngati Maniapoto and Ngati Te Ata. My mother Mihiwira Maria Jakeman (nee Tipene) is from Ngati Te Tarawa, Ngati Hine and Ngapuhi nui tonu. I was raised primarily with my mother's whanau. My mother's father is Poai Pakeha Rata Tipene. Who was named by Te Riri Maihi Kawiti. My grandfather's name comes directly from *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and features in the title of this thesis. Poai Pakeha according to korero tuku iho translates to 'Pakeha boy' and implies that our people

will become like Pakeha boys. The meaning is multi-faceted⁶ and implores our people to hold fast to the ways and traditions of our forebears, to never forget our genetic make up and ngakau nui (compassion) even though we may become like Pakeha and to uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, personal communication, October 28, 2016). As a child I was raised largely with my grandmother Noema in Ngati Hine and Ngati Te Tarawa. Noema married my grandfather Poai Pakeha. On both the paternal and maternal sides of my mother's whakapapa I am a descendant of Hineamaru and Kawiti amongst other tupuna.



Figure 1. Poai Pakeha Rata Tipene (Adair, 2016, p10). Figure 2. Noema Kuti Peita Tipene (Adair, 2016, p.4)

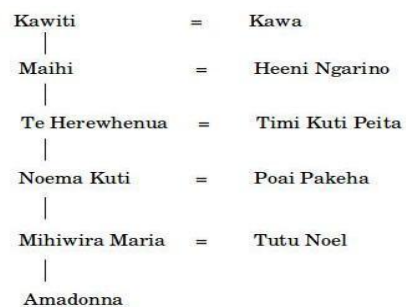
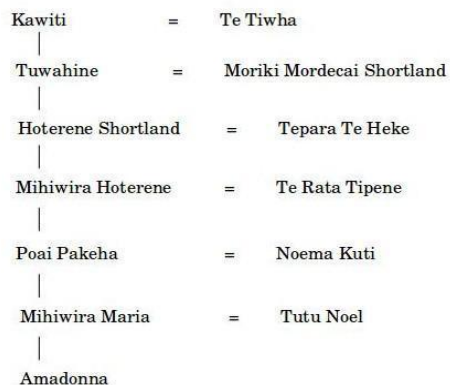


Figure 3. Connection to Kawiti from Poi Pakeha. Figure 4. Connection to Kawiti from Noema Kuti.

⁶ There are some whanau variations to the meaning of Poi Pakeha and other words from *Te Tangi o Kawiti*.

In 2005 and 2006 I was the communications advisor for the Waitangi Tribunal. For more than ten years I have attended and have been involved in Waitangi Tribunal judicial conferences and hearings particularly concerning Ngati Hine. In 2016, I provided a brief of evidence (Adair, 2016) in support of Ngati Hine's Te Tiriti o Waitangi claims against the Crown. The brief concerned the impact of colonisation on our whanau, the wellbeing, tino rangatiratanga, kawanatanga, autonomy, political engagement between Ngati Hine and the Crown, socio economic issues and issues around te reo (language), taonga (treasures) and tikanga (customs).

I could therefore be considered part of a process that sets a tone of research that is for, by and with Maori. I am an 'insider researcher' (Cram, 1997, pp.8-9). As a postgraduate student in a tertiary institution I may also be considered an 'outsider', as education institutions can represent and perpetuate Crown interests and continued oppression through the education system imposed on our people. I support the use of purakau (Maori narratives) and korero tuku iho (traditional methods of oral transmission) and kaupapa Maori based research. In many ways I take a position Smith (2012) describes in traditional indigenous knowledge where an "activist's work and research come together" (p.224).

1.3 Nga Kupu/Terminology

To navigate this thesis some background information particularly around terminology seems necessary. It is important to note that Maori terms come with a Maori worldview, whakapapa, epistemology, ontology and axiology. As such while this thesis is generally written in English, the methodology is entrenched in kaupapa Maori (Cooper, 2012, Lee, 2009, Mahuika, 2008; Milne, 2009; Pihama, 2010; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2012). The use of Maori terms throughout the thesis is reflective of this approach. Maori epistemology or ways of knowing as part of kaupapa Maori is taken for granted in this thesis, in the same way that science or English terms are taken for granted as a universal position (Cooper, 2012).

Throughout the thesis Maori words are used, at times with no English translation. Macron for Maori terms are not used in this thesis where an accentuation is required. It is hoped the context surrounding the word will suffice and also demonstrates a tension of spoken Maori with written Maori. This highlights the importance of the reader to have some prior understanding of the Maori

language to comprehend aspects in this thesis in the same way there is an expectation of understanding the English language to read this thesis.

Where a Maori term is used with an English translation, the English translation does not necessarily equate to a full and final translation of the Maori term. An example is seen in the translation, understanding and meanings of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Treaty of Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). The word ‘Maori’ has been associated with the word normal and as a term to distinguish an ethnic group after initial contact with early settlers or Pakeha (O’Regan, 1997). ‘Maori’ is used throughout this thesis. In this thesis ‘Pakeha’ is used for those early settlers and their descendants and other British, European and tauiwi people who have since lived amongst Maori. The term native is not used in this thesis. However, at times I refer to Maori as indigenous and tangata whenua, meaning people of the land, where it is added to the word Maori. This is a reminder of traditions and a Maori worldview where people are intimately connected to the land and te ao turoa, te taiao (the natural world) and is reflective of the theoretical underpinnings and framework.

The term ‘Crown’ refers to Pakeha representatives of the British Crown and the New Zealand government and its representatives and structures that interact on behalf of the Crown with Maori and Ngati Hine. The terms Aotearoa and Nu Tireni refer to the country of New Zealand. All three terms are used in this thesis. Before the arrival of Pakeha New Zealand was not considered a country. Sovereignty and rangatiratanga, then and today, lies largely with hapu (Adair, 2016; Mutu & Jackson, 2015; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). Using all three terms is symbolic and represents perspectives of the land labelled over time and highlighting the importance of context and who writes history.

Maori and Pakeha place names are utilised in this thesis. For example, Te Tai Tokerau is used instead of Northland. While Te Tai Tokerau is often referred to as Northland, Northland boundaries are not necessarily the same as Te Tai Tokerau. The two versions of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Maori language version and the Treaty of Waitangi, the English language version reflect the challenges of translations and the importance of context, whakapapa, epistemology, ontology and axiology. The Maori language version Te Tiriti o Waitangi is different to the Treaty

of Waitangi English version (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014) and either terms, Tiriti or Treaty are utilised depending on the context. Kawiti signed the Maori language version Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840.

Throughout the research project I considered writing this thesis in te reo Maori. However, I felt my comprehension of te reo Maori was not as strong as my ability to articulate the topic as clearly. The choice to write this thesis largely in English could be interpreted as the manifestation of colonisation (Cooper, 2012; Fanon, 2004; Freire, 2000; wa Thiong'o, 1986). The way the thesis is written in both te reo Maori and English is reflective of these considerations. An attempt possibly to alleviate some of the shame and guilt associated with writing a kaupapa Maori topic in English, while trying to maintain the mana of many aspects in the study that would more naturally be understood in Maori. A sense of resistance or tolerance that is reflective of the axiomatic tensions threaded in this thesis.

1.4 Waahi Rangahau/Research Setting

Ka papa te whatitiri, ka hikohiko te uira. Kahukura ki te rangi.
He ai tu ka riri rongo mai ka he. Ko ngunguru, ko ngangana, ko aparangi.
Ko te titi o te rua ko te tao whakawahine. Ko te motumotu o te riri
Ko te awa o nga rangatira. Taumarere herehere i te riri.
Te puna i kete riki. Keteriki, kete tana riki.
Ko Ngati Hine pukepuke rau (Nuttal & Shortland, 2008, p.12).

Ngati Hine a Hineamaru

Ngati Hine is considered a hapu (group, sub-tribe) and an iwi (group, tribe, people) with whakapapa into Ngapuhi. Ngapuhi is also known as Ngapuhi nui tonu among other names and is considered the largest tribe of Maori tangata whenua (people of the land) of Aotearoa, Nu Tireni, New Zealand. Ngapuhi is made up of a federation of over a hundred hapu. Ngati Hine whakapapa extends back to Ahuaiti and Rahiri of Ngapuhi. Rahiri and Ahuaiti's son was Uenuku⁷ (Henare,

⁷

Also known as Uenuku-Kuare.

Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Taonui, 2005; Tipene-Hook, 2011).

Ngati Hine is the largest hapu of Ngapuhi and trace back to our eponymous tupuna Hineamaru (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Tipene-Hook, 2011). Hineamaru was a grand daughter of Uenuku and Kareariki and the eldest child of Hauhaua and Torongare from Hokianga. Hineamaru settled in several places including Omauri, Motatau, Matawaia and the Waiomio Valley, near Kawakawa in Te Tai Tokerau. She married Koperu of Ngatitu and Ngati Wai. Five generations after Hineamaru from where Ngati Hine attribute the name came Kawiti (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Martin, 2010; Ngati Hine Evidence, 2014; Nuttal & Shortland, 2008).

Today Ngati Hine, although a hapu is also considered an iwi, an organisation and movement that affiliates to and encompasses Te Runanga o Ngati Hine. The runanga was established in 1876 by Maihi Paraone Kawiti, successor and son to Kawiti. In 1989, Ngati Hine registered the runanga under the Maori Community Development Act 1962 and created a charitable trust (Adair, 2013; Nuttal & Shortland, 2008). Te Runanga o Ngati Hine has since restructured and connects to Te Maara a Hineamaru (translated as the garden of Hineamaru) which is Ngati Hine's tribal council with representatives from at least 13 marae and several hapu ririki (sub-tribes) and Te Roopu Kaumatua me nga Kuia o Ngati Hine i raro i Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Ngati Hine affiliates to various social and business enterprises and entities. These include Ngati Hine Health Trust (hauora), Ngati Hine FM (radio), Te Reo o Ngati Hine Trust (Ngati Hine language revitalisation), Ngatirairaka o Ngati Hine (taiao, environmental), Nga Tangariki (matauranga, education) and Ngati Hine Forestry Trust. Ngati Hine's structure is interconnected and works with tikanga and a Maori tangata whenua-based approach with iwi, hapu and whanau (Adair, 2013; Nuttal & Shortland, 2008; Te Tu o Ngati Hine, 2018).

While Ngati Hine's attributes and underpinning as a hapu and iwi is based on a Maori tangata whenua worldview, paradoxically most of the entities and enterprises today fall under some form of trusteeship, with a board of trustee as governance (Moon, 2001). It becomes evident that Pakeha influence has been a part of Ngati Hine's identity and history for quite some time. 'Poai Pakeha' words in *Te Tangi o Kawiti* predicted Ngati Hine will become like Pakeha boys. So while Ngati Hine extends back to a Maori worldview and whakapapa, paradoxically there are aspects of Pakeha

ideologies and constructs that Ngati Hine have been operating from as part of colonisation and assimilation, while embracing many aspects and constructs. Understanding the complexities of Ngati Hine helps to examine the implications and nature of Ngati Hine's contemporary engagement with the Crown particularly around Treaty Settlements and *Te Tangi o Kawiti*.

Te Porowini o Ngati Hine

In 1876 the area in *Figure 5* was identified by Maihi Paraone Kawiti as Te Porowini o Ngati Hine, translated to The Province of Ngati Hine. Maihi Paraone Kawiti, one of Kawiti's sons, became Kawiti's successor. Te Porowini o Ngati Hine is located in Te Tai Tokerau.

Hikurangi titiro ki Pouerua, Pouerua titiro ki Rakaumangamanga, Rakaumangamanga titiro ki Manaia, Manaia titiro ki Whatitiri, Whatitiri titiro ki Tutamoe, Tutamoe titiro ki te Tarai o Rahiri, Te Tarai o Rahiri titiro ki Hikurangi, ki nga kiekie whawhanui a Uenuku. (Nuttal & Shortland, 2008, p12)

🏠 recorded marae + recorded cemeteries . recorded pā ~ river bodies



Figure 5. Te Porowini o Ngati Hine - The Province of Ngati Hine and links to neighbouring hapu (Nuttal & Shortland,

2008, p12).

1.5 Rangahau Peheatanga/Methodology

Theoretical Frameworks

Kaupapa Maori was employed as the overarching theoretical framework as it provides culturally appropriate approaches to research with Maori (Milne, 2009; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2000). Kaupapa Maori is examined and explored further in chapter two as part of the research design and chapter three in the literature review.

The project drew on three methodological approaches. Kaupapa Maori overarched a hermeneutics approach and qualitative research (fieldwork). Kaupapa Maori is therefore the lens, theory and methodology in which the overall project positions itself (Cooper, 2012; Mahuika, 2008; Milne, 2009; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2010; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2000; Smith, 2012). Kaupapa Maori facilitated the examination of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* through purakau (Maori narratives) (Lee, 2009) and korero tuku iho (oral traditions). Purakau utilised methods such as kororeroro (sporadic, reiterative discussion), korero-a-waha (spoken), korero-a-tuhituhi (written), wananga (meet, deliberate, share tribal knowledge) and mahitahi (work together, collective collaboration) to collect data throughout the project. The role of kaupapa Maori in the data collection process was to ensure that protocols subscribe to tikanga Maori with a focus on Ngati Hine tikanga.

Key informant interviews from seven participants from Ngati Hine were undertaken using semi structured interviews (Ray, 1994; Baxter & Jack, 2008). This was a key methodological approach as part of qualitative fieldwork to better understand how people interpret their experiences and how they construct their worldview and the meanings they place on the experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 21). The aim was to produce information that inquired deeply into *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and Ngati Hine interpretations and meaning of the case study.

Data Processing and Analysis

As detailed in the previous section, the project relied on the main methodological approaches; kaupapa Maori with a purakau approach and qualitative case study research (fieldwork) that relied

on a hermeneutic approach. A literature review in chapter three helps to contextualise the study further and is the first step in analysis that provides counterpoints to the participants data. The overall approach to data analysis is woven into kaupapa Maori. Thematic analysis and networks (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun & Clarke, 2006) were used based on the theoretical underpinnings and are explored further in the research design sections of chapter two.

1.6 Nga Kaikorero/Key Participants

The research participants who were the key informants for this study were primarily selected because they whakapapa to Ngati Hine. Participants were also selected either for their range of knowledge relating to *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, or their understanding of the Treaty claims, mandating and settlement processes and Ngati Hine narratives. Participants were between the ages of 30 years old to over 80 years old. Four wahine and three tane were selected. While other members of Ngati Hine were identified as possible participants, timeframes and resourcing limitations were also factored into the selection of the final seven informants.

Classification such as education, income level and marital status were not initially considered. However, whakapapa links to Kawiti and the participants' contribution and involvement in Ngati Hine kaupapa did play a factor into selection. Therefore, categorisation or classification of participants did not seem to be a factor as they did not necessarily give weight to the knowledge participants possessed. However, there is some correlation between the depth of knowledge and the participants age and upbringing, particularly being raised on and around marae. Greater knowledge of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, te reo Maori, tikanga and Ngati Hine purakau correlated to either the older participants or those participants that were raised at the marae or attended hui and wananga in their childhood. Greater knowledge on the processes of the Waitangi Tribunal and the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and negotiating on settlement correlated more with those who were actively involved in the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement processes. All the participants lived in Ngati Hine for much of their lives. The participants were asked to delve into their experiences, beliefs and opinions during the interviews. Their responses as part of the interviews do not necessarily reflect those of all the members of Ngati Hine. However they do provide insight and perspectives that ultimately informs this study along with the other elements featured in this thesis.

The strategy of recruitment of participants was to use Maori appropriate techniques involving kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) recruitment, as the researcher is actively involved in hapu and tribal affairs. Recruitment was at times undertaken at whanau and tribal gatherings. The participants were approached through the researcher's personal networks after korero with the researcher's mother and other hapu members including members in attendance at Te Maara a Hineamaru and Te Runanga o Ngati Hine hui. The participants were provided with an information sheet, indicative interview questions and a consent form to read before agreeing to participate in the research. The participants were offered to conduct the interview in either te reo Maori or English. All seven informants agreed to being named in the research.

It is important to note that the researcher struggled to describe and categorise or 'label' the participants for fear of missing out information and titles. Ascribing Pakeha roles, positions and societal labels of achievement and identity could be interpreted as reinforcing colonising constructs and stereotypes, an action and mechanism of colonisation and assimilation that has negatively impacted Maori in the past (Smith, 2012). However, the participants are named below in order of their interview taking place from February 2018 to May 2018 with a brief profile. Their ages were between 30 years old to over 80 years old.

I. Mihiwira Maria Jakeman (Interview, February 25, 2018)

I tupu ake ia i roto o Motatau me Waiomio (Adair, 2016). Ko ia ra te mama o te kairangahau. I hinga ia i waenganui o tenei rangahau. Haere okioki atu.

II. Manuwai Mariana Wells (Interview, March 13, 2018)

I tupu ake ia i roto o Waiomio me Kawakawa. Ko ia te kaiwhakahaere tawhito mo te Kawiti caves i roto o Waiomio. Ko ia hoki he kaitiaki matauranga me nga hitori. Ano nei na ko ia ra tetahi kaikorero, rangatira, kaimahi, kaiwhakahaere e puku mahi ana i waenga o nga kaupapa maha o Ngati Hine.

III. Tohe Ashby (Interview, March 23, 2018)

Ko ia te tumuhere tawhito o Te Runanga o Ngati Hine me Nga Tirairaka o Ngati Hine. Ko ia tetahi kaiako mo te rongoa Maori me nga hitori. Ano nei na ko ia ra tetahi kaikorero matua, rangatira, kaimahi, kaiwhakahaere e puku mahi ana i waenga o nga kaupapa maha o Ngati Hine.

IV. Kene Hine Te Uira Martin (Written Response Pre-Interview, April 18, 2018)

Ko ia he kaitito, kaituhi pukapuka rongonui. Ko ia he kaiako, mahita i te Kohanga Reo me he kaitiaki matauranga mo nga hitori. Ano nei na ko ia ra tetahi kaikorero matua, kaumatua, rangatira, kaiwhakahaere e puku mahi ana i waenga o nga kaupapa maha o Ngati Hine.

V. Joseph (Joey) Rapana (Interview, May 07, 2018)

I tupu ake ia ki te taha o wana tupuna i Poroti, Mangakahia me Pipiwai. Ko ia tetahi kai porotehe kaha, i waenganui o nga hui me nga kaupapa Tiriti. Ano nei na ko ia ra tetahi kaikorero, kaimahi, kaiwhakahaere e puku mahi ana i waenga o nga kaupapa maha o Ngati Hine.

VI. Pita Tipene (Interview, May 09, 2018)

Ko ia tetahi tumuhere o Te Runanga o Ngati Hine. Ko ia hoki tetahi o nga heamana mo Te Kotahitanga o Nga Hapu o Ngapuhi. Ko ia te heamana mo te Waitangi National Trust a me wetahi atu poari. Ano nei na ko ia ra tetahi kaikorero matua, kaimahi, rangatira, kaiwhakahaere e puku mahi ana i waenga o nga kaupapa maha o Ngati Hine.

VII. Season-Mary Downs (Interview, May 17, 2018)

I tupu ake ia i roto o Moerewa. Tekau tau te roa nga o tana mahi hei roia mo Ngati Hine me Te Kapotai. Ano nei na ko ia ra tetahi kaikorero, kaimahi, kaiwhakahaere e puku mahi ana i waenga o nga kaupapa me nga take Tiriti.

The main method of inquiry was gathering and analysing of the purakau of these seven key participants as data. Approximate one-hour audio recorded in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted. Further details of the process are in the research design of the project in chapter two and chapter four and five as part of the findings from the interviews.

1.7 Hanga Mahi/Thesis Structure Overview

Chapter Two

Chapter two goes further into an analysis of the research design for this thesis and the main approach of kaupapa Maori. The analysis is to provide a lens through which the case study can be viewed and interpreted. In this research *Te Tangi o Kawiti* is explored through purakau and kaupapa Maori with a focus on Ngati Hine the Crown and the impact of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* in a contemporary context relating to resistance in the Treaty claims, mandating and settlement processes. The methodology that explored the topic relied on the triangulation of kaupapa Maori overarching a hermeneutics approach and qualitative research (fieldwork). The second chapter covers the theoretical framework that underpins the study. Applying the methodology to the case study, methods and an overview of the data processing and analysis using thematic networks analysis, that formulated the overall research design.

Chapter Three

This chapter provides a literature review that explores various text and articles that contribute to this research project. Literature was reviewed from a range of sources including sources specific to kaupapa Maori literature and academic articles, the Waitangi Tribunal record of inquiry documentation, particularly where *Te Tangi o Kawiti* featured, claimant evidence, independent or collaborated commissioned reports, whanau sources and documentation such as writings, letters, books, photographs and carvings. Where the data or purakau from the participant interviews of this research project supports the literature, it is threaded into the literature review, considered as a knowledge base contributing to what can be constituted as indigenous or kaupapa Maori literature. The literature review highlights existing research and discussion relevant to the research topic from which this thesis builds upon and is the first step in analysis that provides counterpoints to the participants data.

Chapter Four

This chapter analyses the case study of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and its meaning in Ngati Hine. The intention was to understand its survival in purakau despite colonisation. The focus was on aspects

that influenced its survival particularly in Ngati Hine history. The thematic network analysis of data (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun & Clarke, 2006) provided points of discussion from the participants data (audio recorded interviews, transcribed).

Several findings emerged, firstly the importance of knowledge concerning Ngati Hine whakapapa, practice of tikanga and the use of te reo Maori (Lee, 2009; Milne, 2009; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2012, wa Thiong'o, 1986). All of which provide an essential platform for any comprehension of the essence of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and other purakau.

Chapter four identifies that an indigenous or Maori view of literature as purakau and Pakeha or western written literature has tension. Some research argues kaupapa Maori lacks rigour as it is not often peer reviewed as published or written work (Marie & Haig, 2006). Consequently, purakau like *Te Tangi o Kawiti* are considered invalid as a body of knowledge or literature by Pakeha or western measurements of literature. However, when combined the two different lens of literature, written and purakau (as in oral form), produces a new form of literature which provides a better understanding of the two worlds. The seven informants provide rich accounts of knowledge and history with consistent themes around the essence of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* that gives more understanding into its meaning and impact on Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown.

Chapter Five

This chapter analyses several other aspects relating to the case study and the main research question. It examines the impact of colonisation, Ngati Hine resistance and engagement with the Crown, Treaty Settlements, Ngati Hine rangatiratanga and how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* binds Ngati Hine and the Crown. An analysis of the participants data is integrated with the theoretical points discussed in chapter three of the literature review and chapter four. Like the other chapters, this chapter uses the methodological approaches of kaupapa Maori, hermeneutics and qualitative research to reveal findings from the project.

Chapter Six

This chapter concludes the thesis and provides a summary of the findings from the chapters three, four and five. Drawing some conclusions around the intricate nature of the case study that combines purakau, oral literature with western written literature against the case study of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and its impact on Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown in the Treaty claims, mandate and settlement processes. This review serves as a lens through which we can view some of these acts of resistance, tensions and tolerances described in the thesis.

In this chapter there is discussion of how this thesis contributes to the topic and body of knowledge for Ngati Hine purakau. One of the important contributions this thesis makes is that it combines a Pakeha or western model of literature with an indigenous or Maori understanding of what constitutes literature. Weaving those two forms of literature together to produce a form of literature that encompasses both worlds and enhances our understanding. This also presents a model that other researchers in the future can adapt for their work. It is hoped that this thesis provides some insight for Ngati Hine and acts as a platform for further research to be considered and concludes by making recommendations for future research.

1.8 Conclusion

The intention of this chapter was to provide an overview of the research and thesis. This chapter also gives an outline of the chapters that follow and is an introduction and a guide to navigate through the thesis. This chapter gives some details of the terminology used throughout the thesis, the research setting including information about the researcher, Ngati Hine and provides some context around the case study.

HANGA RANGAHAU

Chapter 2 - Research Design

2.1 Introduction

Chapter one provided an overview of this thesis, including some details on the terminology, research context, the participants, methodological approaches and theoretical underpinnings. Chapter two goes further into a description of the research design for this thesis and the main approach of kaupapa Maori, which is to provide a lens through which the case study can be viewed and interpreted.

The methodology of this project relied on the triangulation of three methodological approaches to explore the topic: kaupapa Maori overarches a hermeneutics approach and qualitative research (fieldwork). Kaupapa Maori is therefore the lens, theory and methodology in which the overall project positions itself (Cooper, 2012; Mahuika, 2008; Milne, 2009; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2010; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2000; Smith, 2012). This chapter will cover in more depth the theoretical framework that underpins the study. Applying the methodology to the case study, methods and an overview of the data processing and analysis using thematic networks analysis, that formulated the overall research design.

2.2 Kaupapa Maori Theoretical Framework

Kaupapa Maori is the overarching theoretical framework and deals with culturally appropriate approaches to research with Maori (Milne, 2009; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2000). According to Smith (2000), “We 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). The descriptions of kaupapa Maori vary and I resist to confine or give any absolute definition as while kaupapa Maori binds the researcher to a Maori worldview, a Maori worldview is boundless. However, some of the common principles for kaupapa Maori applied to this study do take on board the fundamentals that the research is led by Maori with notions of collectivism and transformation (Kerr, 2011; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2000).

Kaupapa Maori considers the totality and holistic approach of Maori as a collective, and as individual members advancing the *orangatanga* (well-being) of the collective (Smith, 1997, Smith, 2000). Kaupapa Maori affirms *te reo Maori* (language) and *tikanga Maori* (customs) as fundamental to its practice and that practice extends beyond the history of colonisation (Cooper, 2012; Henry & Pene, 2001; Mahuika, 2008; Milne, 2009; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2010; Smith, 2000; Smith, 2012).

Henry & Pene (2001) suggest resistance to New Zealand's colonial heritage is at the helm of developing the kaupapa Maori paradigm (p.234). Kaupapa Maori theory therefore imposes a moral function on history, in which the findings of the research are required to assist with decolonising objectives (Smith, 2012). However, if generations of Maori and Ngati Hine, particularly after Te Tiriti o Waitangi of 1840 have only ever known a life influenced by colonisation (Mahuika, 2008), is it possible to decolonise? Moreover, are we re-discovering who our ancestors were? In that re-discovering trying to recreate or reconstruct their world, a world we assume to know. In the process denying that colonisation has already set itself deeply into parts of our identity today. Kaupapa Maori asserts the practice of active resistance to the continued colonisation of Maori people and culture. In the same notion I do not attempt to negate the colonial *whakapapa*, constructs, influence and opportunities that impact and influence Maori (Mahuika, 2008) and Ngati Hine.

A component of this study has been to acknowledge other ideologies; however, the focus remains from a Maori and specifically a Ngati Hine worldview. I explore kaupapa Maori further in the literature review in chapter three. The challenge for this research project therefore has not been to reject Pakeha or western knowledge but to empower Maori *tangata whenua*.

Kaupapa Maori Paradigm

Cosmogony frames a kaupapa Maori paradigm research as it provides a connection to *whenua*, kin, others, *te ao turoa* (the natural environment) and our identity as Maori *tangata whenua*. *Whakapapa* explain the genealogical binding between *atua*, Maori and all matters and beings, seen and unseen, and by extension a Maori worldview. Pihama (2001) regards *whakapapa* as an “analytical tool that has been employed by our people as a means by which to understand our world and relationships” (pp.82-83).

The Maori universe for Ngati Hine begins with Te Kore.

Ko Te Kore - the void, energy, nothingness, potential
Te Kore-te-whiwhia - the void in which nothing is possessed
Te Kore-te-rawea - the void in which nothing is felt
Te Kore-i-ai - the void with nothing in union
Te Kore-te-wiwia - the space without boundaries
Na Te Kore Te Po - from the void the night
Te Po-nui - the great night
Te Po-roa - the long night
Te Po-uriuri - the deep night
Te Po-kerekere - the intense night
Te Po-tiwhatiwha - the dark night
Te Po-te-kitea - the night in which nothing is seen
Te Po-tangotango - the intensely dark night
Te Po-whawha - the night of feeling
Te Po-namunamu-ki-taiao - the night of seeking the passage to the world
Te Po-tahuri-atu - the night of restless turning
Te Po-tahuri-mai-ki-taiao - the night of turning towards the revealed world
Ki te Whai-ao - to the glimmer of dawn
Ki te Ao-marama - to the bright light of day
Tihei mauri-ora - there is life.
(Iwi Puihi Tipene, personal communication, August 8, 2014)

From te po (the darkness) came Papatuanuku, earth mother and Ranginui, sky father and their offspring atua (gods, kaitiaki) including Tane, Tumatauenga, Rongo and others. This whakapapa from Ranginui and Papatuanuku depicting the various domains of atua is shown in *Figure 6* graphically and shows the relationship between atua and emergence of the world, te ao marama. The spiritual world and the physical world bring Maori ontology and epistemology together to inform this research paradigm.

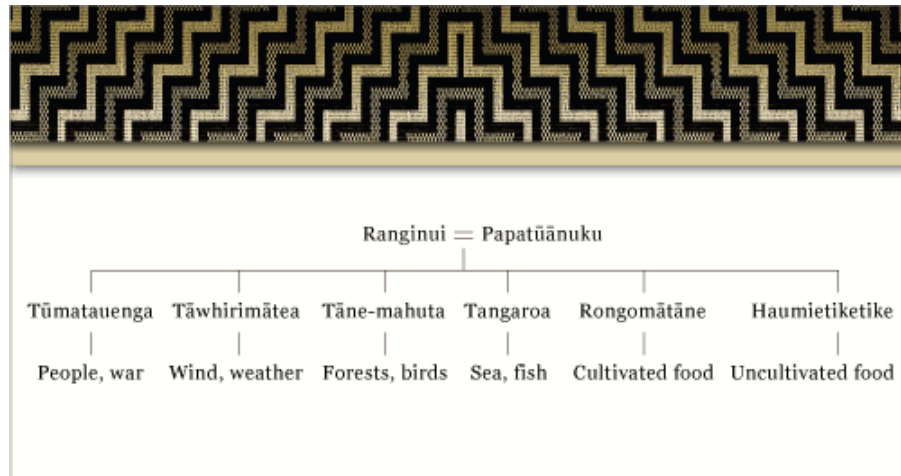


Figure 6. Papatuanuku's children. (Royal, 2007) Retrieved from <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/whakapapa/11430/papatuanukus-children>

The ngahere (forest) and all of Tane's kin is understood to be brought into being by Tane in his search for te ira tangata (Walker, 2004). Te ira tangata traces back to atua or Papatuanuku and Ranginui's children. Te ao turoa the natural environment is interwoven with Maori axiology, that is the beliefs and values that charge Maori with the responsibility of care as kaitiaki (guardian, caregiver). Whakatauki from Ngati Hine describe the interconnected relationship and values held as tangata whenua and kaitiaki of the geographical areas and beyond. This is seen in the well known Ngati Hine whakatauki:

Ngati Hine pukepuke rau, he puke, he rangatira, he puke, he rangatira, he awa awa, he whanau.

Terms like 'whenua rangatira' and many other whakatauki bring together concepts of the natural environment, tribal leadership, the tribal family and the sovereignty and rangatiratanga Ngati Hine has as part of the tribal position. These whakatauki are often spoken in whaikorero (formal speech) on marae.

The connection between the people and the environment is a holistic model that is sustained through narratives. The whakapapa from Te Kore contains stories about the inception of the universe described in the narratives of Ranginui and Papatuanuku. In Maori epistemology these

narratives are known as purakau and korero tuku iho.

Ki te Whai-Ao ki Te Ao-Marama Purakau Methodology

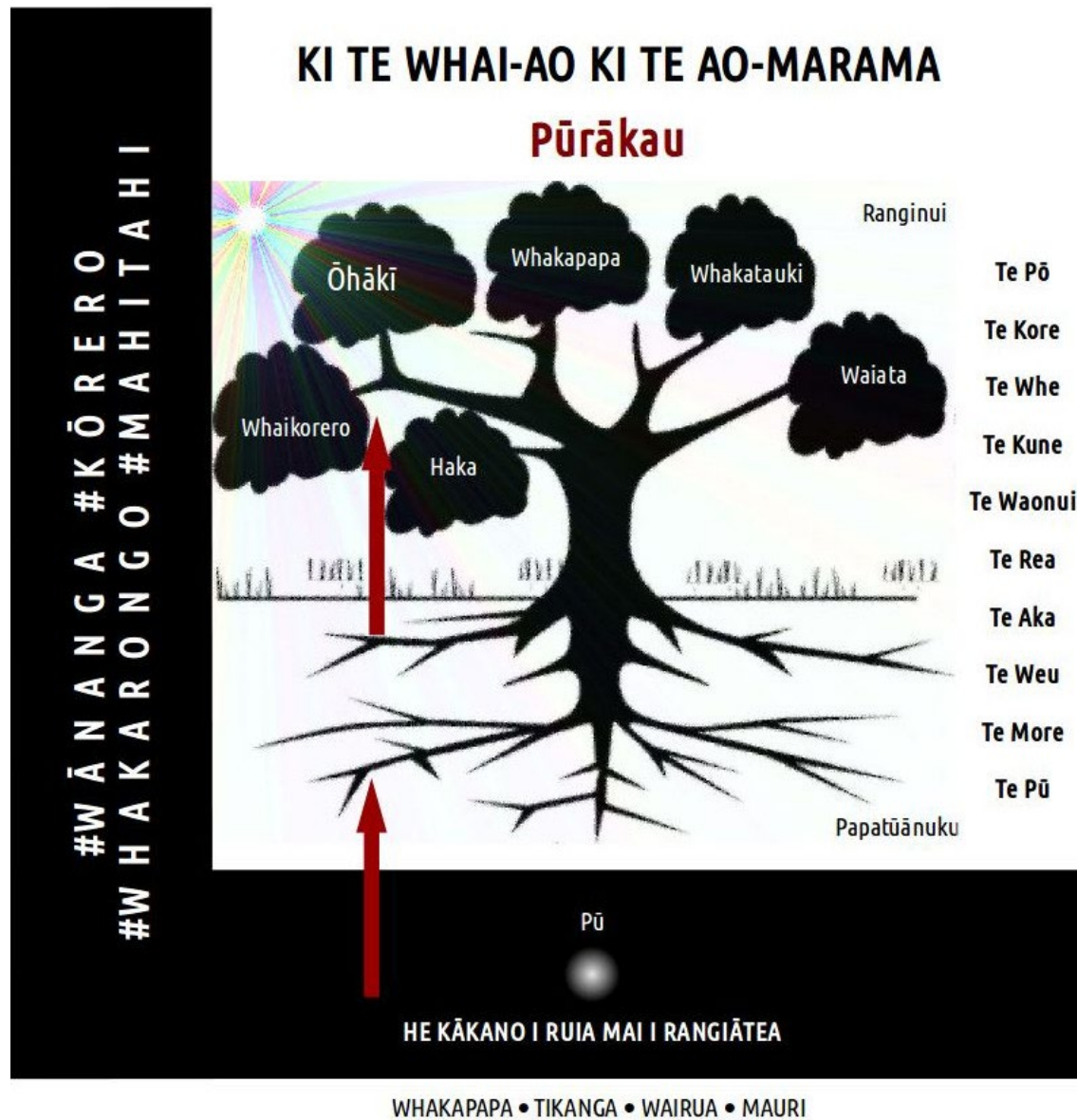


Figure 7. Ki te Whai-Ao ki Te Ao-Marama Theoretical Framework, inspired by Pouwhare (2016), Purakau Methodology.

Ki te Whai-Ao ki Te Ao-Marama Purakau (Figure 7) reflects a kaupapa Maori framework. This research paradigm was inspired as part of the methodology for this research by Pouwhare (2016)

Purakau Methodology used in his doctoral candidate research proposal. The framework incorporates a Maori cosmogony that stems from the long unfolding and creation stories, where the genesis or growth of the world is likened to the development of a tree (Best, 1899, p.294).

The creation narrative and the development of energy and growth of wisdom and knowledge is symbolised by the rakau (tree). This is acknowledged in oral narratives often heard in whakatauki and waiata. Describing te pu (the source or origin), te more (the tap-root), te weu (the fibrous roots), te aka (the vine), te rea (growth), te waonui (the tree or forest), te kune (the form), te whe (sound), te kore (the void), te po (darkness), ki nga tangata Maori a Rangi raua ko Papa, ko tenei te timatanga o te ao (to the Maori people of Rangi and Papa, the beginning of the world) (Best, 1899, p.294).

There are tribally specific traditions of the cosmogony. According to one Ngapuhi version, Tane-nui-a-rangi was given passage by Io to ascend to the twelfth heaven, Te Toi o nga Rangi, where Rangiatea, understood to be the first Whare Wananga (Pihama, 2001, pp.79-80; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013, p43) is located. From this comes the whakatauki used often today recognising Maori identity and resilience,

He kakano ahau i ruia mai i Rangiatea. I am the seed that cannot be lost.

This whakatauki can be compared with *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, in that it reinforces Ngati Hine identity and provides a vision for the future cultural wellbeing of Ngati Hine.

The *Ki te Whai-Ao ki Te Ao-Marama Purakau* Methodology framework (Figure 7) speaks to endless possibilities and assumptions, the infinite and unexplainable and how the research project encountered unexplainable phenomena and infinite possibilities during the process, which were difficult to label or fathom. Three of Poai Pakeha Rata Tipene and Noema Kutu Peita Tipene's children died while writing this research, my mother and two of her brothers. At times it was difficult to write without crying but I drew strength from the lessons I had learned from them growing up. I believe there were tohu, signs or symbols along the way which guided me to carry on despite the difficulties. Often birds would fly around my window or trees would seem more luminous. It is difficult to correlate these encounters with anything to do with the project and harder to explain. A Maori tangata whenua worldview would more naturally acknowledge such tohu or

signs as moments to pause and reflect.

The seed of Rangiatea develops into a tree with the right conditions, but where does the seed come from? This unknowing is symbolised by te pu, the source. Te pu can also be applied to research moving into the different stages of development as depicted by the rakau to form new knowledge for Ngati Hine and others to access and consider.

The process of wananga (to meet, tribal knowledge) played a part in the research project and was a space for korero (discussion), whakarongo (listen) and mahitahi (work as one) to take place. The idea to incorporate wananga comes from the story of Tane that was discussed with korero I had with my uncle Iwi Puihi Tipene;

Tane was given Nga Kete Wananga, three baskets. Te Kete Tuauri; the basket of ancient knowledge of customs and ceremonies. Which also relates to Te Kauae Runga. Deep and sacred knowledge with four concepts to be held in balance. Mauri; the dynamic balance between matter and being, seen in stages of genealogy. Hihiri; pure energy. Mauri ora; life principle and Hau ora; the breath.

Te Kete Tuatahi the basket of mystical knowledge a world beyond space or time, infinite and eternal. Te Kauae Raro representing the knowledge of everyday life. Extending to Te Kete Aronui the basket of life sustaining skills such as agriculture, fishing and more.

With two stones of knowledge and wisdom; Te Rehutai and Te Hukatai. Tane shared the contents of the baskets with his siblings and the stones were kept at Te Wharekura, the first wananga on earth. To understand the knowledge they were given, each sibling had to attend wananga and learn in the presence of the stones. This process of learning gave rise to tohunga. It was not until after he understood the knowledge he had, that he became Tane Mahuta, te tohunga, te atua, te kaitiaki o te ngahere and god of the forests as known today. An atua was also known as kaitiaki. Ngati Hine are kaitiaki and connect directly to atua. (Iwi Puihi Tipene, personal communication, August 8, 2014)

Within these multifarious layers of meaning are four core elements to the paradigm; whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (custom and protocol), wairua (spirit) and mauri (life force). Ngati Hine whakapapa has already begun with the connection in the paradigm to the cosmogony that suggests Ngati Hine as descendants of nga atua.

Tikanga and practical steps included, but were not limited to wananga, korero, whakarongo and mahitahi concepts were employed. These methods were developed in the research design for this

study. Wairua is spirituality which is integral to Maori ontology and epistemology. The spiritual aspect developed in the research was in relation to rituals and practices. Karakia influenced the research often in ways that were tacit and not obvious or explicit, difficult to perceive, fathom, write or verbalise and required the ability to “listen to that feeling” (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, personal communication, October 28, 2016). Mauri as a method gives recognition that every part of human existence has a mauri (life force) such as a rock, which is the basis of Maori ontology.

2.3 Applying the Methodology to the Case Study

The previous section explored kaupapa Maori. *Ki te Whai-Ao ki Te Ao-Marama Purakau Methodology* paradigm (Figure 7) informs the theoretical framework and facilitates a space for knowledge to unfold, rooted in whakapapa, cosmogony, tikanga (customs, principles, law, lore) and Maori tangata whenua axiology and ontology (Best, 1899).

Key informant interviews from seven participants from Ngati Hine were undertaken using semi structured interviews (Ray, 1994; Baxter & Jack, 2008). This was a key methodological approach as part of qualitative fieldwork where, “Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 21). Qualitative research methods were a useful tool to facilitate the processing of the data (interview recordings). The aim was to produce information that inquired deeply into *Te Tangi o Kawiti* to frame Ngati Hine interpretations and meaning. One participant spoke exclusively in te reo Maori and others spoke in both English and te reo Maori. The interviews centred on key questions that focused on *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and the main research question, How does *Te Tangi o Kawiti* impact Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown in the Treaty Settlement process?

Methods

Methods provide the tools to conduct the research and fall from the theoretical framework and paradigms, to reveal explicit and tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge related to unravelling the hidden meanings in the riddled, metaphoric and multi-layered ohaki *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and knowledge and experiences the participants did not consider until during the interview. Hermeneutics and heuristics in the research is acknowledged, where one seeks to obtain qualitative

depictions that are at the heart and depths of a person's experience—depictions of situations, events, conversations, relationships, feelings, thoughts, values, and beliefs (Moustakas, 1990, p.38).

Conducting interviews were the qualitative methods of the methodology (Holliday, 2016). During the collection and processing of data some initial reluctance from some of the participants seemed to reflect the whakatauki,

E kore te kumara e korero mo tona ake reka.
The kumara does not speak of how sweet it is.

The whakatauki suggests that a wealth of knowledge is hidden as the participants would not necessarily boast or reveal what they knew. This is despite in many ways their recognised acclaimed contribution and knowledge to hapu history. Much like a gun, what is spoken or words that are said are important in Ngati Hine and can be powerful (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, personal communication, October 28, 2016). This reflects the initial reluctance of some participants and at times the cautioned reply to some of the questions in the interview. These notions highlight the importance of purakau and korero tuku iho and the potency of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*.

What becomes evident, in the recruitment interview process, is that as an insider researcher and whanaunga (relative, kin) to the participants, I had access to the participants, others may not have. There was also a level of trust already present, having been raised with them in Ngati Hine and as kin. A level of trust where it is possible the participants shared more than they would have if an outsider researcher had approached them. Furthermore, outsider researchers may not have thought to even interview some of the participants, as they may not have seen any correlation to the topic to some of the participants that only an insider would consider. While the interviews were based on a qualitative research paradigm, kaupapa Maori was overarching the project. Using the methods described in Table 1 allowed for hidden korero and knowledge to present itself in a non-intrusive or exploitive manner that was seen in previous research on Maori (Smith, 2000, Smith, 2012).

Kaupapa Maori & Purakau Paradigm	Qualitative Fieldwork Research Paradigm
<p>METHODS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whakapapa (genealogy, connections) • Tikanga (protocols, customs) • Wananga (discussion, gather, tribal knowledge) • Korororero (sporadic discussion) • Korero-a-waha (spoken) • Korero-a-tuhituhi (written) • Mahitahi (work as one, collective advancement) • Whakarongo (at peace to listen) 	<p>METHODS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key informant - Semi-structured individual interviews • Literature review

Table 1 Methodology and Methods

Kaupapa Maori & Purakau (Paradigm) Methods

Te Tangi o Kawiti is integral to Ngati Hine whakapapa and history. Whakapapa provides an analytical pathway to travel from the past to the present and better understand our circumstances (Pihama, 2001, pp. 82-83). Whakapapa as a method provides a tool to assess connections and navigates through the genealogy tables of connection that helped to recruit and identify who could inform and participate in the research project. While several members of Ngati Hine were identified to potentially participate, the project timeframe and resourcing set some boundaries in recruitment.

Tikanga is about doing the right thing at the right time with the right people and the right intention (Iwi Puihi Tipene, personal communication, September 12, 2016). Knowing when to use karakia (incantations) and inoi (prayer). The purpose, place, time and appropriate karakia throughout the research project is a tikanga method that was employed in the study. Not consuming food while reading or discussing certain aspects of the project and whakapapa is an example of Ngati Hine tikanga. As some matters are considered tapu (sacred) (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, personal communication, May 01, 2017) as such food was not consumed around some aspects of the study. This is seen at waahi tapu, cemeteries or burial sites within Ngati Hine where food is abstained from. The structure of interviews therefore took on the awareness of customs particular to Ngati

Hine. Tikanga can be viewed further as ture tikanga and ture tangata (Adair, 2016; Iwi Puihi Tipene, personal communication, September 12, 2016). Ture tikanga are concepts of lore and tikanga that connect to atua, the cosmogony, te ao turoa and kaitiakitanga. Ture tangata are man made laws, whereby in large humans accumulate and benefit not necessarily with regard to ture tikanga. The Crown and the New Zealand government can be seen to work from ture tangata and Ngati Hine from ture tikanga (Adair, 2016).

Wananga as a method is to meet kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face). A space to deliberate and discuss generally tribal knowledge and incorporates tikanga. A key component of wananga in the process of this study was to meet physically in person, to whakapa or touch. The richness of data collection has often been from first-hand accounts heard by the researcher attending hui and wananga throughout the research area in person, a tinana mai. Combining the analysis of literature, actively participating in face to face engagement in tribal affairs and interaction with the participants not only as a researcher but as kin feeds into how purakau is transmitted.

During the research project many hui, events and issues unfolded relating directly to the case study. In 2018 Ngapuhi engaged with the Crown in a vote concerning an Evolved Ngapuhi Mandate Proposal. The proposal followed findings from the Waitangi Tribunal, urgent Ngapuhi mandate inquiry and hearing in 2015 (Nathan, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 2015) and the recommendations of the tribunal to evolve the mandate that TIMA⁸ was given by the Crown in 2014. In 2018, Ngati Hine also created a working committee named Te Ara Tika to seek a Ngati Hine mandate and assert Ngati Hine rangatiratanga and engagement with the Crown.

Te Tangi o Kawiti was often mentioned and talked about at length by Ngati Hine and the wider Ngapuhi over several decades and also more recently at hui. Note taking by the researcher at wananga did not occur, although often live streaming and video recording on social media platforms by hapu members captured the hui. Sitting and listening to the various speakers, at times for hours at marae was employed as part of wananga methods in this project. The practice of sitting for hours at hui, listening to speakers was commonplace for the researcher growing up at many

⁸ Tuhoronuku Independent Mandated Authority.

marae in Ngati Hine but is a practice that has eroded over time. Kaumatua would be in attendance and would sit for hours listening and responding to topics and issues of discussion, not necessarily debating but peeling away the layers or the whakapapa of a topic or issue to identify whether any action was required. It was an opportunity for speakers to speak their truth. These practices or tikanga would provide space for debate, considerations of differing perspectives and often identify pathways ahead for the people as a collective. The length of time varied depending on the hui, topic, attendees and kaikorero. The notion of time is not examined deeply in this thesis however there are some differences in perspective between Maori and Pakeha concepts.

Korerorero provides spaces for sporadic discussion to take place. Korero includes; Korero-a-waha (spoken), Korero-a-tuhituhi (written) and Whakawhitiwhiti korero (back and forth discussions). Korero occurred often during the research and has been recorded as personal communication. Mahitahi (to work together) through participant participation and active engagement by the researcher with the underlining notion of working as an individual but also as part of a collective (Smith, 1997; 2012). These are important tenets reflected in kaupapa Maori theory and methodology.

Applying concepts like mahitahi was challenging as an insider researcher. As Smith (2012) describes further, there are personal, political, cultural and ethical considerations a Maori researcher encounters. In this case study being an insider as part of the participants community but also an outsider as part of western education was challenging. As an insider researcher loyalty to my people of Ngati Hine was paramount as was safeguarding the mana and integrity of Ngati Hine. However, the research also identified areas that would not necessarily be appreciated by some members of Ngati Hine, with tensions and a critique of Ngati Hine which as an insider researcher was at times difficult to expose and propose.

These experiences of insider knowledge reinforce the concept whakarongo, which is the ability to be at peace 'rongo' with oneself to be able to listen and to settle any bias and emotion within, to suspend judgement to listen, to receive korerorero without pre-determining a perceived intention or outcome from the speaker. To physically listen with your ears and to also 'listen' to the nuances of the spiritual world, matters and beings, seen and unseen was employed throughout the project.

It is difficult to fathom these concepts without any prior knowledge of te reo Maori, tikanga Maori and a Maori worldview.

Qualitative Case Study (Fieldwork) Methods

The qualitative case study (fieldwork) approach helped focus and bind the case with a focus on *Te Tangi o Kawiti* (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p.547). This approach was employed to complement the kaupapa Maori methodology. Data was drawn from key informant participants semi-structured in-depth individual interviews. The interviews were conducted face to face with five indicative questions as the basis of the interview.

- ❖ What do you know about *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and what does it mean?
- ❖ What does *Te Tangi o Kawiti* tell us about resistance between the Crown and Ngati Hine?
- ❖ What is the impact of colonisation on *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and its messages?
- ❖ How has *Te Tangi o Kawiti* survived in Ngati Hine narratives (purakau or korero tuku iho)?
- ❖ How does *Te Tangi o Kawiti* relate to Treaty Settlements?

The aim of the qualitative research approach was to explore participant knowledge and their relationships, beliefs, values, attitudes and experiences relating to *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and its impact in relation to the case study. As limited written literature exists around aspects of the case study, the participant interviews and content can be considered purakau, taonga and korero tuku iho, a knowledge base unto itself. Qualitative research worked with the kaupapa Maori methods; korororero (sporadic discussion), korero-a-waha (spoken), korero-a-tuhituhi (written) and wananga (meet, deliberate, discuss) that come out of the theoretical framework and the often implicit knowledge in some of the participants responses were noted. It is difficult to see how an outsider researcher would have access to the participants and pick up on nuances, methods and approaches better understood from a kaupapa Maori lens.

One-hour semi-structured face-to-face interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. The recruitment strategy for participants drew on whakapapa with similarities to snowball sampling that links to hermeneutics. In this case study snowballing is reflective of the use of whakapapa and my existing networks that helped to identify the potential participants. Hermeneutics

acknowledges my interpretation throughout the project and in this example how I utilised whakapapa as a method of recruitment in a similar manner that snowballing uses in research.

According to Noy (2008), snowballing,

...is essentially social because it both uses and activates existing social networks. Attending to this dimension, ties the sampling procedure to other aspects and phases of the research. That is, when viewed holistically, different research facets amount to a gestalt where each facet contributes synergistically to the overall research design, which, in turn, can potentially generate an organic and ‘thick’ type of knowledge, knowledge that is so valued in the qualitative social sciences (Noy, 2008, p.332).

The strategy was to use Maori appropriate techniques involving kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) recruitment as the researcher is actively involved in hapu and tribal affairs. Recruitment was at whanau and tribal gatherings or at hapu and community hui. The participants were approached through the researcher’s personal networks after kororero with various hapu members including members in attendance at Te Maara a Hineamaru, Te Runanga o Ngati Hine hui and with some kaumatua.

A total of seven “informants” (De Clerck, Willems, Timmerman, & Carling, 2011, pp.5-7) or participants were interviewed between the age range of 30 years old to over 80 years old. The participants were provided with an information sheet, indicative interview questions and a consent form to read before agreeing to participate in the research. Three of the participants spoke in te reo Maori and English, three spoke in English and one spoke exclusively in te reo Maori. Six of the seven informants agreed to audio recording while one participant provided written answers to the indicative questions and engaged in a six-hour wananga at her kainga.

While there were some indicative questions asked during the interviews other questions arose and kororero where the interviewees were not interrupted when they spoke about other topics. This allowed spaces for tacit knowledge to present itself and to allow the interviewee space to speak as they wished. Bishop’s (1996) argues, “Whanaungatanga literally means relationship by whakapapa, that is blood-linked relationships” (p. 215). This captures the essence of the relationship the researcher has with the participants.

Creswell & Poth (2018) caution qualitative researchers of the possibilities the researcher will “go

native” (p.96). The challenge as a Maori researcher using non-Maori methods as part of the methodology can be often a conflicting space as an insider researcher. The participants are related to the researcher and at times conversations and discussions continued at whanau and tribal gatherings during the course of this study. It is anticipated after this study the dialogue will continue despite the outcome and findings of this thesis. At times, the terms participants and informants used to describe whanau and hapu members challenged the researcher and required continually reflecting on the underlying theoretical underpinnings of the project. Where essentially whanaunga have been recruited to participate as informants for the study but will remain whanaunga after the study (Rewi, 2014).

The research participants who were the key informants for this study were primarily selected because they whakapapa to Ngati Hine. Participants were also selected for their range of knowledge relating to *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and prior knowledge and understanding of the Treaty claims, mandating and settlement processes. There were four wahine (women) and three tane (male); other members of Ngati Hine were identified as possible participants however timeframes and resourcing limitations were also factored into the recruitment of the final seven participants.

It is important to note that the findings from the participants are not exhaustive and contribute to a body of knowledge that already exists. However, that data and knowledge is not necessarily found in non-Maori forums, accounts of history or written literature. This can be viewed as the manifestation of colonisation where Maori knowledge, such as purakau has been divorced in many respects to Maori communities as part of assimilation and colonisation. Arguably in the past Maori knowledge and whakapapa was also privy to tohunga or particular hereditary lines as the repositories of knowledge and whakapapa of whanau and hapu, this suggests that colonisation was not the only factor in minimising Maori knowledge and history, but certainly a main contributor. However, Ngati Hine tikanga also ascribed rules that make it difficult for all hapu members to access tribal knowledge for a myriad of reasons but generally to safeguard the collective and maintain ascribed tribal roles, traditions and to maintain the integrity of whakapapa.

Komiri riwai are terms to describe sorting out or grading potatoes (Harris & Niha, 1999). Komiri tangata are terms to describe a similar process with people. A whakatauki often heard in Ngati Hine refers to this notion,

Komiri riwai, kaua e komiri tangata. Grade potatoes, do not grade people.

During the analysis process and a review of the recruitment process, while categorisation or classification of participants did not seem to be a factor as they did not necessarily give weight to the knowledge participants possessed, there was some classification in the recruitment process. Classification or komiri tangata such as the classification of people based on education, income level and marital status was not initially considered. However, whakapapa links to Kawiti and the participants contribution and involvement in Ngati Hine kaupapa did play a factor in recruitment.

The researcher as part of the research group was privy to more personal information about the participants than an outsider researcher would have been. Accessibility to participants was already established through kinship and regular interaction at whanau and tribal kaupapa gatherings. Despite what the whakatauki suggests on grading potatoes and people, there was some classification in recruitment. However, the categories of classification arguably differed to Pakeha, western or colonised constructed categories or classification. In this case study whakapapa and the participants involvement in the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement processes were the key criteria.

The interviews were conducted over a five month period between February 2018 to May 2018 and the geographical selection of participants was aimed at those living in the research area of Te Porowini o Ngati Hine, the geographical boundaries of Ngati Hine, outlined in chapter one. Timeframes and resourcing were also contributing factors to the interviews. The participants were asked to delve into their experiences, beliefs and opinions during the interviews. Their responses as part of the interviews do not necessarily reflect those of all the members of Ngati Hine. However, they did provide insight and perspectives that informs this study along with the other elements featured in this thesis.

This study incorporates a literature review in chapter three and is additional to the data gathered and analysed from the seven participants as part of qualitative fieldwork within this study. Some

of the participants interview data also feature in the literature review and add to the existing literature.

2.4 Data Processing & Analysis

The data collection process can be viewed as a kete (basket) that gathered the narratives and data. In the kete are other purakau and literature. The data collected therefore does not stand alone or sit in isolation to other sources as the only interpretation of the subject. This study adds to existing analysis. Kaupapa Maori facilitated the examination of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* through purakau. Hermeneutics underpinned the data collection and analysis process in a manner that took into consideration my role in the process and the impact my interpretation of the data has on the analysis process. The interpreting of the data was further generated by filtering observations through networks and frameworks influenced by the researcher's own axiology, epistemology and ontology or worldview (O'Leary, 2010).

It is difficult to comprehend how an 'outsider' researcher could grapple with interpreting such data and the realities of the participants and purakau that an insider would more naturally have greater insight. Smith (2012) argues that non-Maori researchers researching into Maori communities distort concepts of what it means to be Maori that can perpetuate stereotypes and wedge Maori into a cultural identity and concepts that does not necessarily meet the lived or perceived reality of Maori as the researched. There are also elements of interpretation by an 'insider' researcher that could lead to romanticise and glorify the hapu and purakau and accentuate or embellish aspects in a bid to seek justice. Or to right the wrongs of colonised historical accounts of Maori knowledge, which is seen in some Pakeha or western historical accounts that portray male figures as saviours and the placement of a battle as the focal point. Consideration of these notions required constant checking of research processes, tikanga and acknowledging the intentions of the researcher within the project.

The hermeneutic phenomenological approach as part of the methodology helped guide the researcher to bring awareness of their impact to the interpretation process of data (O'Leary, 2010). Smith (2012) goes further to insist that kaupapa Maori research requires the participants and the researcher be Maori with a Maori worldview to give some credibility of the researcher to the

researched Maori community. As stated in positioning the researcher section of chapter one of this thesis, the researcher is from Ngati Hine the focal group of this study.

The project employed a hermeneutic phenomenological approach to complement the kaupapa Maori approach to further reveal explicit and tacit knowledge. It is a key methodological tool to unravel hidden narratives and hidden meanings. Heidegger's contribution to developing phenomenology into a hermeneutic approach complements purakau in this study to reveal what may already be known, taken for granted or what is hidden, rather than relying primarily on evidence (Ray, 1994, pp. 117-133). In the past, evidence was often written by another culture and negated *Te Tangi o Kawiti* as part of colonial historical amnesia. The hermeneutic approach was critical in bringing awareness as the researcher of the impact of interpretation in the process of data collection and analysis (O'Leary, 2010), particularly as an insider researcher and whanaunga to the participants.

The impact of colonisation has been devastating in many ways and is described further in chapter five. Having a clear understanding of what it means to be Maori when the imprints of colonisation (Mahuika, 2008) are present in the researcher's life was difficult to reconcile. While kaupapa Maori has driven this study there is no denying the presence of Pakeha analysis threaded throughout, as Kawiti predicted when he said, *Hei Poai Pakeha koutou i muri nei* - You shall be Pakeha boys in *Te Tangi o Kawiti*. The same notion can be applied to the researcher's data collection and analysis in this project. The next section discusses one of the academic western traditions applied to this analysis process

Thematic Networks Analysis

The approach used for coding the data in this project was based on thematic networks analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun & Clarke, 2006). A coding framework was employed for the informant interviews. The analysis relied on the methodological approaches as stated earlier in the chapter. A thematic analysis approach was used in order to break down the data from the seven participant interviews, into understandable segments. The purpose was to produce codes, discussion points and to then produce themes, to form the basis of the findings. According to Attride-Stirling (2001), thematic networks with web like diagrams help refine key themes to

emerge following discussion around codes. The themes were organised into what Attride-Stirling (2001) describes as “Basic Themes, Organizing Themes and finally Global Themes” (p.397).

During the research analysis phase of this project the Crown engaged with Ngapuhi to vote on the Evolved Ngapuhi Mandate proposal in 2018. A group was formed named Te Roopu Tuhono with representatives from the Crown, Tuhoronuku (TIMA) and Te Kotahitanga o Nga Hapu o Ngapuhi. The process led by Te Roopu Tuhono rolled out with multiple hapu hui (meetings) held over the course of a year and then concentrated over a six-week period from November 2018 to December 2018. Ngapuhi were asked to vote on the matter at these hui. Attending these hui provided further insight into the research topic. As an insider researcher access to information from the hapu and whanau, as a member of the hapu was unobstructed and available. An outsider researcher might not have even been aware the hui were happening. These hui had an impact on the data analysis as they were happening in parallel. The hui provided kororero, unanticipated dialogue and information that was shared by speakers at the hui that related to the topic.

Other sources of data as part of the analysis include a review of literature detailed in chapter three. Literature was reviewed from a range of sources including kaupapa Maori specific literature, academic articles, the Waitangi Tribunal record of inquiry documentation, particularly where *Te Tangi o Kawiti* featured in documentation, whanau and claimant evidence. Other sources of data included independent or collaborated commissioned reports, whanau sources and documentation such as writings, letters, books, academic literature, photographs, carvings, moko (tattoo) and tukutuku (lattice panels).

Interpreting literature and sources relied on a hermeneutic phenomenological approach. While qualitative research seems compatible with kaupapa Maori research, the philosophical underpinnings of hermeneutical phenomenology contributors such as Heidegger⁹ for example and his affiliation to Nazism challenges the researcher to constantly bring awareness to the project’s context, multiple worldviews and conscious and unconscious influences. The approach required a holistic view and captured holism, taking into consideration the primary researcher’s whakapapa,

⁹ Heidegger, a German philosopher and thinker known for contribution to hermeneutic phenomenology.

role, experiences and existing knowledge as an insider researcher, a descendant of Kawiti and related to all the participants.

At times data collection and data analysis was often a “simultaneous process” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p.197) that relied on interpretation and summarising themes from codes to create some unity of themes to condense ideas and concepts. Codes and recurrent topics and issues from the data were first explored and to incorporate a critical analysis to help construct the codes and deconstruct data to produce themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Some pre-established themes were based on the indicative questions in the interviews and included;

- ❖ Interpretations and understanding of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*;
- ❖ *Te Tangi o Kawiti*'s connection and impact to resistance between the Crown and Ngati Hine;
- ❖ *Te Tangi o Kawiti*'s survival in Ngati Hine purakau despite colonisation and;
- ❖ Ngati Hine's engagement with the Crown in the Treaty Settlement process.

Throughout the data analysis the process of negotiating, reviewing and re-categorising and coding data to generate and define findings was applied. What followed were networks of identified patterns, themes and differences or tensions.

2.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an analysis of the research design for this thesis and the theoretical underpinnings and paradigms of the study. The analysis is to provide a lens through which the case study can be viewed and interpreted.

Ki te Whai-Ao ki Te Ao-Marama Purakau Methodology paradigm (Figure 7) informed the theoretical framework and facilitates a space for knowledge to unfold, rooted in whakapapa (genealogy), cosmogony, tikanga (customs, principles, law, lore) and Maori tangata whenua axiology (Best, 1899). The methodology of this project relied on the triangulation of three methodological approaches to explore the topic. Where kaupapa Maori overarches a hermeneutics approach and qualitative research (fieldwork). Kaupapa Maori is therefore the lens, theory and

methodology in which the overall project positions itself (Cooper, 2012; Mahuika, 2008; Milne, 2009; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2010; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2000; Smith, 2012).

AROTAKE TUHINGA

Chapter 3 - Literature Review

Introduction

This literature review explores various text and articles that contribute to this research project titled, “Hei poai pakeha koutou i muri nei – You shall be pakeha boys” (Kawiti, 1956, p.46). The literature review is the first step in analysis to provide counter points to the data collected from the participant interviews as part of this project. The literature was reviewed from a range of sources including oral and non-western traditional forms of literature, kaupapa Maori specific literature, academic articles, the Waitangi Tribunal record of inquiry documentation, particularly where *Te Tangi o Kawiti* featured in documentation, whanau and claimant evidence. Other sources of data included independent or collaborated commissioned reports and at times data from the participant interviews of this research project.

The research examines how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* impacts Ngati Hine resistance to contemporary engagement with the Crown. A key focus is on Ngati Hine's engagement in the Treaty claims, mandating and settlement processes. The key question for the research project is - How does *Te Tangi o Kawiti* impact on Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown in the Treaty Settlement process? The research project relies on triangulation to explore the topic, where kaupapa Maori overarches hermeneutics and qualitative research (fieldwork) as discussed in the other chapters.

Ngati Hine's direct engagement in the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandate and settlement processes in the last decade has brought *Te Tangi o Kawiti* (Adair, 2016; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Kawiti, 1956; Milne, 2009) into the forefront of community discussions. While *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has been in existence since 1846, it is now a topical issue amongst the people of Ngati Hine and has been highlighted in several briefs of evidence through the Treaty claims and inquiry processes (Adair, 2016; Downs & Jamieson, 2017; Ngati Hine Evidence, 2014). Some descendants of Kawiti carry the names “Poai Pakeha” meaning Pakeha boy, “Te Pene i Hainangia Te Tiriti o Waitangi” referring to the pen that signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi and “Te Herewhenua” referring to the tying

or binding of land (Adair, 2016). These names come directly from *Te Tangi o Kawiti* or relate to the time of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. The wealth of knowledge relating to Ngati Hine history, purakau and the relationship with the Crown has yet to be fully explored in the literature, as the stories are not often published or exposed in the public domain. More recently they have appeared through the Waitangi Tribunal claims process (Adair, 2016; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014).

Kawiti

Five generations after our tupuna (ancestor) Hineamaru came Kawiti. He was later named by Pakeha Te Ruki (the duke) Kawiti (Martin, 1990; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013, pp.139-144). Kawiti was one of the most famous tohunga or high priests of Ngati Hine and Ngapuhi. According to Milne (2009) “Many books and articles have been written about this rangatira or tohunga and his ability to strategically plan and execute battles. He was able to read a battle situation and then plan a counterattack, and he was always successful” (p.1).

It was during Kawiti's time that the uri (descendants) of Hineamaru more commonly took up the name Ngati Hine. This was to represent their tribal boundaries, whakapapa (genealogy) and whanaungatanga (kinship, relationships), “...earlier they were Ngai Tamatea or Ngati Rangi” (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013, pp.86-95; Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, personal communication, October 14, 2017). Kawiti was rangatira (revered, chief) at the signing of He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni in 1835, Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 and personally led the battle of Ruapekapeka in 1845. The signings of He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the battle of Ruapekapeka were highlighted throughout Ngati Hine's claims against the Crown before the Waitangi Tribunal (Ngati Hine Evidence, 2014).

According to purakau and korero tuku iho Kawiti was born around 1770 (Martin, 1990). His parents were Huna and Te Tawai. Kawiti was a descendant of Rahiri and Ahuaiti, Uenuku and Kareariki, Torongare and Hauhaua and Hineamaru and Koperu. Martin (1990) details how Kawiti became known as 'The Duke', Te Ruki,

When Kawiti reached maturity, he was admitted into Te Whare Wananga mo nga Tohunga

at Taumarere, one of the ancestral villages of Ngati Hine. As he gained a reputation as a fighting warlord, Europeans gave him the nickname 'The Duke' (Te Ruki). (Martin, 1990, p.39).

Te Tawai Kawiti (1956) provides insight into his great grandfather's nature,

It may be of interest to relate here a story written by an ex-soldier in his diary. This story concerns the emissary who on behalf of the Governor, asked Kawiti whether he had had enough of the fighting. The reply was "If you have had enough I have had enough, but if you have not had enough then I have not had enough either". The pakeha replied, "You are a noble sort of a New Zealand savage" (Kawiti, 1956, p.45).

Kawiti's first wife Kawa had their sons Taura, Wiremu Te Poro, and Maihi Paraone (Te Kuhunga). Kawiti's second wife Te Tiwha had their daughter named Tuwahine (Martin, 1990; Milne, 2009; Ngati Hine Evidence, 2014). The places he occupied included Otuihu, Pumanawa, Waiomio, Taumarere, Orauta and Mangakahia amongst other places. The battle sites attributed to Kawiti include but are not limited to Otarawa, Tikokauae in Motatau, Ruapekapeka and Puketona (Martin, 1990; Milne, 2009; Ngati Hine Evidence, 2014). Kawiti also intervened in several other battles where he sought peace to prevail before further warfare but that became inescapable and saw the beginning of the Northern War in the 1840s.

Kawiti resisted British rule before and after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. He had lost lands to colonial officials who negotiated purchases with others, leading to mistrust by the time of the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi on the 6th of February in Waitangi, 1840. He did not sign immediately declaring,

Who said we want you to stay here? We don't want to be restricted, or to be trampled on by you. The missionaries may stay, but you must return to your own country. There is no place here for the Governor! (Ngati Hine Evidence, 2014, p.41).

Later in 1840, at a meeting with Hobson pressure was mounting from his people for Kawiti to sign Te Tiriti o Waitangi with "te ngu o tana ihu". This refers to signing Te Tiriti o Waitangi with the marks of the scrolls on his nose, which were the most sacred part of his moko (tattoo). (Kawiti, 1956; Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, Written Response Pre-Interview, April 18, 2018).

The Northern War was raging in 1845 with Kawiti and Hone Heke's (Heke) people against the British and their Maori allies. Many of the British allies were blood related to Kawiti and Heke,

including Tamati Waka Nene (Nene). Along with Heke, Kawiti challenged the British resulting in battles at Kororareka, Russell where the British flagstaff on Maiki Hill was cut down. According to whanau korero tuku iho Pumuka died shielding Kawiti on the 11th of March in 1845 (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Ngati Hine Evidence, 2014). The battle of Ohaeawai followed in July 1845 inflicting defeat on the British. Governor Robert FitzRoy's plea for peace was rejected by Kawiti.

Later that year the battle of Ruapekapeka ensued where the British and Kawiti's people and their allies fought for two weeks (Martin, 1990). Kawiti's people were said to have hid like bats in the bunker trenches, giving the name of the site Ruapekapeka, (The Bats Nest). The battle of Ruapekapeka was considered a victory to Kawiti's people and allies. By the end of January in 1846 Kawiti and Heke negotiated peace with the British and Nene. Later Kawiti sang *Te Taku Ate a Kawiti*, see Figure 8 (Kawiti, 1956) to commemorate the fractured divisions in Ngapuhi following the war and the factions of Ngapuhi that did not come to his aid during the war. This peacemaking notion and moment in time is often referred to as “Houhou te rongopai” in tribal purakau and korero tuku iho (Adair, 2016; Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, personal communication, October 28, 2016).

In 1846 Kawiti went to Pukepoto, Pehiaweri in Whangarei Terenga Paraoa. This is where *Te Tangi o Kawiti* was said following the Northern War (Mihiwira Maria, personal communication, October 28, 2016). Several other hapu and rangatira were involved in the Northern War. However, the focus in this thesis is on Kawiti and in particular leading up to when *Te Tangi o Kawiti* was spoken in 1846. Kene Hine Te Uira Martin (2018) provides some context leading up to *Te Tangi o Kawiti*,

Kawiti went to Whangarei to return the body of a warrior from the Waiariki people who had fought beside him at Ohaeawai battle, and was killed at that battle. His name was Tuhaia. The meeting took place at Pukepoto, a pa near Glenbervie on the road to Ngunguru. The local people spoke of Kawiti's presence with awe! “This must surely be the Kawiti, who answered 'yes' to Whareumu's appeal for help against his enemies the Ngati Whatua in the past! Was it not right that he should return the death of Tuhaia? Ka tika, quite right!” During the meeting, it is said that Kawiti uttered the “now famous saying”¹⁰ (Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, Written Response Pre-Interview, April 18, 2018).

¹⁰ Referring to *Te Tangi o Kawiti*.

Kawiti died in 1854. He was around 80 years old, his successor was his son Maihi Paraone Kawiti. Following Maihi's death Hoterene Hoterene Kawiti his nephew became his successor and later Te Riri Maihi Kawiti, Maihi's son.

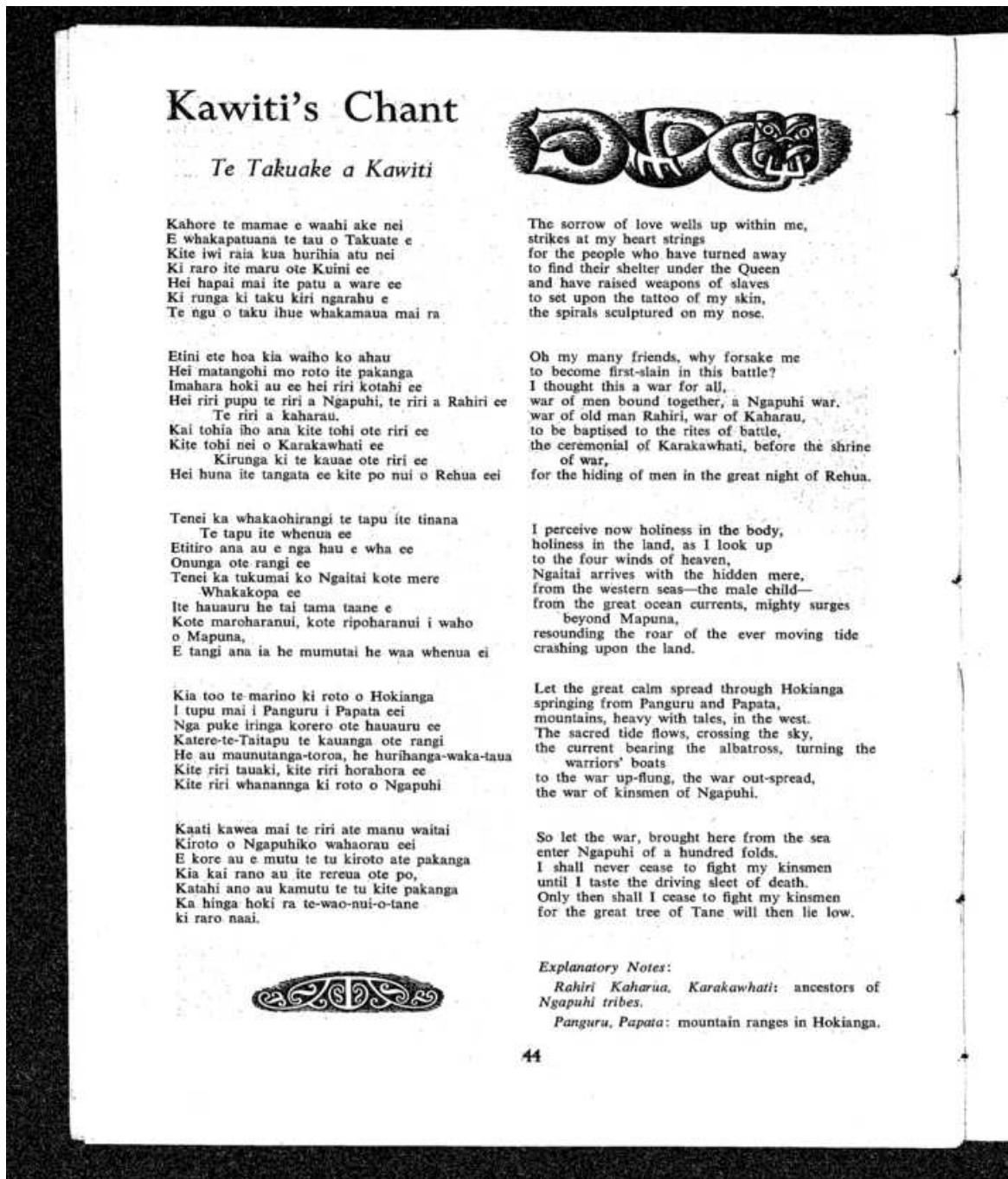


Figure 8. Kawiti's chant Te Taku ate a Kawiti (Kawiti, 1956, p.44)

Purakau and Ohaki

The term ohaki generally describes a final speech or parting wish and words said by an aging or dying tupuna, rangatira and leader to provide guidance to their people (Moorefield, 2018). Interpretations may include guidance for cultural and social mores, whakapapa links, belonging, identity of a kinship groups, the boundaries and definition of whanau, hapu and iwi parametres, the basis for inter-tribal and other relationships and tikanga. Ohaki, therefore, gives a voice to whanau, hapu, and iwi histories that have been destroyed or marginalised through colonisation. Ohaki such as *Te Tangi o Kawiti* can be considered a form of purakau. A wealth of knowledge relating to Ngati Hine history and the relationship with the Crown has yet to be fully explored as the stories are not often published or exposed in the public domain.

This study facilitates a kaupapa Maori paradigm as a space for the language of tupuna to be heard and for the researcher to interpret these riddled, metaphoric and multi-layered purakau and korero that connect past and present through methods including wananga, korero, mahitahi and whakarongo. Oral language traditions and use of tauparapara, pepeha, waiata, haka, whakatauki and ohaki all provide creative communication styles and techniques and make up some of the known mediums that feed into purakau (Lee, Hoskins & Doherty, 2005).

Te Tangi o Kawiti can be considered an oati (oath), poropiti (prophecy), whakatauki (proverb) an ohaki (Moorfield, 2018), guide, a religion, pedagogy or a legacy among other descriptions (Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, Written Response Pre-Interview, April 18, 2018; Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018; Tohe Ashby, Interview, March 23, 2018).

Lee (2009) describes purakau are narratives that “...contains philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and world views that are fundamental to our identity as Maori” (p.1). *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, therefore, can be considered to stem from purakau and give voice to Maori identity and history. While there are some regional differences between hapu, iwi and rohe (boundaries, area) purakau generally encourage the handing on of knowledge in a culturally appropriate space (Jones, 2016; Smith, 1997). Lee (2009) goes on to state that purakau also draw from and respond to the wider historical, social and political research contexts, in particular the early New Zealand “research” context that recorded purakau as myths and legends (p.1). For Ngati

Hine Te Tangi o Kawiti is not a false belief that a myth or legend would suggest but an enduring purakau, korero tuku iho or narrative with an active and living kaupapa rooted in whakapapa, cosmogony, tikanga and Ngati Hine history.

The process that purakau navigates through encourages the handing on of korero contributing to the retention of whanau, hapu and iwi knowledge. That knowledge informs the Maori tangata whenua worldview, which is at the core of this research. The collective generally benefit through communicating of each hapu, iwi and rohe's knowledge through methods such as purakau, as it helps build and enhance the knowledge bank of Maori epistemology and identity, which has in the past been written by another culture as part of colonisation (Smith, 2012).

‘Korero tuku iho’ are terms used by Ngati Hine to describe oral traditions connecting into purakau. Te reo Maori is considered a taonga tuku iho (gift handed down) descending from Te Toi o nga Rangi (summit of the heavens). Furthermore, Tai Tokerau Maori believe they are “descendants of atua and as partners with them in a physical and spiritual universe” (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013, pp.39-45; Waitangi Tribunal, 1997, p.21). Ngati Hine connect atua to tikanga and the way they conduct themselves. Ture tikanga and ture tangata are terms used to describe Ngati Hine laws, lores and principles. Ture tikanga is about the common universal principles of tikanga such as whakapapa, mauri, manaakitanga and our connection to Papatuanuku, atua and te ao turoa. Ture tikanga is arguably how Kawiti in his era would have lived which is to feel and be open to guidance from the natural world as tangata whenua. Ture tikanga provide the fundamentals of Ngati Hine people and are considered nga taonga tuku iho and do not change. Ture tangata differs and is basically law or rules created by man. Ture tangata can be challenged the whole way through life (Adair, 2016). The actions of the Crown correlate primarily to ture tangata. If Ngati Hine consider we are descendants of atua (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013, pp.39-45; Waitangi Tribunal, 1997, p.21) and work with ture tikanga this provides some context why Ngati Hine challenge the Crown and the New Zealand government.

Kaupapa Maori, Knowledge and Epistemology

The descriptions of kaupapa Maori vary. However some of the common principles for kaupapa Maori applied to this study do reflect research that is culturally appropriate to Maori, is led by

Maori with notions of collectivism and transformation (Cooper, 2012; Jones, 2016; Kerr, 2011; Mahuika, 2008; Milne, 2009; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2010; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2000; Smith, 2012). I concede that concepts that form a Maori world view have universal principles. However, Ngati Hine definition of kaupapa Maori lies also in the way that Ngati Hine defines itself. In that sense this study is more kaupapa a hapu (tribal specific). Royal (1992) highlights that ‘Maori history is tribal history’ (p. 13) and *Te Tangi o Kawiti* is integral to Ngati Hine whakapapa, identity and history. Arguably *Te Tangi o Kawiti* extends beyond Ngati Hine to other hapu as it reflects a place and time that is important to many hapu in Te Tai Tokerau.

Tenets of kaupapa Maori affirms te reo Maori (language) and tikanga Maori (customs) as fundamental to its practice and that practice extends beyond the history of colonisation (Cooper, 2012; Henry & Pene, 2001; Mahuika, 2008; Milne, 2009; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2010; Smith, 2000; Smith, 2012). These tenets of kaupapa Maori theory are utilised throughout this thesis as a lens to view and interpret the case study material of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, Ngati Hine, the Crown and the Treaty Settlement processes. Pakeha, English and non-Maori readers may struggle to comprehend these aspects in the same way a member of Ngati Hine will.

Henry and Pene (2001) argue, “that resistance to the colonial heritage and hegemony of New Zealand’s colonial past, are at the forefront of developing the kaupapa Maori paradigm” (p.234). Kaupapa Maori theory therefore imposes a moral function on history, in which the findings of the research are required to assist with decolonising objectives (Cox, 2007; Smith, 2012). However, if Maori since the arrival of Pakeha have been influenced by colonisation (Mahuika, 2008), is it possible to apply decolonising objectives as the process of colonisation has already set itself deeply into parts of Maori history, knowledge and identity today. While kaupapa Maori asserts the practice of active resistance to the continued colonisation of Maori people and culture, I do not attempt to negate the colonial whakapapa, constructs, influence and opportunities (Mahuika, 2008) that impact and at times have been embraced by Maori and Ngati Hine. A component of this study’s methodological approach has been to acknowledge other ideologies as seen. The focus however is set from a Maori and specifically Ngati Hine worldviews. The challenge for this research project has not been to reject Pakeha knowledge as it is about empowering Maori tangata whenua.

Te Tangi o Kawiti contains covert messages and this research analyses and explores its diverse meanings and interpretations through a kaupapa Maori worldview. According to Smith (2000) as Maori, “We 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) and a cosmogony stemming from the long unfolding and creation stories; Ranginui (sky father) and Papatuanuku (earth mother) and where the “genesis” (Best, 1899, p.294) or the growth of the world is likened to the development of a tree, informing the Maori, tangata whenua worldviews and identity.

According Marie & Haig (2006), “... for many the term worldview has erroneously come to serve as a synonym for science and knowledge” (p.18). Essentially, they disregard aspects of kaupapa Maori and purakau as knowledge, giving preference to science, western and Pakeha knowledge. Cooper (2012) challenges “what knowledge is and how we should produce knowledge” (p.65). Marie & Haig (2006) urge kaupapa Maori researchers to consider “...the strengths of scientific realist methodology” (p.17). However, it is difficult to apply science without kaupapa Maori for this research project, as kaupapa Maori knowledge connects to and has its origins in the metaphysical and is a “body of knowledge accumulated by the experiences through history, of the Maori people” (Nepe, 1991, p.4).

Marie & Haig (2006) go on to express concern that kaupapa Maori research “...methodology has not been subject to critical evaluation, and that little of the research has been published in peer-reviewed journals” (p.18). There is difficulty in comparing written peer-reviewed journals against purakau and korero tuku iho, or oral traditions handed down (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013). For example, descendants of Kawiti carry names taken directly from *Te Tangi o Kawiti* over five to eight generations, since 1846 like Poai Pakeha Rata Tipene. Kawiti’s descendants are able to recite *Te Tangi o Kawiti* from memory and it is spoken as part of formal speeches on marae and at tribal gatherings. This makes it difficult to compare with written literature and the issues Marie & Haig (2006) raise relating to kaupapa Maori. Purakau set against written literature brews tension that is reflected throughout this project, as is the different languages of te reo Maori and English and their whakapapa or epistemologies.

Smith (2012) highlights how science has undermined and negated Maori knowledge and history with “...numerous oral stories which tell of what it means, what it feels like, to be present while your history is erased before your eyes, dismissed as irrelevant, ignored or rendered as the lunatic ravings of drunken old people” (p.31). This approach to Maori knowledge and history, accounts for purakau like *Te Tangi o Kawiti* largely unacknowledged in New Zealand history domains, schools and education institutions, despite the significance in this instance of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* to Ngati Hine and the country's constitution. Essentially it has undermined and eroded Ngati Hine's account of history, minimising knowledge and impacts on Ngati Hine as sovereign and rangatira.

Cooper (2012) argues that within kaupapa Maori there is no need to continually explain or defend Maori knowledge and Maori ways of knowing, as kaupapa Maori research takes this for granted, in the same way that, “...science takes for granted its own epistemological assumption as a universal position” (p.67). Mahuika (2008) asserts that kaupapa Maori is a theory and practice of active resistance to the continued colonisation of Maori people and culture. However, “the modification and adaptation from outside does not mean that kaupapa Maori is entirely devoid of colonial imprints, mechanisms, and opportunities” (p.12). Kaupapa Maori challenges the power relations in Aotearoa, Nu Tireni, New Zealand's history of colonisation (Pihama, 2010; Smith, 2012), supporting Maori epistemologies or ways of knowing in resistant non-Maori forums by a providing a framework to critique and interact with Maori.

The challenge is not only for kaupapa Maori researchers to actively engage in western, scientific and traditional positivist approaches (Cooper, 2012; Fanon, 2004; Lee, 2009; Mahuika, 2008). It is for non-Maori researchers to acknowledge and engage in Maori tangata whenua approaches. For non-Maori researchers to acknowledge purakau and korero tuku iho as a body of knowledge and essentially another form of literature. Another challenge is to maintain the mana and mauri of Maori topics within a heavily dominated western, scientific and traditional positivist research space. This requires te reo Maori and some application of tikanga and whakapapa (Ray, 1994, pp. 117-133; Smith, 2012).

Smith (2012) observed “that the word research is one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary” (p.1) and this relates to western, scientific and traditional positivist approaches of research that are connected to issues of power, marginalisation, control and identity (Cooper, 2012; Fanon, 2004; Freire, 2000; Henry & Pene, 2001; Lee, 2009; Mahuika, 2008; Smith, 2012), generally at the expense of indigenous groups like Ngati Hine. Mahuika (2008) reflects on the 1970s, when Maori began to resist non-Maori researchers and continued exploitation. The lack of ‘evidential’ evidence based written literature and access to Maori repositories of knowledge, who are often people, not necessarily texts, presents challenges for any researcher in Maori contexts, where mauri is acknowledged and considered in the collation and interpretation process of the research, where tikanga is acknowledged and integrated. This requires awareness of one’s own ontology, epistemology and axiology while acknowledging differences and similarities. Research with Maori can prove difficult for any researcher with possibly limited or no access to some unpublished written literature and oral accounts of purakau, particularly when a whanau deliberately hide or safeguard narratives or artefacts because of previous negative experiences of exploitation and abuse with research carried out by non-Maori (Smith, 2012). Understanding these complexities provides insight into kaupapa Maori research and the study of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*.

Purakau and korero tuku iho are often met with strong negative and reductive reaction or considered invalid in non-Maori domains (Adair, 2016; Cooper, 2012). Research that undermines kaupapa Maori generally lacks understanding of Maori epistemology and the harsh realities that colonisation has delivered in the last two centuries and continues to do today (Adair, 2016; Cooper, 2012; Fanon, 2004, Freire, 2000; Smith, 2012). Measuring western or other notions of knowledge against kaupapa Maori is often accompanied with underpinning notions of utilitarianism, that “maximizes the good” (Johnson, 1966, p.1) with the greatest good to the greatest number of people. For Ngati Hine like other indigenous and colonised communities this has involved discontinuing any aspects of traditional culture seen as potential barriers (Lodge, 2001). For this reason, *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has essentially been negated or marginalised in Pakeha accounts of New Zealand history.

It becomes evident that *Te Tangi o Kawiti* although known in Ngati Hine has been deliberately minimised in non-Maori domains as part of colonisation. Moon (2000) argues that, “The ethical basis of Britain's colonising could also be justified through selective utilitarianism, in which the

utility of a certain group (those carrying out the colonising) could take priority over individuals or communities involved (those being colonised)” (pp.9-11). These notions are seen in the historical accounts of Ngati Hine rangatiratanga in New Zealand. The Crown through government legislation and policies including the Treaty claims, mandate and settlement processes has undermined Ngati Hine knowledge and imposed their system of supposed power upon Ngati Hine in an insidious manner (Adair, 2016; Downs & Jamieson, 2017; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013). What has emerged is a resurgence of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and vehement opposition from Ngati Hine to aspects in the Crown constructed Treaty mandating and settlement processes.

Ngati Hine and the Crown

The Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 remains a topic of debate and protest in Aotearoa, Nu Tirenī, New Zealand. The Crown's obligations as a Treaty partner with Maori still lacks clarity (Adair, 2016; Barrett & Connelly-Stone, 1998; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). The differences between the two texts of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Maori version) and the Treaty of Waitangi (the English version) have influenced much of the developments of Aotearoa, Nu Tirenī, New Zealand, despite the ongoing confusion around their meanings, effects and comparison (Ruwhiu, 2013, pp.125-128; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). The differences and use of the English version has caused conflict and uncertainty around the place of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and ultimately has meant that the Crown's right to kawanatanga (govern) Pakeha needs to balance against the protection of rangatiratanga (Barrett & Connelly-Stone, 1998, p.3).

Kawiti's reservations in signing Te Tiriti o Waitangi were evident early on,

He refused to sign the treaty for fear that his sacred moko would provide the means by which the government would commence taking the lands. He said to Hobson, 'Who said we want you to stay here? We don't want to be restricted, or to be trampled on by you. The missionaries may stay, but you must return to your own country. There is no place here for the governor!'. Kawiti did not give his agreement to the treaty on 6 February when others signed at Waitangi, but his people still pressed him to sign. At a special meeting with Hobson, in May 1840, Kawiti reluctantly agreed to sign the treaty. (His name appears above the signatures of 6 February.) He expressed his reservations in the strongest terms, saying the Maori population was declining so fast that the Europeans were likely to get the land anyway. He did not want to 'sign away his land'. (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013, p.141).

Te Tangi o Kawiti suggests, to keep faith for the day will come where “the sandfly bites upon the pages of the book” (Kawiti, 1956, p.46) referring to the Treaty and for his people to rise. The Treaty claims and settlement process in Ngapuhi has seen Ngati Hine “rise and oppose” (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013, p.144; Kawiti, 1956) what could be considered Te Tiriti o Waitangi breaches. This is demonstrated by their opposition to the Crown mandated group Tuhoronuku (TIMA), who sought a Ngapuhi Mandate to negotiate and settle Tiriti claims on behalf of Ngapuhi including Ngati Hine.

Ngati Hine have been demonised in the media and held responsible for holding up the Treaty Settlements process for the largest tribe in New Zealand, Ngapuhi. Ngapuhi are also the last tribe to ‘settle’ with the Crown. This has supposedly delayed economic progress and caused in house fighting with whanaunga (relations, kin) (Harawira, 2014; *Treaty wrangle tearing iwi apart*, 2014). Pita Tipene recalled Margaret Mutu saying, "going into any Treaty negotiations without a Tribunal report is like going to war without any bullets for your guns" (*Treaty wrangle tearing iwi apart*, 2014). A key part of Ngati Hine's positioning in the Treaty claims, mandate and settlement processes was to have the claims heard before the Waitangi Tribunal, to expose the colonial negated history and minimised knowledge before any negotiations of settlement began.

The Waitangi Tribunal 2014 report *He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti The Declaration and the Treaty*: The report on stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry states,

We have concluded that in February 1840 the rangatira who signed te Tiriti did not cede their sovereignty. That is, they did not cede their authority to make and enforce law over their people or their territories. Rather, they agreed to share power and authority with the Governor. They agreed to a relationship: one in which they and Hobson were to be equal – equal while having different roles and different spheres of influence. In essence, rangatira retained their authority over their hapu and territories, while Hobson was given authority to control Pakeha (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, p.xxii).

From a Ngati Hine perspective the Crown continues to deny that rangatira, like Kawiti, who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi did not cede their sovereignty. In his discussions on oppression, Freire (2000) identifies oppressive techniques of conquest, manipulation, cultural invasion, divide and rule, all of which can be identified in the approach the Crown took by declaring Tuhoronuku (TIMA) the

mandated group despite vehement opposition from Ngati Hine and other hapu, which led to the urgent Waitangi Tribunal hearing in 2015 (Nathan, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 2015).

The 2015 tribunal inquiry exposed the Crown manipulated Treaty claims and mandating process (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). The process that saw the Crown as puppet master, pulling all the strings in the Treaty claims, mandate and settlement processes, as a thief, the lawyer, the judge and the chief negotiator. The process assumed all roads would lead to 'settlement' where hapu would sign their rangatiratanga and sovereignty over to the Crown, avoiding the fundamental issues of the Crown and New Zealand government illegally imposing their law and legislation on hapu like Ngati Hine and ignoring Ngati Hine as sovereign and rangatira in Nu Tireni, New Zealand and Aotearoa.

Bargh (2007) questions the settlement process especially where the Crown focuses on opportunities for economic gains for Maori. Separating Treaty Settlements from sovereignty and power indicate that the Crown is ignoring the fundamental issues of rangatiratanga, sovereignty and constitutional issues (p.26). For years sovereignty and constitutional transformation has been central to Ngati Hine's engagement in the Treaty claims, mandating and settlement process. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has been a key point of reference for Ngati Hine engagement.

As Ngati Hine moves from the Waitangi Tribunal's inquiry phase and considers redress and settlement, new issues and questions arise. This research project investigates the premise that the Crown's actions have severely compromised Ngati Hine knowledge and history. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* is central to this contention supported by its inclusion in Waitangi Tribunal briefs of evidence, as part of Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry (Wai 1040), where the tribunal, concluded that the rangatira who signed te Tiriti in 1840 did not cede their sovereignty (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014).

The Crown, based on notions of utilitarianism, colonisation and assimilation have imposed governance and a system upon Ngati Hine. This is seen in the Treaty claims, mandating and settlement processes and is done in such a relentless way, despite Ngati Hine clearly demonstrating resistance since the battle of Ruapekapeka (1845). Successive governments have been successful in removing many cultural barriers to wrangle Ngati Hine into a deadlock between the claims,

mandating and settlement process, pushing for settlement in a process crafted by the Crown to ensure conformity. The space Ngati Hine finds itself in today could be as Smith (2012) describes as going through decolonising.

Paradoxically in an attempt to achieve greater independence from colonial rule and assertion of rangatiratanga, Ngati Hine have also reinforced aspects of Crown and government policy. An example is through imitating colonial mechanisms and institutions as part of participation in the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement processes. This links to *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and the meaning behind Poai Pakeha where Kawiti foresees this. Arguably Ngati Hine have engaged in these processes as a means to be heard in spaces where the Crown and the New Zealand government have largely ignored Ngati Hine. In those processes however, Ngati Hine have allowed the Crown to set the pace and tone of the processes. What emerged is equally Ngati Hine have challenged the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement processes with the might and collective force of joining with other Ngapuhi hapu seen in the unity of Te Kotahitanga o Nga Hapu o Ngapuhi that led to the urgent hearing into the Ngapuhi mandate (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). Ngati Hine are ultimately very aware of their social, economic and cultural predicament and utilise aspects of the process to their advantage as part of cultural adaptation and opportunities (Mahuika, 2008). By challenging the Crown in the Treaty claims and settlement process they have encouraged critical dialogue with the Crown and government. The line between ‘them and us’ becomes blurred, even moreso as members of Ngati Hine have been elected as Crown Ministers in the New Zealand government. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* suggests Kawiti’s people will be confronted with these paradoxes.

Following the Second World War, Aotearoa, New Zealand, Nu Tireni witnessed significant mass Maori urbanisation and a resulting massive loss of te reo Maori being spoken (Kukutai & Taylor, 2015, pp.135-140). The shift from predominantly te reo Maori speaking and tikanga based whanau and hapu communities to industrial urban contexts put pressure on Maori and hapu, like Ngati Hine, to assimilate as part of progressive development. This was largely driven by the Crown and the New Zealand government based on progressive and successful notions of western ideologies and axiologies (Adair, 2016).

The Cold War that followed the Second World War (Keelan & Moon, 1997) threatened large scale physical fighting and violence. However psychological warfare instead with propaganda, espionage and the relentless undermining of authority was seen. Ruapekapeka was the last large-scale physical fighting battle Kawiti fought against the Crown. Today similarities of psychological warfare seen after the Second World War can be seen between Ngati Hine and the Crown, where a modern-day battle has taken place through the Treaty claims, mandating and settlement processes.

Freire (2000) advocates for critical dialogue to raise consciousness or what he termed “conscientization”, between the oppressed and oppressors. Ngati Hine's collaboration with other hapu, through Te Kotahitanga o Nga Hapu o Ngapuhi during the Treaty claims process has seen a shift from a static, oppressed reality pushing beyond what Freire describes as ‘limit situations’ (p.99), as “co-creators of a reality in process, in transformation” (p.83) with the Crown. Ngati Hine's assertion of mana, resistance in critical and significant moments but ultimately active in engagement and critical dialogue with the Crown has given way to revolutionary techniques.

Some of the revolutionary techniques include what Freire (2000) describes as cooperation, organisation, unity and cultural synthesis where Ngati Hine worked in a collaborative and collective approach at times with the Crown and other hapu. For example, working alongside TIMA to form the Maranga Mai Report in 2016 (Maranga Mai Engagement Group, 2016) and other engagements such as voting on the Evolved Ngapuhi Mandate Proposal.

The Evolved Ngapuhi Mandate Proposal rolled out by Te Roopu Tuhono in 2018 followed on from recommendations made in the Waitangi Tribunal report on the Ngapuhi Mandate (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). The process of voting on the evolved mandate often trampled on tikanga Maori and challenged the mana of hapu. The process along with other Crown driven processes drew Ngapuhi together with a common goal to quash the Crown and the New Zealand government's stance on sovereignty over hapu and Maori tangata whenua. Ngati Hine and other hapu demanded co-design of Treaty redress and constitutional transformation of Aotearoa, Nu Tireni, New Zealand and the embodiment of Te Tiriti o Waitangi over the Treaty of Waitangi.

Conclusion

The wealth of knowledge relating to Ngati Hine history, purakau and the relationship with the Crown has yet to be fully explored in literature, as the stories are not often published or exposed in the public domain. More recently they have appeared through the Waitangi Tribunal claims process (Adair, 2016; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). This literature review highlights Kawiti as paramount rangatira and his ability to foresee what lay ahead for his people, as seen in *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, an ohaki and purakau that has endured since 1846. This is despite assimilation and colonisation by the Crown and the New Zealand government to minimise Maori ways of knowing and knowledge and this ohaki has survived in korero tuku iho. The literature review highlights the paradoxical nature of Ngati Hine engaging with the Crown as co-creators in transformation while also resistant in critical and significant moments but ultimately actively engaged in critical dialogue with the Crown, that has given way to revolutionary techniques.

The Crown, based on its assumptions of Te Tiriti o Waitangi imposed governance and a system upon Ngati Hine and Maori tangata whenua in a pervasive, insidious and relentless way largely through actions, at times inaction and legislation from the New Zealand government. Despite clearly demonstrating resistance since the battle of Ruapekapeka (1845) in attempts to achieve greater independence from colonial rule and assertion of tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty), Ngati Hine in many ways have become like “Poai Pakeha”, Pakeha boys as Kawiti predicted.

Ngati Hine is now moving from the Waitangi Tribunal's inquiry phase considering how to progress redress from the Crown and retain freedom and mana. There is no denying that the Crown's actions have severely compromised Ngati Hine knowledge, history and identity and *Te Tangi o Kawiti* is central to this contention supported by its inclusion in Waitangi Tribunal documentation and as part of Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry that challenges the Crown as sovereign over Maori. In 2014 the Waitangi Tribunal, “...concluded that in February 1840 the rangatira who signed te Tiriti did not cede their sovereignty” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). Ngati Hine have always maintained and affirmed this notion.

Despite the Waitangi Tribunal's conclusions, it is evident that the Crown continues to undermine Ngati Hine and other hapu rangatiratanga by continuing to assume they, the Crown is sovereign and superior to Ngati Hine. They are not (Adair, 2016; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). Furthermore, the Crown through government legislation, initiatives and policies have been at the forefront of the often violent and brutal cultural invasion and cultural genocide experienced by iwi and hapu like Ngati Hine (Adair, 2016; Downs & Jamieson, 2017). As Fanon (2004) has observed, "...colonialism is not a machine capable of thinking, a body endowed with reason. It is naked violence and only gives in when confronted with greater violence" (p.23). While *Te Tangi o Kawiti* advocates to "trample hatred under foot" (Adair, 2016, Kawiti, 1956), Ngati Hine have the blood of Kawiti who was known for his strategy in warfare. While he advocated for peace, to what extent Ngati Hine will tolerate the Crown and the New Zealand government's undermining may be further revealed by closely examining *Te Tangi o Kawiti*.

NGA WHAKAPUTANGA

Chapter 4 - *Te Tangi o Kawiti* survival in Purakau

4.1 Introduction

The literature review in chapter three provided some analysis and discussion on Kawiti (Martin, 1990; Milne, 2009), purakau (Maori narratives) (Lee, 2009; wa Thiong'o, 1986), Maori knowledge and epistemologies (Cooper, 2012; Marie & Haig, 2006) and highlights the case study of Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown. This chapter now turns to the interview data from the seven participants to provide some account for the survival of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* in korero tuku iho and purakau. The combining of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* with the literature and the interview data provides some depth to the case study where written literature was limited.

This chapter analyses the case study further in particular *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and its meaning to Ngati Hine. The intention is to account for and understand its survival in purakau despite colonisation. The focus is on the key aspects that influenced its survival particularly in Ngati Hine history. While some literature and research exist on kaupapa Maori, purakau and Kawiti, the literature and analysis of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* is limited. In this chapter the thematic networks analysis of the data (Astride-Stirling, 2001) from the participants' data (audio recorded and transcribed interviews) is examined.

Several important findings emerged. First, the importance and relevance of knowledge concerning Ngati Hine whakapapa, secondly the practice of tikanga and thirdly the application and use of te reo Maori (Lee, 2009; Milne, 2009; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2012, wa Thiong'o, 1986). These three elements provide the platform for any real comprehension of the essence of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*. The findings have been critical in revealing its essence in Ngati Hine history, knowledge and

purakau since 1846. These findings also provide further understanding for why outsider researchers and non-Maori speakers may struggle to grapple with the depth of such purakau and accounts for some marginalisation. These reasons may also influence why *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and other purakau are marginalised in New Zealand history.

Whakapapa provides a link to the past (Pihama, 2010) and *Te Tangi o Kawiti* provides a glimpse into the past and nature of not just Kawiti but the people of Ngati Hine. As Pita suggests,

...instead of seeing a drawing of how Kawiti looked which is probably quite accurate it's more important for use, to know what was in his heart and what was in his mind because what was in his heart and what was in his mind was in the hearts and minds of all of the people of that time. And because he was the one who was articulating it, he's giving you a glimpse. A window into what our people were like and what they were thinking. So those are the very things that we hold dear in 2018 and the successive generations will always hold dear, as we find out more and more (Pita Tipene, Interview, May 09, 2018).

According to Mahuika (2012) oral traditions are fundamental to Maori past, present and future. The analysis revealed that Ngati Hine traditions and knowledge of the past transcends the generations through korero at hui (gatherings), wananga and in person and has been fundamental in the survival of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*. This does not negate written literature but highlights the importance of purakau, oral history and traditions (Lee, 2009; Milne, 2009) particularly for Maori and Ngati Hine. This emphasis suggesting that the need for people to attend hui and gatherings in person to capture the essence of what is being said and not rely entirely on written accounts.

Wa Thiong'o (1986) eventually abandons English and advocates a conscious preference for indigenous languages. What emerged from this study is that it is difficult to speak and comprehend Maori topics such as *Te Tangi o Kawiti* in English. The metaphors and multi-faceted, riddled language as seen in *Te Tangi o Kawiti* places a responsibility on the individual to critically analyse any tacit elements not explicitly revealed that require a Maori worldview, understanding of tikanga and te reo Maori. Wa Thiong'o (1986) suggests that language is a carrier of culture and a way to communicate. This research reveals how language, purakau, korero tuku iho and oral traditions carry the culture of Maori and Ngati Hine history. The use of names of tribal ancestors are one example. Te Riri-whakamutunga-a-Kawiti-ki-te-Ruapekepeka (Kirihi Te Riri Maihi Kawiti)

(Martin, 1998), *Te Pene i Hanangia te Tiriti o Waitangi*, Poai Pakeha, Te Herewhenua, Noema and Mihiwira. These are some of the names that reveal events, symbols and Ngati Hine whakapapa and history. Poai Pakeha suggest becoming a Pakeha boy and is a direct reference in *Te Tangi o Kawiti*. The underlying meaning advocates learning the ways of Pakeha to an extent but implores Ngati Hine to retain the ways of their tupuna. It becomes evident that purakau in Ngati Hine transcends the generations in korero and through the people.

Purakau and korero *tuku iho* incorporates tikanga and korororero of te reo Maori and has been essential in the retention of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*. Written literature has also contributed. Pakeha historical writings largely based on a male perspective that have battles enthusiastically celebrating Kawiti's influence to strategy and warfare, in particular the underground trenches notably seen in the battle of Ruapekapeka draw significant attention (Belich, 1986; Davis, 1855). The written literature gives focus to battles and strategic warfare and also provides an entry point into the exploration of not only the battle but the people in the battle (Adair, 2016; Kawiti, 1956; Martin, 1990; Martin, 1998; Milne, 2009). Kawiti has been included in some non-Maori history texts where other aspects of Maori and Ngati Hine knowledge and history have largely been ignored or negated (Belich, 1986; Davis, 1855). This chapter analyses *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and its meaning to further understand its survival in purakau and retention in Ngati Hine history and knowledge repositories.

4.2 Understanding *Te Tangi o Kawiti*

Discussions and analysis of the case study in the previous chapters showed that *Te Tangi o Kawiti* stems from Maori narratives (purakau) and is an integral part of Ngati Hine whakapapa and identity. Royal (1992) suggests that Maori history is tribal history and *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has been a consistent guide for the people of Ngati Hine since 1846 leading up to the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement processes of the last decades when the first claims were lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal. This chapter focuses on the understandings, meanings and interpretations of

Te Tangi o Kawiti by the participants. The intention is to highlight how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* impacts Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown in the Treaty claims, mandate and settlement processes. Its retention in Ngati Hine despite colonisation. In this section the thematic networks from the data analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001, Braun & Clarke, 2006) provided points of discussion from the key participants data sourced from the qualitative fieldwork interviews.

This study highlights the location of knowledge in people as the repositories. The format for this chapter is sectioned into each participant and some of their account of *Te Tangi o Kawiti's* meaning and its survival in Ngati Hine purakau. The views expressed are not necessarily the views of all members of Ngati Hine and this analysis is intended to provide a snapshot of some of the findings relative to this chapter.

4.3 Kaikorero

The process used to organise the order of the kaikorero (speakers) or participants in this section is in the order that each interview took place from February 2018 to May 2018. As each interview was completed the researcher's knowledge was extended and the data was analysed against the literature review and thematic network analysis. The participant ages were between 30 years of age to over 80 years of age.

Mihiwira Maria

(Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018)

Mihiwira Maria passed away in April 2018, two months after her interview for this research project. She was over 70 years old at the time of the interview and is the mother of the researcher. It is difficult to comprehend to what extent her passing affected this research project. Moe mai ra, moe mai ra.

Mihiwira Maria was born in the 1940s and was raised with the ‘old people’ as she described them, in both Motatau and Waiomio (Adair, 2016). She lived at her parent’s homestead *Otukaiao* in Motatau and also at the papakainga *Te Paihere* with karani Te Riri Maihi Kawiti in Waiomio with extended whanau. Both papakainga hold significant history for Ngati Hine along with many other papakainga. The history of these papakainga can each be considered purakau. Lee (2009) argues, purakau give a voice to whanau, hapu and iwi history and identity and this is evident in *Te Tangi o Kawiti*.

Mihiwira Maria is a daughter of Poai Pakeha Rata Tipene and Noema Kuti Peita Tipene. She was named after her grandmother on her father’s side who was Mihiwira Hoterene Tipene. A daughter of Hoterene Hoterene Kawiti and Teparā Te Heke. Mihiwira Hoterene Tipene’s name is an acknowledgement of Miss Dorothy Weale (Wheale), a Pakeha philanthropist who aided Maori people to return home from England. Mihiwira Hoterene Tipene’s husband was Te Rata Tipene, a descendant of Mataroria and Moki. Mataroria fought alongside Kawiti at several battles including the battle of Ruapekapeka along with other tupuna of the time. The wharekai (dining house) at Motatau is named Mihiwira. An acknowledgment to Mihiwira Hoterene Tipene’s manaakitanga to the people, particularly around the 1920s when Tau Henare became a member of parliament and would bring his guests to Motatau (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013).

Mihiwira Maria Jakeman was a holder of matauranga and whakapapa. She spoke in a unique way, often riddled, metaphoric, humorous but sharp. She left me to answer questions I had asked her with a labyrinth of choices to choose from. She was a critical thinker. As a whanau we would often call her the riddler. Mihiwira Maria described *Te Tangi o Kawiti*,

It sums it up, what the Treaty of Waitangi is about that's exactly right, there's no other translation other than that ...it's showing the people that warfare never did anything but destroy life, but this doesn't it binds people together (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018).

She provides some understanding to “Waiho mate kakati o te namu ki te wharangi o te pukapuka, ka tahuri atu ai” (Kawiti, 1956, p.46) a sentence from *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, that translates to a sandfly biting at the pages of a book.

...just wait for another sandfly to me and then you smack it. You knock it off. You don't let a sandfly bite at you. Taking your blood. You get rid of it. So what its saying, no you

don't. No more bloodshed that's the end of it. That's all its saying. No more. No more bloodshed. It's better to live in peace, then to live in bloodshed and that is a reminder of your, of your sandfly cause its only gonna come for your blood. Isn't it? (Mihiwira Maria, Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018).

Henry & Pene (2001) argue that resistance to the mechanisms of colonisation is a key component of the kaupapa Maori paradigm. The suggestion to smack or stop the sandfly from drawing blood, appears two-fold, how could you smack the sandfly but without bloodshed. These interpretations could be compared to Ngati Hine's resistance and while still engaging with the Crown in a contemporary context where Ngati Hine have pushed beyond perceived limits seen in the Treaty mandate and settlement processes.

The toll of colonisation and the insidious nature to which the Crown has engaged with Ngati Hine has had devastating effects on Ngati Hine history and purakau. Fanon (2004) promotes the adoption of an anti-colonial approach using Marxian notions to challenge power structures and politics. Ngati Hine's resistance activities in the Treaty mandating process (Waitangi, 2015) have similarities to Fanon's (2004) anti-colonial approach. Fanon's accounts from a psychological context and a colonised perspective into colonialism offers insights into Ngati Hine's participation in the Treaty settlement process at the same time.

Ngati Hine continues to push beyond what Freire (2000) describes as 'limit situations'. The 'limit situations' where the descendants of Kawiti and Mataroria known for their prowess in war as seen in the battle of Ruapekapeka, could at any moment be ready for physical war. However, Ngati Hine have not engaged in war or bloodshed since *Te Tangi o Kawiti* but instead reflection and action have developed critical awareness of Ngati Hine's social reality where Ngati Hine challenge and engage with the Crown, becoming "co-creators of a reality in process, in transformation" (p.83), seen in Ngati Hine's resistance to the Crown in the Treaty mandating and settlement processes. The sandfly nipping is possibly a metaphor for resistance.

Mihiwira Maria discussed metaphors unique to purakau and Ngati Hine in *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and in particular how it survived in Ngati Hine purakau,

No it's like going in a cave. They use candles, but now they use torches which you can't blow out, and you got glow worms, which you can't blow out. Kawiti's ohaki¹¹ has survived because of the meaning that it has been given by the chief then, by Kawiti. There's a lot to do with, to put the Almighty first before any other god. (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018)

This description reflects aspects in Ngati Hine whakapapa and epistemology which views Ngati Hine as kaitiaki and connecting directly to atua (Iwi Puihi Tipene, personal communication, August 8, 2014; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013). Mihiwira Maria is giving insight into how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has survived in purakau and why Ngati Hine continue to challenge the Crown as Ngati Hine do not see the Crown as superior or sovereign over them. Moreso, a higher source of power sustains Ngati Hine as kaitaki, rangatira and tangata whenua (Adair, 2016; Waitangi Tribunal, 1997; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014).

Mihiwira Maria's link to *Te Tangi o Kawiti* is intimate. Her father is Poai Pakeha Rata Tipene was named by Te Riri Maihi Kawiti. Te Riri was rangatira and successor following Hoterene Hoterene Kawiti (Martin, 1998). Hoterene was rangatira and successor after Maihi Paraone Kawiti¹². Hoterene is Poai Pakeha's grandfather. Purakau are held in the people and places of Ngati Hine (Adair, 2016; Martin, 1990; Martin, 1998; Milne, 2009, Tipene-Hook, 2011). People are the repositories of knowledge and whakapapa. Pihama (2001) argues whakapapa provides an analytical pathway to travel from the past to the present to better understand our circumstances (pp.82-83). Whakapapa sustained the survival of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and its messages today, despite being largely left out of major New Zealand accounts of history.

¹¹ Kawiti's ohaki (final speech) - referring to *Te Tangi o Kawiti*.

¹² Hoterene's mother was Tuwahine. Tuwahine was Maihi's sister to Kawiti's second wife Te Tiwha.

Manuwai

(Manuwai Mariana Wells, Interview, March 13, 2018).

Manuwai is a mokopuna of Te Tawai Kawiti (Kawiti, 1956) and Maata Matekino (Wynyard) Kawiti and is one of the younger participants of this research project. Her whanau are kaitiaki of the Kawiti caves¹³ and marae in Waiomio. She was raised in Ngati Hine and spent over two decades working in local tourism at the Kawiti caves with whanau and later as the manager. She has contributed to literature relating to Ngati Hine history and has extensive matauranga about Ngati Hine purakau. Her great grandfather Te Riri Maihi Kawiti is a brother to Te Herewhenua Kawiti (Adair, 2016). Te Herewhenua is the researcher's great grandmother. The narratives behind the names Te Riri Maihi Kawiti (Martin, 1998) and Te Herewhenua Kawiti (Adair, 2016) according to Lee's (2009) notions are Ngati Hine purakau. Like Poai Pakeha Rata Tipene, their names are significant and symbolic to some key historical events, accounts and purakau specific to Ngati Hine.

Manuwai recalled many of the wananga and hui held at marae in Ngati Hine as a child in the late 1980s and 1990s. She described *Te Tangi o Kawiti*,

It felt like it spoke to resilience in our people, a need to hold fast to who we were and who we are might be lost or taken from us. The sense that there's an ongoing struggle and an ongoing fight within us and outside of us (Manuwai Mariana Wells, Interview, March 13, 2018).

Rather than giving a line by line translation and interpretation, Manuwai spoke of her sense of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and the different interpretations of it, grasping at the feelings and the expressions of when it was spoken at whanau hui. She discussed growing up at Kawiti marae and other Ngati Hine marae. She would pay attention to moments where whanau member voices would raise in inclination in what they were saying in their movements and she could feel in their energy that *Te Tangi o Kawiti* was important. According to wa Thiong'o (1986) language carries the culture and

¹³ Known also as Te Ana a Roku and Waiomio Caves.

vice versa. It carries not only the history and values but aesthetics and the relationship between a collective's memory and its peoples' experiences through history (p.15).

The experience of hearing *Te Tangi o Kawiti* most of her life means she not only heard the words but the energy, mauri and wairua of the speaker. Nepe (1991) reinforces Manuwai's interpretation and how kaupapa Maori knowledge connects to and has its origins in the metaphysical and is a "body of knowledge accumulated by the experiences through history, of the Maori people" (p.4). Te reo Maori, tikanga and whakapapa within Ngati Hine has been critical in retaining *Te Tangi o Kawiti* in Ngati Hine purakau despite the impact of colonisation.

Manuwai described how at a very young age of four she was interested in korero happening in the marae. She discussed how the source of the korero or who the person speaking would give weight to the korero. Ngati Hine knowledge repositories are people and not necessarily held entirely within written literature. Manuwai described how not just the words that were spoken were important, but who was speaking, the depth, nuances and listening to the room.

I interpreted it and analysed it at a young age and understanding people who was interested, and you learnt very early on the way they breathed, whether or not they stayed awake. How long they spoke for, you learnt who was speaking, who was of value. By the people who were listening to that speaker... So then maybe you find people who would speak about Kawiti or our tupuna but based on who was attending. So then I began to listen to the room as to who to pay attention to (Manuwai Mariana Wells, Interview, March 13, 2018).

In Ngati Hine an active physical participation at hui and wananga gives a richer comprehension of purakau. Those who have physically lived in Ngati Hine will have a more sophisticated grasp of the essence of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and a deeper understanding than others. Being physically present with kaikorero and speakers at marae, witnessing the nuances and the mauri in the room is not something written literature can capture. To return again to tikanga, whakapapa and te reo Maori, key tenets of kaupapa Maori are the foundation of any hui and wananga (Kerr, 2011; Lee, 2009; Mahuika, 2008; Milne, 2009; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2010; Smith, 1997; Smith, 2000; Smith, 2012). Feeling the mauri of the speaker is only something someone can capture if they are present during the korero.

The connection of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* to the battle of Ruapekapeka is inescapable (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Martin, 1998). Manuwai recalled whanau hui and reunions where *Te Tangi o Kawiti* was recited after discussions about the battle and the complexities of Kawiti's choices and priorities around getting the whanau out into safety. She discussed how important *Te Tangi o Kawiti* was to her grandfather and that importance of intergenerational reverence for a knowledge of Ngati Hine's people and history and a love of her grandparents and what they held dear, ensured purakau like *Te Tangi o Kawiti* was retained.

Te Tangi o Kawiti survived in Ngati Hine purakau in other ways. In 1996 Raumoa Kawiti initiated a pouwhenua be placed at Ruapekapeka and Manuwai recalled the day she attended the dawn ceremony with whanau for the pou. The pou acknowledged the essence of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*. Another example is a carving at Kawiti marae that has book pages and the namu depicted¹⁴. Ngati Hine has ensured the survival of purakau like *Te Tangi o Kawiti* in oral traditions and korero tuku and through the physical artefacts that purakau also capture. Marie & Haig (2006) critique kaupapa Maori suggesting a lack of critical evaluation with little research being published in peer reviewed journals. This notion puts an emphasis on written literature that is difficult to rationalise with a carved pou placed at the battle site of Ruapekapeka and depicted also in carving at Kawiti marae in Waiomio.

Tohe

(Tohe Ashby, Interview, March 23, 2018)

Tohe spoke of his grandfather's name Te Pene i Hainangia Te Tiriti o Waitangi Tipene (Te Pene), translated to mean the pen that signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Te Pene is a brother to Poai Pakeha Rata Tipene. Tohe descends from Kawiti and Mataroria amongst other tupuna. One of Tohe and his extended whanau papakainga located at *Mihirata Road* is named *Whakakiore*. The name *Mihirata Road* in Motatau comes from the names of tupuna, Mihiwira Hoterene Tipene (daughter of Hoterene and Teparā) and Te Rata Tipene (son of Hemi and Maraea) with their names

¹⁴ Referring to “Waiho mate kakati o te namu ki te wharangi o te pukapuka, ka tahuri atu ai” (Kawiti, 1956, p.46) a sentence from *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, that translates to a sandfly biting at the pages of a book.

combined. Poai Pakeha Rata Tipene's papakainga is known as *Otukaiao* (Adair, 2016) also on *Mihirata Road*. These two places have extensive history which I don't go into here but again, Ngati Hine purakau, knowledge and history is held in people, names of people and places. Some of these names and places the Crown and government have marginalised or changed into Pakeha names as part of colonisation (Henry & Pene, 2001; Walker, 2004).

Tohe is a former chairperson for Te Runanga o Ngati Hine and a practitioner of traditional Maori rongoa and medicine and has extensive knowledge of Ngati Hine purakau. He spoke exclusively in te reo Maori for his interview. Tohe cautions to not rely only on written literature. Tohe speaks of the depth in Kawiti's korero.

Kaua e titiro ki nga tuhituhi anake. Me ata hohonu to titiro ki roto i wana korero, a ko ia tena ka titiro tatou ki tana korero...Kia hui hui i roto Whangarei. Ka penei tana korero, e te whanau i pakanga atua i te po, kihai i mate. So ata whiriwhiringia au tera korero ne. Ka kite au i roto wana korero i pakanga. I battled with the gods and I didn't die I survived. No reira e te whanau takahia te riri ki raro wo koutou waewae. Kia mau ki te whakaponu. Ka titiro ana au ki tera e korero ana kia tatou te iwi Maori. Kaua tatou huri ki te pakanga kia tatou ano. E kite ana tatou e whawhai ana tatou ia tatou. Ka kitea e ia te waa i aia te pakanga ia i Ruapekapeka ka tu ia ki runga o Ruapekapeka ka puta tana karanga. E Ngapuhi kei hea koutou (Tohe Ashby, Interview, March 23, 2018).

Tohe recited *Te Tangi o Kawiti* without any aid, he knew the words intimately. He describes an occasion where Kawiti and Hoterene spoke in an old style of Maori language to him and his brother when they visited a tohunga.

Ka puta mai te rangatira nei. Ka mea kia maua ko taku tuakana a ko, e hiahia ana nga tupuna ki te korero kia koe, kia kourua. Mea tu au ko wai wenei e hiahia ana, a ko Kawiti, raua ko Hoterene, ko hoki ano matou ki roto i te whare, ka karakia matou i reira, ka mihi mihi matou, na ka puta mai te kaumatua nei, a ko Kawiti. But i riri ana, e pukuriri ana kia matou. Ka kite au e puta mai ana nga korero i ta matou rangatira. Mutu te koroke nei horekau ke tino pai ki te korero te reo. Te reo e puta mai ana, ko te reo tawhito (Tohe Ashby, Interview, March 23, 2018).

Tohe highlights the importance of tikanga, wairua and the seen and unseen aspects of a Maori worldview (Nepe, 1991). The notion that he spoke with tupuna who are no longer living may be difficult for western and scientific researchers to relate or validate. However combined with other

sources, other korero and purakau of the time gives some consistency to the narratives. In particular Kawiti's chant (Figure 8) *Te Takuate a Kawiti*¹⁵.

Henare, Middleton & Puckey (2013) describe Kawiti as paramount rangatira, “a celebrated tactician of war, a military engineer, a gifted student of the Whare Wananga o Ngati Hine and Ngapuhi, a leader with political wisdom and a peacemaker, Kawiti was also a gifted composer” (p.322). Kawiti composed *Te Takuate a Kawiti* (Figure 8) around the time of Ruapekapeka. It was published later by Te Tawai Kawiti (Kawiti, 1956). *Te Takuate a Kawiti* expressed Kawiti's sorrow at the tension within Ngapuhi with those who sided with the Queen¹⁶ against him. Similarities in the battle of Ruapekapeka can be seen in a modern-day version with Ngati Hine's resistance to the Crown constructed Treaty mandating and settlement processes. Resistance (Bargh, 2007; Fanon, 2004; Freire, 2000; Henry & Pene, 2001) and huge divisions seen again in Ngapuhi following the Crown granting a conditional mandate to Tuhoronuku (TIMA) (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). The survival of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has relied on other purakau such as *Te Takuate a Kawiti* (Kawiti, 1956) to reinforce the essence of Ngati Hine resistance. There is some consistency to the essence of themes from *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, and the names of descendants that are the living evidence of its enduring presence as a purakau and is difficult for Ngati Hine to ignore the messages contained.

In his interview, Tohe's accuracy in describing Kawiti's nature, citing dates, people and place names, numbers, figures, battle sites and outcomes was impressive. It demonstrates Tohe's ability to retain korero over decades with little reliance on written text. These skills are revered and nurtured within a Maori worldview approach (Adair, 2016). The conditioning to retain knowledge is connected to listening without taking notes, picking up on the nuances of speakers, learning whakapapa and connecting with whanau and hapu members, especially kaumatua. Tikanga and te reo Maori are practised, embedded and embodied in everyday life (Adair, 2016; Royal, 1992). Tohe's knowledge of Kawiti, the battle of Ruapekapeka, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Ngati Hine is

¹⁵ There are whanau and hapu variations of some of the words of *Te Takuate o Kawiti*.

¹⁶ Referring to Victoria (Alexandrina Victoria) who was Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from 1837 to 1901.

reflective of a lifetime of learning of these notions. How he participated in the interview provides insight into the practical mechanics of how purakau transcend the generations and the survival of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* since 1846.

The ability to chronologically speak to the significant events, people and places from around 1835 when He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni¹⁷ was signed by Te Wakaminenga¹⁸ and Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the chain of events with successive paramount rangatira, to those descendants like Maihi, Hoterene, Te Riri, Te Tawai, Ta Himi, Tamati Paraone and others that “pikaungia te kaupapa nei” (Tohe Ashby, Interview, March 23, 2018) without notes was demonstrated not only by Tohe but by all participants in this study. Walker (2004) links land and significant landmarks, mountains, rivers and battle sites as vital to Maori identity and history. What is not written in history books about Ngati Hine can be found in the purakau and korero of the people.

Kene Hine Te Uira

(Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, Written Response Pre-Interview, April 18, 2018)

Kene Hine Te Uira is a well-known author, historian and biographer of Ngati Hine and has contributed Ngati Hine purakau and biographies to Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand (see Martin, 1990; Martin, 1993; Martin, 1998). Instead of having an hour-long audio recorded interview, I visited her home and engaged in a six-hour kororerero wananga which reflects the kaupapa Maori paradigm and methodology that is entrenched in this research.

Kene’s grandfather Kirihi Te Riri Maihi Kawiti’s (known also Te Riri or Te Riri Maihi Kawiti) birth name was Te Riri Whakamutunga a Kawiti ki te Ruapekapeka. His name commemorates Kawiti’s role after the battle of Ruapekapeka (Martin, 1998). *Te Tangi o Kawiti* was spoken following that battle. During the kororerero she spoke about many other topics. The korero included discussion about a rock that was known as *Te Toka Whakakotahi* near Taumarere, which

¹⁷ Tohe referred Nu Tireni to mean New Territory.

¹⁸ He Wakaputanga and He Wakaminenga are also written in other versions and said as He Whakaputanga and He Whakaminenga.

was considered a significant taonga to the area. In the 1940s, the local council blew it up to make way for a road despite years of discussions to safeguard it with Te Riri Maihi and other local tupuna. While this purakau about the rock did not necessarily appear to relate directly to the case study, in several aspects it did. The relationship between the local government, Ngati Hine and other local hapu and the council's disregard of the rock, this is just one example of the long term strained Tiriti relationship. Around fifty years later in 1991, the local high school in Kawakawa, Bay of Islands College, named their wharehui *Te Toka Whakakotahi* as a tribute to the taonga and illustrates the use of place names to record historical purakau in the name of the meeting house. This is another example of how purakau continue to survive, challenging traditional views of what constitutes knowledge and literature (Cooper, 2012; Marie & Haig, 2006).

Before the interview, Kene provided written responses to my questions as the interview was not recorded. She describes the essence of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*,

Me mutu whakamutua, enei ritenga a te Maori, te taua. The men will no longer go to war. Me whakaarahitia he wahi tunga whare karakia. Set aside some land to build churches on, thereby encouraging your Christian faith to grow. Educate yourselves in the ways of the Pakeha for there is much that you can learn however, do not lose yourselves and forget your beginnings. During this learning time, you will be labourers under them. When Treaty promises are not upheld, Ngati Hine will take out a special injunction to act on those particular broken promises or lead a protest march to the "Beehive". You must not break, or act contrary to, the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi, which were endorsed by our noble ancestors. The world that we know now, will change, and that change will appear from beyond the sea to create our future (Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, Written Response Pre-Interview, April 18, 2018).

Kene provides insight into the nature of Ngati Hine's engagement with the Crown throughout the Treaty claims, inquiry, hearings and mandating processes to date. Her knowledge of Ngati Hine history is extensive and her mana was felt in the interview. In Kene I can see the attributes of her tupuna and how purakau are set deeply within whakapapa, as whakapapa and purakau provide a pathway to travel from the past to the present to better understand our circumstances (Pihama, 2001, pp. 82-83).

In *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, there are the translated lines, "Be firm to retain religion, turning only when the sandfly bites upon the page of the book", to the original words, "Waiho mate kakati o te namu ki te wharangi o te pukapuka, ka tahuri atu ai" (Kawiti, 1956, p.46). Thematic interpretations of *Te Tangi o*

Kawiti reveal the phrase “page of the book” may have multiple meanings or representations and could represent not only the Treaty but literature in general. Furthermore, kaupapa Maori, purakau and hermeneutic insider research encourages multiple interpretations to be considered. Therefore, the phrase “page of the book” reveals how Pakeha literature and the mechanisms of its use, such as the Treaty, in some cases the Bible, legislation and documentation, were instruments of colonisation and assimilation. It is also possible the phrase “the page of the book” is a representation of the tension between written evidence and literature versus purakau, korero tuku iho and the mauri or context of the time (Cooper, 2012; Lee, 2009; Marie & Haig, 2006; Mahuika, 2008; Milne, 2009; Moon, 2004; Nepe, 1991).

Purakau provide context to understand how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* survived in Ngati and how it continues to impact Ngati Hine resistance in the Treaty settlement process. According to Kene, *Te Tangi o Kawiti* survives in Ngati Hine in those who attend hui, Waitangi Tribunal meetings or a local gathering of iwi. It is already known who is to represent the people as speakers on the taumata. In Ngati Hine, whakapapa and tikanga guide who can speak as they are required to be practised speakers who speak with decorum and acknowledge the kuia who are in attendance to see that Ngati Hine tikanga is adhered to.

According to Kene other term from *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, “Kia u ki te whakapono”, refer to a Christian background to help to ease the mind of the speaker as he or she will receive help from above, when they need it. Kene’s response ties in with some of Mihiwira Maria’s response to put the Almighty above all (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018) and there is a higher source that Ngati Hine can access at any time to support them. This again reflects the notion of Ngati Hine as kaitiaki who connect directly to atua and tie into the metaphysical tenets that kaupapa Maori captures (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Iwi Puihi Tipene, personal communication, August 8, 2014; Nepe, 1991; Waitangi Tribunal, 1997). This seems paradoxical in the context of the case study, as Christianity as a colonial agent can be seen as part of assimilation but here it supports purakau or provides a source of sustenance. Arguably, Ngati Hine faith in a higher source pre-dates Christianity.

In Kene's written response she discussed the important phrase, "He poai pakeha koutou i muri nei". Kene interprets this line as Kawiti's prediction of assimilation and gives the example of children who are nurtured in Kohanga Reo with te reo Maori, but when they leave Kohanga Reo, some of their parents favour English-speaking schools rather than kura kaupapa or kura-a-iwi. She suggests the Pakeha world tends to call to them the loudest, which echoes the views of Fanon (2004) and Freire (2000). Her interpretations correlated with some of the other participants when examining the title of this thesis.

"Kei takahia e koutou nga papapounamu a koutou tupuna e takoto nei i te moana", "Do not desecrate the papa pounamu endorsed by your ancestors" (Kawiti, 1956, p. 46), is another line from *Te Tangi o Kawiti*. Kene interprets this line as an urging not to disrespect or violate the articles of Te Tiriti, as they have been endorsed by the sacred marks (tohu, moko) of each ancestor. In this she is referring directly to Kawiti's use of his scrolls from his facial moko to sign Te Tiriti. Kawiti's chant - *Te Taku ate a Kawiti* (Figure 8) mentions these sacred scrolls, "Ta Kawiti, ko te maaka o te ngu o tana ihu" (Kawiti, 1956, p.44).

As part of her written response Kene provided a copy of a letter by her great grandfather, Maihi Paraone Kawiti sent to Te Parinihi Minita Maori (Maori Minister) in Wellington, Poneke concerning land in 1886¹⁹. In the letter, Maihi is warning Paranihi to keep his surveyors away from Ngati Hine land. The spirit of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has survived in Ngati Hine purakau with the aid of written literature through the literary abilities of Kawiti's descendants. Maihi's letters and Te Tawai and Kene's accounts of Ngati Hine history are amongst the written literature (Kawiti, 1956; Henry, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Martin, 1990; Martin, 1993; Martin, 1998; Milne, 2009). While korero and purakau were and remain fundamental to Ngati Hine, for a long time we have embraced aspects of written literature to support our oral traditions. These different forms of literature continue as Ngati Hine resistance.

¹⁹ Concerning land issues with the Maori Minister in Wellington and surveyors.

Joseph

(Joseph Rapana, Interview, May 07, 2018)

Joseph Rapana (known also as Joey) was raised in Poroti, Mangakahia and Pipiwai with his tupuna. A descendant of Tuwahine Kawiti (Kawiti's daughter) is one way he connects to Kawiti. He has attended and supported Ngati Hine at many Waitangi Tribunal inquiries, hearings and Ngati Hine kaupapa. He has protested vehemently for Ngati Hine to be heard in the Treaty mandating and settlement processes (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015) and supported many other hapu, particularly as part of Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry (Wai 1040) (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014).

Joey spoke of how he had heard and seen *Te Tangi o Kawiti* mentioned at different tribunal hui after 2010 and not only by Ngati Hine. He spoke of how at a hui where conflict was about to happen, a kaumatua outside of Ngati Hine recited *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and it calmed the people. Joey shared a time where he stood on behalf of his whanau at the Mangakahia hearings. He spoke of the lifestyle and upbringing in that area for him and his family and what they went through.

From his perspective he takes pride in *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, and of Kawiti's ability to foresee the future, a term known in Maori also as matakite (Adair, 2016). A full comprehension of what matakite means requires knowledge of tikanga and a Maori worldview. However combined with other sources, other korero and purakau of the time gives consistency to such notions and these narratives are difficult to deny in Ngati Hine (Adair, 2016; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Kawiti, 1956; Lee, 2009; Martin, 1990; Martin, 1998; Milne, 2009; Nepe, 1991). Joey believes that Kawiti is trying to tell his people almost 200 years ago that he could see where they would be and was trying to warn the people in a protecting way. The resurgence of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* in a contemporary context highlighted Kawiti's warnings. Joey suggests that Ngati Hine have often reflected on its messages during the Treaty claims, mandating and settlement processes.

According to Joey *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has survived in Ngati Hine purakau because it was revitalised through the Waitangi Tribunal hearings seen in several inquiry documentation (Adair, 2016; Downs & Jamieson, 2017; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Ngati Hine Evidence, 2014). Some of the kaumatua, many who have now passed away referred to it constantly, "They forever brought it up" (Joseph Rapana, Interview, May 07, 2018). Joey reflected how he did not hear it so often

when he was younger, so revitalisation has brought out its importance to everyone and is said more often now. He observed at different hui since 2010, he would hear it at nearly every second one and how that helped to retain it.

Joey spoke of how Ngati Hine are one of those last few tribes that retain te reo Maori compared to many others and this has helped hold *Te Tangi o Kawiti* in amongst all the Ngati Hine marae. He emphasises that it is not just written or brought out once at a wananga but more so it was always said quite often by kaumatua. Kaumatua, generally the older members of Ngati Hine but not restricted to merely age, hold a space in Ngati Hine that is respected and links them as kaitiaki or safekeepers of purakau. For some kaumatua colonisation has severed their connection to te reo Maori and tikanga. However, as Joey observes te reo Maori and tikanga is still practised in Ngati Hine and has ensured *Te Tangi o Kawiti* survives (Adair, 2016; Kawiti, 1956; Royal, 1992).

Pita

(Pita Tipene, Interview, May 9, 2018)

Like most of the participants, Pita began the interview with a karakia.²⁰ He says a mihi and acknowledges the research topic, those tupuna and people involved and to me as the researcher. Conducting a karakia and mihi are commonplace in Ngati Hine tikanga and practised in many hui, wananga and is not limited to marae or Maori kaupapa but are often done at any gathering in Ngati Hine.

Pita became the co-chairperson for Te Kotahitanga o Nga Hapu o Ngapuhi²¹ in 2009 at Te Kotahitanga marae, near Kaikohe. Te Kotahitanga o Nga Hapu o Ngapuhi is a collective of hapu that focused on pushing their case through the Waitangi Tribunal against the Crown in regard to He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, particularly as Ngapuhi had never ceded sovereignty to the Crown. Pita's grandfather is Te Ropere Tipene, a brother to Te Rata Tipene, the researcher's great grandfather, descendants of Mataroria, who fought alongside Kawiti at Ruapekapeka and other pakanga. Other Ngati Hine purakau and korero tuku iho relate specifically to Mataroria.

²⁰ Karakia or inoi was said at the start and end of each interview by either the researcher or the participant.

²¹ A collective of hapu.

In 2010 Te Kotahitanga o nga hapu o Ngapuhi laid down their claims and Crown grievances before the Waitangi Tribunal. Pita describes that time and refers to *Te Tangi o Kawiti*,

Ko nga kaikorero a i kokiri e ai, ko te kaupapa, i te tuatahi ko Erima Henare, ko Hirini Henare, ko Rima Edwards, ko Patu Hohepa me Hone Sadler. A muri mai ka tu ano e hia tangata ki te tautoko i te kaupapa. Ki hae nga hapu i tuku i o ratou mana ki tetahi atu. ...ko *Te Tangi a Kawiti* ko te waa i hakauputa ai ia i ena whakaaro e rereke ki wetahi. Engari ki taku mohio i te mutunga o te pakanga o Ruapekapeka i te 10 o Hanuere ka haere a Kawiti me ona toa ki Pehiaweri ki te puke e mohiotia ana ko Pukepoto. Na i reira ka puta nga korero i timata ana. E te iwi te pakanga ahau ki nga atua i te po, hoi kihae ahau i mate. Na reira takahia te riri ki raro i o koutou wae wae. Kei Poai Pakeha koutou a muri ake nei. Kia kaua koutou e takahi nga papapounamu a o koutou tupuna a waiho kia kakati te namu i te wharangi o te pukapuka. Ko reira ko tahuri atu ai. Titiro atu ki nga taumata o to moana kei reira te ora mo koutou (Pita Tipene, Interview, May 09, 2018).

Pita's knowledge on Ngati Hine engagement in the Treaty claims, inquiry and mandating process is extensive. He goes on to discuss how a key person who retained a lot of the knowledge from that particular era and who was a young man at the time was Maihi Paraone Kawiti (Adair, 2016; Martin, 1993). After the battle of Ruapekapeka, Maihi was in Mangakahia in what Pita describes as "He putanga tangata" (Pita Tipene, Interview, May 09, 2018) a phrase Ngati Hine called at the time where Maihi was sent there to be safe and hold the hereditary line. Pita discusses how Maihi was very adept in speaking te reo Maori and English, in particular written English. Maihi and his nephew Hoterene and then later Te Riri all displayed skills in English literacy and numeracy despite their first language being te reo Maori. Their abilities to articulate, express and write confidently in English and te reo Maori has supported purakau and ensured its survival in Ngati Hine.

Maihi Kawiti was a prolific writer of letters and accounts.²² Although some have been destroyed over time, many were retained through the rangatira line like Maihi Paraone Kawiti to Te Tawai Kawiti and today Kene and the Kawiti whanau in Waioomio with many of the existing letters intact and safeguarded by the whanau. Pita's korero suggests that the 'Poai Pakeha' reference from *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, may well be an example of how Pakeha skills such as writing have been critical

²² Many letters by Maihi and Te Riri are still intact today and are part of private whanau collections with descendants of Kawiti.

in the survival of purakau and therefore utilising Pakeha knowledge and tools has also been part of empowering Maori (Mahuika, 2008) and supporting purakau.

Season-Mary

(Season-Mary Downs, Interview, May 17, 2018)

For over 10 years Season-Mary has been a lawyer for Te Kapotai and Ngati Hine Tiriti claims, working intimately with both hapu towards trying to confront the historical grievances with the Crown in relation to Te Tiriti (Downs & Jamieson, 2017). She is the youngest participant in the research project. Season-Mary is co-founder of Tukau Legacy and Community that combines her law practice, a clothing range and community kaupapa. The clothing features terms taken from He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Tukau, 2019).

Tukau is a variety of kumara which our tupuna Hineamaru cultivated. Ngati Hine place tukau in pepeha and whakatauki “Kia tukau nga mara a Hineamaru” (Iwi Puihi Tipene, personal communications, May 27, 2010) when referring to Hineamaru and her descendants. An interview, in 1988 with Ta Himi Henare²³ describes Ngati Hine pepeha that utilise the kupu tukau,

Nga kaitukau a te mara a Hineamaru. The chiefs and leaders of the Ngati Hine people. Nga tao maha a Hineamaru. There are many brave ‘patu’ descendants of Hineamaru’s (a tao is a patu or club) (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013, p.75).

These pepeha provide insight into Ngati Hine’s connection to its people, lands and the ability to sustain ourselves as chiefs. In Ngati Hine the word Tukau can be considered a purakau with whakapapa and knowledge that extends back to our eponymous ancestor of Ngati Hine, Hineamaru.

Season-Mary’s knowledge on the processes of the Waitangi Tribunal, the claims before the tribunal, legislation and the Crown’s actions and impact on Ngati Hine is extensive. At the time of the interview she was writing and researching her PhD studies on Takutai Moana.²⁴ Season-Mary

²³ Known also as Sir James Henare.

²⁴ Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011.

spoke of how *Te Tangi a Kawiti* has been a part of the Treaty settlement process in the last 10 years.

From the very first month that I started back in May 2010 when I was working... ..*Te Tangi o Kawiti* was present, first both in Uncle Hirini's korero about whakapapa about the signatories and the tupuna who signed Te Tiriti. Kawiti being one of them and it was also present in Uncle Erima Henare's korero (Season-Mary Downs, Interview, May 17, 2018).

She recalls *Te Tangi o Kawiti* in some of the early documents that were compiled in the Waitangi Tribunal inquiries and its significance was noted in the very beginning of the Treaty claims and inquiry processes and suggests, “that it was at the forefront and paramount in the descendants minds right when we started the Treaty settlement process in front of the tribunal 10 years ago through to today” (Season-Mary, Interview, May 17, 2018). She recalled how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* is the last thing referenced in the documents which closed the tribunal process from different witnesses including Pita Tipene, Waihoroi Shortland, Moe Milne and a number of other people. It is foundational or it is the beginning and end of how Ngati Hine perspective is on tino rangatiratanga (Adair, 2016; Ngati Hine Evidence, 2014).

As the lawyer for Ngati Hine working alongside speakers, claimants, whanau and hapu in the Treaty claims, inquiry and hearing processes, she describes *Te Tangi o Kawiti* as,

...his legacy to his people that holds weight from the time he gave it to today and it really did direct the nature of the relationship between Ngati Hine and the Crown. The relationship between Crown kawanatanga and Ngati Hine rangatiratanga... (Season-Mary Downs, Interview, May 17, 2018).

Season-Mary believes *Te Tangi o Kawiti* survived in Ngati Hine purakau naturally and this is shown in different places, such as a strategic document, sung at a hearing and remembers speakers like Hirini Henare referring to it often. She observed that the more you tune into it the more you see in it and how it is passed on traditionally in korororero within whanau, at hui on marae and between the generations. Lee, Hoskins & Doherty (2005) support these notions as purakau and oral language traditions like tauparapara, pepeha, waiata, haka, whakatauki and ohaki as they all provide creative communication styles and techniques and make up some of the known mediums that purakau contribute to. Purakau therefore remain a timeless source of information and history for communities to access and interpret.

The documentation of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has memorialised it in western written literature, having been revived through the claims process. Season-Mary concluded that *Te Tangi o Kawiti*,

It's in everything like I said from day dot now. It opens and closes things you know. When you think what else will I use. Well why would you use anything else, it's all there you know like I said it's a full thing... ..It's like a pedagogy, it's a whole full pedagogy in theory in one paragraph (Season-Mary Downs, Interview, May 17, 2018).

Marie & Haig (2006) argue kaupapa Maori and purakau is essentially not peer reviewed as they are generally not published or written work and therefore not necessarily considered literature, knowledge or valid. This notion would suggest no one validates purakau and therefore consequently purakau like *Te Tangi o Kawiti* are invalid as a body of knowledge. However now that *Te Tangi o Kawiti* is documented, this memorialises it in written literature. This thesis does not seek to validate purakau against written literature as they are two distinct but equal forms of knowledge.

4.4 Conclusion

There is a tension between views of literature as purakau and Pakeha traditional views of literature which are limited to written literature. For example, who really validates oral literature? Marie & Haig (2006) argue kaupapa Maori is essentially not peer reviewed as published or written work. With that view purakau like *Te Tangi o Kawiti* are invalid as a body of knowledge in written literature. This study required recognising different forms of literature. A transcript of an interview doesn't record just people's opinions but becomes a knowledge base that is transcribed and is equivalent to any other knowledge base based on purakau. Purakau reviewed against Pakeha written literature presents a tension, however what was revealed is that aspects of Pakeha literature as seen in the writings of Maihi Paraone Kawiti and others have helped retain *Te Tangi o Kawiti* as a purakau. There is a tension that exists between purakau, korero tuku iho and written literature, this thesis has somewhat revealed a new form of literature that combines the two.

The participants' interpretations of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* vary but there is some consistency in interpretations. The older participants and those who were raised on and around marae in Ngati Hine and attended hui in person seemed to have a depth of knowledge surrounding *Te Tangi o*

Kawiti. The participants who were actively involved in the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandate and settlement processes had a depth in the processes. The seven participants of this case study provided rich accounts of knowledge and history revealing consistent themes and insight into the essence of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, providing rich understanding into its meaning and its impact on Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown's behaviour in the Treaty claims, mandating and settlement processes.

The intention of the interviews with the participants was to investigate the meanings and understanding of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and the key aspects that have influenced its survival in Ngati Hine history. The data analysis revealed *Te Tangi o Kawiti* reflects the nature of the Tiriti relationship between Ngati Hine and the Crown. While *Te Tangi o Kawiti* affirms Ngati Hine rangatiratanga and sovereignty and rejects colonial rule, it is critical in the maintenance of peace between the Crown and Ngati Hine, revealing the importance of te reo Maori, practising tikanga and knowledge of whakapapa as critical in retaining *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and other Ngati Hine purakau. It is difficult to comprehend these purakau without a Maori worldview and this may also explain why purakau and Ngati Hine knowledge has been marginalised or negated in non-Maori accounts of history and knowledge (Cooper, 2012; Lee, 2009; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013, p.55; Marie & Haig, 2006).

Chapter 5 - *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, Ngati Hine, the Crown & Treaty Settlements

5.1 Introduction

In chapter four there was an analysis of the participants' understandings and interpretations of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* in Ngati Hine to better understand its survival in purakau despite colonisation. The analysis revealed *Te Tangi o Kawiti* reflects the nature of Ngati Hine and the Crown's Tiriti relationship and the role of te reo Maori, tikanga and whakapapa in retaining *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and other Ngati Hine purakau. Purakau's contribution to Ngati Hine history is better understood from a Maori worldview and reviewed against Pakeha written literature presents an unresolvable tension. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* is threaded throughout Ngati Hine in different ways and the Treaty settlement process has been a part of its revitalisation.

This chapter analyses several other aspects. First some of the impact of colonisation and Ngati Hine's resistance and engagement with the Crown, Treaty Settlements, Ngati Hine rangatiratanga and how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* binds Ngati Hine and the Crown. Analysis of the participants data is continued in this chapter, using the methodological approaches of kaupapa Maori, hermeneutics and qualitative research. Analysing *how* colonisation affected Ngati Hine will reveal how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* binds Ngati Hine and the Crown in a Tiriti relationship. It is important to note that while colonisation swept through Ngati Hine with devastating effects, the hapu was not completely or passively colonised. Ngati Hine made many conscious decisions and were aware of their engagement with the Crown, often grappling with cultural adaptation. However, we were equally conscious and looking at ways to ensure the essence of who we are survived (Adair, 2016; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Martin, 1990; Martin, 1993; Martin, 1998; Milne, 2009) and *Te Tangi o Kawiti* chronicles this notion.

5.2 The Impact of Colonisation

In the days of early settlement when Pakeha first arrived to Nu Tireni, New Zealand, hapu engagement was enthusiastic and the trading opportunities and skills were mostly welcomed.

Many alliances were created between Pakeha and Maori (O'Malley, 2012; Salmond, 1993). The whakapapa links ensured the population and essentially the hapu's survival. The connection ensured a responsibility and obligation between the two for the common welfare of kin (Bishop, 1998; Mikaere, 2011). The relationship with the Pakeha settlers evolved with a desire to prosper as a collective that formulated the early beginnings of Pakeha law.

The British acknowledgement of Maori sovereignty and rangatiratanga early on with the first nation's flag, Te Kara, in 1834 signalled independence, trade and a bond of friendship with the British. He Whakaputanga signed the following year on October 28 set the stage for Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013, p.187; Waitangi Tribunal 2014). However, Kawiti was suspicious of the Treaty and the Crown's lies and manipulating Maori, as Season-Mary discusses the Crown actions,

“telling our people to believe they're going to do one thing and they're actually trying to do another, which is to take our land and take our authority. But they're making all these promises they're giving all these gifts. They're trying to establish a respectful relationship, some tupuna are with it. They know that this is happening and they know that they have to work with it to some extent and some tupuna are just like hell no I know where this is going. I've been over to Aussie.²⁵ I've seen what's happened to the aboriginal peoples and Kawiti probably falls into that camp. Where he's very suspicious of the Crown and their intent and what they're trying to do with Te Tiriti” (Season-Mary Downs, Interview, May 17, 2018).

With mounting pressure from his own people Kawiti signs Te Tiriti o Waitangi in May 1840 (Martin, 1990). Five years later, the mutual understanding where Pakeha agreed to have governance over their own people and Kawiti and other rangatira have ultimate rangatiratanga²⁶ in the whenua in accordance to their way of life (Waitangi, 2014) is smashed. The Pakeha settler colonisation machinery shattered the intentions of prosperity particularly of Maori (Adair, 2016). Kawiti aligned with Heke, chopping down the flagstaff at Maiki Hill in 1845. Soon after massive and extensive land takings in the Bay of Islands by the Crown followed after Te Tiriti was signed. Kawiti and other tupuna who had charged anchorage fees for ships in the Bay of Islands were

²⁵ Referring to Australia.

²⁶ Sovereignty.

stopped, leading to a huge blow to the economy and a symbol of a broken friendship when the capital moved from Kororareka to Auckland (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013).

Colonisation systematically facilitated attempts to exterminate hapu and whanau orangatanga (wellbeing), cultural, political and social inter connectivity and connection to the whenua. The damage was so severe with population loss and poverty that has consequently transcended through the generations (Adair, 2016; Kukutai & Taylor, 2015; Manuwai Mariana Wells, Interview, March 13, 2018; Ngati Hine Evidence, 2014; Walker, 2004) where Pakeha prosperity soars and Maori undermined as rangatira.

Kene Hine Te Uira resists the notion of one people when Maihi Paraone Kawiti raised the flag again at Maiki Hill in 1858 and demonstrates Ngati Hine's continued resistance to colonial rule.

160 years later from that time to this, 2018, the “white” and the “brown,” still do not work together as one. Soon after, the “white people” commenced their system of control starting with land confiscation, loss of the reo and identity... (Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, Written Response Pre-Interview, April 18, 2018).

Despite the notions in *Te Tangi o Kawiti* to suppress war and to trample hatred underfoot, the anger could not be avoided. What resulted was what Kene Hine Te Uira referred to as “He Poai Pakeha koe”, (Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, Written Response Pre-Interview, April 18, 2018), the loss of te reo Maori, land, a weakened Maori economy, loss of tikanga, kaupapa and whanau systems. She discusses this notion further,

Fluent Maori speakers deliberately dropped their reo and switched to speaking English so as to be included in the local Pakeha circle of friends. Once they were included in these Pakeha friendship groups, they would act and speak disrespectfully towards their own Maori people (Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, Written Response Pre-Interview, April 18, 2018).

Kene Hine Te Uira highlights not only the impact of colonisation but the process of assimilation in action. Smith (2012) highlights how science has undermined and negated Maori knowledge and history where oral accounts or purakau is erased, dismissed, ignored or considered irrelevant (p.31). The impact of colonisation consequently has seen *Te Tangi o Kawiti* largely unacknowledged and Pakeha accounts of the time prioritised.

Mihiwira Maria discusses how her father was named Poai Pakeha,

It came from Te Riri²⁷, Te Riri named him, a muri nei koutou hei Poai Pakeha. It just meant that Poai Pakeha means you all become it, that you will follow the white man. That's what it means and we use their tools and that's what we're doing. We're not using our own, we're using the white man's tools. Whatever, you have a look in the kitchen. It all belongs to the white man. You can see it. You can actually see it. There's no denying. Who's gonna question that. Aye. This is a product of the white man. How we live, how we go to school. How we get on the bus, our transportation, our cars, all we have. It's all product of the white man (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018).

Pakeha hegemony put pressure on Maori to strive for progress and success based on western ideology and axiology (Adair, 2016) and some of these notions of Poai Pakeha. Smith (2012) acknowledges the devastating effects of colonisation on indigenous peoples and the need for a new research agenda to replace western notions of academic research that considers itself superior to other notions like purakau and Maori knowledge. This thesis challenges purakau being reviewed against Pakeha, science and written literature and presents an unresolvable tension that forces a new form of literature to emerge. It is difficult to deny the impact of colonisation when looking at *Te Tangi o Kawiti* as a representation of who Ngati Hine are and our strength and how colonisation has diminished *Te Tangi o Kawiti*'s relevance in non-Maori settings. Kawiti was a strategist and master in warfare with attributes of determination, mana (authority) and perseverance. These attributes are seen within Ngati Hine people today, particularly within the Treaty claims, mandate and settlement processes. The Crown constructed Treaty Settlement process has seen Ngati Hine alongside other hapu of Ngapuhi strategise and persevere over the years to maintain their rights as rangatira.

As Manuwai discusses, her response to colonisation,

...colonisation is only something we're really coming to terms with in the last 5-10 years that we're actually acknowledging. It's been, you know my grandparents used to have this plague on the wall you know, "Jesus is the silent listener at every table" but actually colonisation is probably the silent listener at every table. Yeah and it's that conscious colonisation and unconscious colonisation that's happened over time. Now we're like getting more conscious about it but there was a seed when we were young that hinted. That there was a hint of colonisation and now that we're a much older, a few years later, we're

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Referring to Te Riri Maihi Kawiti.

like. Yeah. It's here, it's been here, we're in it. What are we gonna do about it and there's more of a seething.

It was a rage before and the rage is still there, if anything the seething is not a good place for the rage to be. Cause it's the rage, is still there, in a seething mode and you get a sense that people have taken that away and buried it in their internal organs and its expressed in the mass illness, unhealthy in our whanau, virus and community, in terms of their bodies. It's just the rage is still in there, people are still fighting the battle, but it's within their bodies now (Manuwai Mariana Wells, Interview, March 13, 2018).

Like anything in Maori culture colonisation tried to assimilate *Te Tangi o Kawiti*. Mihiwira Maria observed, "It's changed the whole face of the nation" (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018). Season-Mary suggests that colonisation is a suppressor and marginalises but the fact that *Te Tangi o Kawiti* endured is representative of its strength and Ngati Hine strength (Season-Mary Downs, Interview, May 17, 2018). Purakau has ensured it survived despite colonisation. Lee (2009) describes purakau as narratives that are fundamental to Maori identity. Ngati Hine continues to speak of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, finding new ways to give it life as Ngati Hine engage with and discuss Te Tiriti and He Whakaputanga. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* is an extension of those documents and a continued dialogue since Te Tiriti o Waitangi. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* survival in Ngati Hine purakau is an indicator that while colonisation was severe and continues to undermine Maori and Ngati Hine, it has not worked.

It is difficult for Ngati Hine to easily address and advance from the economic, social, oranga, educational and political disparities that colonisation delivered (Bishop, 2009). This is especially so when the Treaty's English text is given privilege over the Maori text Te Tiriti and Te Tiriti is watered down with principles of partnership, protection and participation and applied in a tokenistic manner with no real appreciation, depth or reciprocation from Pakeha to include te reo Maori, tikanga, whakapapa and purakau as knowledge in non-Maori accounts of New Zealand history. This is despite rangatira signing to Te Tiriti's Maori text and where te reo Maori was the prevailing language and culture at the time of the signing.

Fanon (2004) argues a nation's culture cannot exist in colonial domination (p.171). Wa Thiong'o (1986) outlines the process of colonisation as the push of cultural supremacy. These are some of the impacts of colonisation. The number of Maori represented in all social service and justice

statistics continues to grow and has become a profiting business for Pakeha and the New Zealand government at the expense of iwi and hapu like Ngati Hine. This has, in effect, given privilege to Pakeha and trampled on Maori (Adair, 2016). The social structuring of society with western structures of classes according to western ideologies carries a dialogue, assumptions and messaging about Maori and Pakeha. Among other things, Maori are labelled as incompetent, lazy, violent, alcoholics, and criminals (Adair, 2016). This type of stereotyping is not new rather it has been occurring for generations as part of colonisation and cultural supremacy by Pakeha. Through the colonising process, the labelling and messaging about Maori people and culture has had a devastating impact on the oranga of Maori and filtered down and across to hapu and iwi including Ngati Hine (Adair, 2016; Downs & Jamieson, 2017; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013). However, despite the impacts of colonisation *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has survived and so have the Maori people, tangata whenua and Ngati Hine.

5.3 Resistance and Treaty Settlement

According to Danaher, Schirato & Webb (2000), in their discussion on the continuing relevance of the theorist Foucault,

People in contemporary western societies think of themselves very much as individuals—they tend to think that they are in charge of their lives, that they make their own meanings and that, through a process of development and learning, they are able to reflect upon experiences and make sense of them. It is this faculty that is supposed to distinguish us from animals, and those ‘less fortunate’ individuals who, because of mental incapacity or distress or because they have been classified as holding ‘primitive’ world-views, are not able to govern, or reason their way through, their thoughts and actions in the ‘western’ way (p.30).

This notion of superiority provides some insight into the differences to whakapapa and epistemology between Crown representatives and Ngati Hine, which at times includes polar perspectives. According to Pihama (2010), the western individual self continues “...to marginalise Maori assertions of whakapapa and collective relationships” (p.9). Whakapapa and whanau (kin, extended family, relations) are central to Ngati Hine identity. It is arguable that aspects of individualism are also inherent in members of Ngati Hine and this is another tension that is consistent with other tensions revealed throughout this thesis. Furthermore, this notion of

individuality correlates to tenets of kaupapa Maori of working as a part of a collective, while working also as individuals of the collective (Smith, 2000).

Kawiti was resistant of the Crown early on demonstrated by his reluctance to sign Te Tiriti o Waitangi in February 1840 (Martin, 1990). After the signing, the Crown, the Tiriti partner, left Kororareka and moved to Auckland and replaced Te Kara with the British flag, trampling on the mana of rangatira, partnership, protection and participation. Heke's response was to attack the flagstaff. Kawiti, with Heke and other tupuna like Hikitene, Pomare and Te Tirarau aligned in their resistance to the Crown (Season-Mary Downs, Interview, May 17, 2018; Tohe Ashby, Interview, March 23, 2018). They saw their understandings and agreements that were reached in Te Tiriti around the nature of the relationship between the Crown and between them as rangatira had deteriorated in significant acquisition of land by Pakeha.

Only five years after Te Tiriti was signed massive resistance and conflict ensued with the Northern War (Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Martin, 1990). Nine pa sites were destroyed in the Bay of Islands and three battles took place over a period of two years with an increased military presence as naval ships and canons arrived. This ultimately led to the battle of Ruapekapeka toward the end of 1845 and early 1846. Peace agreements were eventually reached and *Te Tangi o Kawiti* was spoken not long after the battle of Ruapekapeka. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* was critical to the maintenance of peace, stopping Kawiti's people from fighting in the same manner again. Mihiwira Maria proposes *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, "binds people together and over the years that's exactly what its done right down to Kawiti and them's mokopuna" (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018).

However, Manuwai observes "we've experienced the resistance, we've actually participated in it over time in many different ways" (Manuwai Mariana Wells, Interview, March 13, 2018). Her grandfather Te Tawai Kawiti was offered an OBE but turned it down because of the Crown's failure to uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Resistance has flowed through Ngati Hine in a number of different ways. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has been a consistent reminder and a foundation and justification to maintain a position. While Mihiwira Maria suggests *Te Tangi o Kawiti* binds or ties Ngati Hine with the Crown in a Tiriti relationship, it is undeniable *Te Tangi o Kawiti* also symbolises resistance and in the same notion, a tolerance of the Crown.

Pita explains the place of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and resistance,

I don't think it is so much resistance. I think it's more stating the values of Te Ruki Kawiti as he was the rangatira o Ngati Hine amongst others at that time but certainly the principle rangatira that everyone had turned to and that had respect for. So, I don't think it was so much a resistance, but it was the bedrock foundation of the values that Ngati Hine believed in and he espoused on behalf of Ngati Hine.

It manifests itself in resistance and riri and all of those things that happen but when he says things like “kaua e takahi i nga papapounamu a o koutou tupuna”. He's stating clearly that this is value that we must adhere to and although he says it in a more of reactive way than a proactive way, when he says kei Poai Pakeha koutou, in my mind he saying in terms of assimilation he could already see that Ngati Hine people and others being assimilated quickly and taking on board the ways of the Pakeha.

But he warned, he was warning them that our true essence as a people must be retained in our own tikanga while grasping whatever wellbeing we could get from the Pakeha to offer in terms of modernisation, and I think ever since then Ngati Hine has been probably to the forefront of taking on what the Pakeha had to offer in various ways, while retaining our own essence, and I think we're continually grappling with that from generation to generation and where the balance is, is something that we discuss and debate strongly (Pita Tipene, Interview, May 09, 2018).

The Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o Waitangi remain a topic of debate and protest and a focus of tension and resistance. The Crown's obligations as a Tiriti partner with Maori lacks commitment from the Crown to uphold the mana of Te Tiriti (Adair, 2016; Barrett & Connelly-Stone, 1998; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). The differences between the two texts have influenced much of the developments of Aotearoa, Nu Tireni, New Zealand, in the ongoing manipulation and deliberate confusion around their meanings, effects and comparison (Adair, 2016; Ruwhiu, 2013, pp.125-128; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). The differences and use of the English version over the Maori version has caused conflict around the place of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and ultimately has meant that the Crown's right to kawanatanga (govern) Pakeha, “...must be balanced against the obligation to protect rangatiratanga (Barrett & Connelly-Stone, 1998, p.3; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014).

This probes the question, Is Ngati Hine resistant? Arguably the Crown and New Zealand government are resistant to Ngati Hine rangatiratanga and Maori concepts of knowledge. Kawiti did not see value in warfare following the battle of Ruapekapeka and he always maintained his

freedom and rangatiratanga ensuring the safety of his people and their right to remain safe and secure into the future.

Treaty Settlements

Reid (2013) argues that many New Zealanders seem uninformed, unashamed about their ignorance about the Treaty of Waitangi (pp.63-64). This ignorance can be seen in the manner in which Te Tiriti is acknowledged through the law today, not properly incorporated as Aotearoa, Nu Tireni, New Zealand's constitution (Barrett & Connelly-Stone, 1998; Mutu & Jackson, 2015). However, regarded as New Zealand's founding document, it is only legally enforceable in some legislation such as the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, which established the Waitangi Tribunal (Ministry of Justice, 2017).

Te Tangi o Kawiti has featured in korero that has guided Ngati Hine through the decades within the Treaty claims, hearing and inquiry processes before the Waitangi Tribunal. Ngati Hine have been actively involved as part of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry (Wai 1040)²⁸ and as part of collective hapu of Ngapuhi. However, Waitangi Tribunal recommendations are not necessarily binding, on claims by Maori relating to alleged Crown breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The Waitangi Tribunal falls under the Ministry of Justice, Special Jurisdictions and the New Zealand government (Ministry of Justice, 2017). The New Zealand government acts under the monarch of Queen Elizabeth II whose representative is the Governor General and principles of parliamentary sovereignty.

The Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement processes are Crown constructed and aim to centralise power from hapu like Ngati Hine to what the Crown defines as 'large natural groups', which they ultimately chose. In this case study, this is TIMA²⁹ to negotiate a settlement with to

²⁸ Te Paparahi o Te Raki (Northland) inquiry (Wai 1040) currently has over 300 claims before the Waitangi Tribunal by hapu from across Ngapuhi, Ngati Wai, Hokianga, Ngati Hine, Ngati Manu, Te Kapotai, Ngati Hau, Whangarei, Patuharakeke, Whangaroa and many others.

²⁹ Tuhoronuku Independent Mandated Authority (TIMA)

extinguish hapu rights as sovereign and rangatira. Ngati Hine along with other hapu have disputed and challenged the Treaty mandating and settlement processes whilst actively engaged in the processes (Waitangi, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). While the Waitangi Tribunal appears to be independent from the Crown in its role to consider grievances, the tribunal still falls within the Ministry of Justice and practices what Moon (2004) describes as diffusion of structures, capital and values (pp.108-109) and Maori hapu and iwi, like Ngati Hine, are essentially re-organised to become more Pakeha, western and modern.

This re-organisation and diffusion of structure has impacted on the value and role of hapu rangatiratanga, favouring Crown constructed groups or ‘large natural groups’ whom the Crown select to advance and access settlement redress with capital as a key part of the redress to grievances. The tribunal proceedings mimic western courthouses, despite many of their proceedings being held on marae. Generally, the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandate and settlement processes alongside the Office of Treaty Settlements (OTS) encourages transmission of western and modern values, to transform hapu and iwi like Ngati Hine into Pakeha and government structures that undermine rangatiratanga. Ngati Hine resistance in this instance is as much a part of the process as it is part of the overall outcome that rejects colonial rule.

Arguably the Waitangi Tribunal was initially established as a means to contain social deviance, Maori protest and to pacify Maori and promote western notions (Moon, 2004). Ngati Hine and other hapu have however utilised the tribunal as a vehicle and platform to have grievances against the Crown inquired into. Those grievances have largely been ignored since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. Bargh (2007) questions the settlement process where the Crown focuses on opportunities for economic gains for Maori while avoiding issues of sovereignty and power sharing. Sovereignty, rangatiratanga, kawanatanga and constitutional change have been central to Ngati Hine's engagement in the Treaty claims, mandating and settlement processes. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has been a key point of reference for Ngati Hine in those processes.

Tohe cautions that a Treaty Settlement implies giving mana to the Crown, “Ae. But i roto i wana settle. E korero ana, maku e tango wa koutou mana” (Tohe Ashby, Interview, March 23, 2018). Mihiwira Maria suggests a settlement would mean the Crown has to go to every tribal area to find

equity (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018). Kene Hine Te Uira describes how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* (Kawiti, 1956) is a guide in Treaty settlements and refers directly to lines in *Te Tangi o Kawiti*,

Trample hatred under your feet.

Deal to the matter on hand peacefully. If the majority of the iwi is in agreement, except for one who insists that the iwi has made the wrong decision, then a Kuia will be the one to convince him that the group's decision is the best one by interrupting him in the middle of his korero with a waiata. I saw it happen at a Tribunal meeting at Kerikeri. The kuia stopped singing when the embarrassed speaker sat down.

Kia u ki te whakapono

The above matter was dealt with peacefully, without anger. One should say a prayer for help and guidance.

Do not desecrate the papa pounamu endorsed by your forebears.

The wording of the papa pounamu must never be altered to suit those who would benefit by doing so.

Titiro atu ki nga taumata o te moana.

Look beyond the sea for the transfiguration of the future. The world we know now will not ever be the same, for changes will appear from beyond the sea. (Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, Written Response Pre-Interview, April 18, 2018).

Joseph relates *Te Tangi o Kawiti* as guidance during the Treaty processes, an aid when writing or having korero.

It gives guidelines in the sense of keeping everything true and real. Don't falsify stuff. Look further ahead than your writing. Be humble but be aware that these are the situations that happened and it can also make us aware that should you write something down... in the Treaty settlements with your briefs of evidence or whatever or those that are giving korero are aware of what questions could be answered that go against what you were actually trying to deliver, and make sure your prepared for the right delivery on how you would answer it (Joseph Rapana, Interview, May 07, 2018).

Joseph suggests *Te Tangi o Kawiti* helped Ngati Hine in the Treaty processes in preparing evidence. To foresee what might have seemed like an attack and before getting defensive Ngati Hine were prepared with an answer (Joseph Rapana, Interview, May 07, 2018).

Pita discusses *Te Tangi o Kawiti's* role in the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement processes for Ngati Hine,

...is really the foundational bedrock of what we build anything on because it outlines our values that we adhere to in terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and it was articulated to the

Waitangi Tribunal not only through *Te Tangi a Kawiti* but through his waiata and a whole lot of other evidence. So when you put all the evidence together and the words and the waiata. It certainly provides you with how people were feeling and the Waitangi Tribunal is obviously built on Te Tiriti o Waitangi or the Treaty of Waitangi. So its use comes back to the fact the Waitangi Tribunal's key purpose is to inquire as an independent inquiry into what was promised even though it's very watered down.

The Waitangi Tribunal allows us all to reflect on those words together, get different versions. There are different versions of the words and different interpretations, but I think it all makes it, us a richer people for that process of going through the Waitangi Tribunal. You only have to look at Te Horo lands and how people went into town to do their shopping and came back and their houses were burnt. So, in 1964 or the era that it happened how does that reconcile with 6th of February 1840 and January the 12th of 1846 when these words were spoken (Pita Tipene, Interview, May 09, 2018).

A fundamental issue has therefore been how Ngati Hine see Treaty Settlement in contrast and what the Crown sees a Treaty Settlement to be and in the way the Crown conducts it's Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement processes. This raises questions of where a Treaty Settlement comes from and why and how political in nature Treaty Settlements are and have been conducted by the Crown over the years. Season-Mary discusses, "A Treaty settlement it is supposed to restore the relationship between Maori and the Crown that was damaged through colonisation over the last 170 plus years" (Season-Mary Downs, Interview, May 17, 2018). She advocates a process that unites the Crown and Maori together in a spirit which Te Tiriti intended. However, this opens up the confusion of which version. Season-Mary explains this further and Pakeha hegemony in action,

...the Crown has established a process to acknowledge and redress the damage that it did by maintaining its sovereignty to the expense of our rangatiratanga and our sovereignty. To address and acknowledge the 95 percent of lands that it took from our people. The language that was lost in 100 years of assimilation of an education. The fact that we're socially, economically marginalised and far far worse off because the Crown imposed everything western upon us. So, you know that's what a Treaty settlement is supposed to bring us back to equals. But because it is the political process and because it is applied from a western framework over what's important, over still a colonial representative government you know our government doesn't reflect Te Tiriti.

The Treaty Settlement process is fundamentally flawed, and it fails our people. So you are essentially still now in a negotiation and in process where we're trying to achieve one thing through reference to our traditions like the ohaki³⁰ and the Crown is still trying to maintain

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Te Tangi o Kawiti.

its understanding that it is sovereign and the Treaty Settlement process is applied in that context and because of that instead of actually bringing Maori and Pakeha together it creates more division and I'm bereaved of an example of a group which has reached a Treaty Settlement that will tell you actually this has been a really good process for our people.

...Further undermined them by the Crown and so within that context we seek obviously to go into the settlement process, that process is completely defined and controlled by the government. They tell you what you can and can't have and what they will and won't apologise for and it's your responsibility and your role on behalf of our people to do the best you can and to get the best you can within a really fraught and difficult framework, policy framework.

Working with people that don't understand you and basically don't care. Now where do I go from there, so you know we collectivise. We get ready. We prepare ourselves to go into this process. When the Crown decides to open the door for us and let us in you go in there. They've already got a fixed idea of what they want to give you in terms of how much money you're going to get. What lands they might return and what cultural redress they might give you to enhance your culture (Season-Mary Downs, Interview, May 17, 2018).

Based on the data analysis *Te Tangi o Kawiti* relates to settlement in that it guides Ngati Hine behaviour, our interaction with the Crown and is a reminder of the time of Kawiti and Te Tiriti. It's a reference point in history to wars, suppression and marginalisation. It provides a glimpse into the world of tupuna who fought and went to war. It reminds Ngati Hine that the damage of the war was so great. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* reminds Ngati Hine to keep going because it is worth the fight. The fight may be a different kind of fight today, but it reminds Ngati Hine what is important. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* shows itself as Ngati Hine move through different phases of the Treaty Settlement process. Manuwai remembers *Te Tangi o Kawiti* pre-dates her contact with the Treaty Settlement process.

So, for us it was an absolute representation of the Treaty process and settlement process itself. Like when we were growing up that was definitely part of it. It was part and parcel. We didn't have any discussion about Treaty Settlement without also discussion around the ohaki³¹. It was often the last thing that was said at the end of some hui, any of our hui around Treaty Settlements (Manuwai Mariana Wells, Interview, March 13, 2018).

What is revealed is the fear of becoming like a Pakeha and constant fear that could happen and the fighting spirit of Ngati Hine.

Manuwai discusses the fractured relationship between Ngati Hine and the Crown,

It's seen as a pathway to redress the loss but the loss is occurred. So much loss has occurred and its overwhelming to understand just how much we've lost, that it's more seen as a way to get some of it back, but I think that there's a lot of, there's an acceptance that there's something we've lost for good... we carried that burden... ...very rarely read the hope in it, but I felt the hope in it, so it's not something that gets conveyed very often, the hope in it (Manuwai Mariana Wells, Interview, March 13, 2018).

Within the Treaty Settlement process the Crown disregards Ngati Hine whakapapa and imposes western notions of individualism seen in some of its mandating process. The Waitangi Tribunal Ngapuhi Mandate Inquiry in 2015 saw Ngati Hine 'arise and oppose'³² the Crown mandating process along with other Ngapuhi hapu. The Crown mandated group TIMA imposed the promoting of a single person to nominate a hapu kai korero (spokesperson for the sub-tribe) to represent Ngati Hine on Tuhoronuku (TIMA) despite strong Ngati Hine collective opposition.

Jones (2016) has observed, "While there is significant body of literature that examines the Waitangi Tribunal claims process, there is surprisingly little that addresses the mechanics of the settlement process" (pp.21-22). Ngati Hine have challenged the Crown throughout the Treaty Settlement process because of its lack of tikanga and whakapapa and the Crown's dictator style approach in decision making, while implicitly questioning at its core what exactly needs to be settled? According, if Ngati Hine did not give anything to the Crown, but the Crown stole and took what it wanted, what exactly is Ngati Hine claiming? *Te Tangi o Kawiti* provided the guide for Ngati Hine to challenge the Crown not only on individual, whanau and hapu claims and grievances but the overall Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement regime. Not merely seeking redress of the grievances but an overhaul of New Zealand's constitution to address and ensure hapu rangatiratanga and sovereignty is enshrined (Adair, 2016; Bargh, 2007; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 2015).

³² Phrase taken from *Te Tangi o Kawiti*.

5.4 Ngati Hine Rangatiratanga

Ngati Hine rangatiratanga and sovereignty is for Ngati Hine to determine, not the Crown or the New Zealand government (Adair, 2016). The ngahere and all of Tane's kin is understood to be brought into being by Tane in his search for te "ira tangata" (Walker, 2004, pp.11-15). Te ao turoa the natural environment is interwoven with Maori axiology, the beliefs and values that charge Maori with the responsibility of care as kaitiaki. Ngati Hine whakatauki describe the interconnected relationship and values we hold as tangata whenua and kaitiaki of our geographical areas and beyond. These whakatauki include:

Ngati Hine pukepuke rau, he puke, he rangatira, he puke, he rangatira, he awa awa, he whanau; whenua rangatira.

These whakatauki bring together the natural environment, tribal leadership, the tribal family and the sovereignty and rangatiratanga Ngati Hine has over the tribal estate. These whakatauki are often spoken in whaikorero (formal speech) on marae.

Whakapapa, deeds and a responsibility to the wellbeing of the collective determine who the leaders and rangatira are (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, October 28, 2016). Arguably Ngati Hine leadership has been perceived by some as a cause for tension (Harawira, 2014). The leaders of Ngati Hine today are a mix of traditional leaders through the ariki rangatira hereditary lines and elected leaders who have dedicated decades to collective causes and the wellbeing of Ngati Hine. At times the leadership is debated and challenged. Iwi, hapu and whanau grapple with leadership at times, an example can be seen in groups like the Iwi Leaders Forum that are made up largely from runanga and board of trustee representatives and could be considered to reinforce Pakeha and colonial constructs that are mechanisms of further assimilation and colonisation.

Ngati Hine underpinnings are based on Maori tangata whenua tikanga and a Maori worldview, paradoxically many Pakeha forms of trusteeship also govern Ngati Hine entities and enterprises, with a board of trustee as governance. Moon (2001) states,

Trusteeship can work as a 'steering wheel' to direct economic development, but its long-term success depends on the various checks and balances to the trustees' power working effectively, and the ongoing and active participation of the whole community in their relationship with the trustees (p.6).

Trusteeship as part of social-reorganisation and adaptation to a modern and contemporary context has some merits. This includes the role to define community goals and bring ‘order’ on the community to achieve economic development (Moon, 2001). However, abuse by trustees who work for self-interest over the community interest can arise. So, while Ngati Hine rangatiratanga stems from a Maori worldview and whakapapa that extends beyond Kawiti and Hineamaru, paradoxically and arguably there are aspects of Ngati Hine leadership in a contemporary setting that have been adopted by Pakeha and western ideologies, that bring ‘order’ and opportunities that Ngati Hine have also embraced.

Te Runanga o Ngati Hine connects to Te Maara a Hineamaru (translated as the garden of Hineamaru) which is Ngati Hine’s tribal council with representatives from at least 13 marae and several hapu ririki and Te Roopu Kaumatua me nga Kuia o Ngati Hine i raro i Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Adair, 2013; Nuttal & Shortland, 2008). Te Runanga o Ngati Hine has a board of trustees and Te Maara a Hineamaru, a tikanga based tribal council reflects two bodies working to embrace both Maori and Pakeha ideologies, where rangatiratanga and leadership work together for the wellbeing of the collective that also provide a space for individualism. These notions are reflected in kaupapa Maori theory (Smith, 1997; Smith, 2000).

Examining the text of Te Tiriti and British policy (Waitangi, 2014) it is absurd to imagine that a rangatira would cede their rangatiratanga and sovereignty. It is difficult to imagine that they would give all of their authority and power without reservation to a group of migrants even if representing the British Crown in 1840. It is difficult to explain how even one rangatira, let alone over 500 would enter such agreement at a time when Maori were prosperous as rangatira (Bishop, 1998; Mikaere, 2011; O’Malley, 2012; Salmond, 1993; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). *Te Tangi o Kawiti* provides insight into Ngati Hine rangatiratanga. To grasp and comprehend the depth of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* te reo Maori, practising tikanga and knowledge of whakapapa seems essential.

Pita discusses the value of te reo Maori and tikanga in relation to *Te Tangi o Kawiti*,

I think above all things when we hold onto the essence of who we are. One of the main ways that we do that is to articulate ourselves in our reo and in our tikanga where while in

terms of te reo when Ta Himi Henare said, “Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori”. There's no other way of looking at it. While I might be talking English now, you can't really express yourselves as a people and who you are unless you're really speaking Maori and the tikanga that goes with it (Pita Tipene, Interview, May 09, 2018).

Understanding te reo Maori and tikanga provides insight into the nature of rangatiratanga according to a Maori worldview. Pita suggests that when Kawiti says, “E te iwi” (Pita Tipene, Interview, May 09, 2018) in *Te Tangi o Kawiti* that Kawiti is urging his people as a collective of people to be strong together as a collective. Danaher, Schirato & Webb (2000) propose western and Pakeha societies think in a very individualist way. This notion of individualism has been at the cost of the collective wellbeing of whanau, hapu and iwi (Pihama, 2010). However, tenets of kaupapa Maori considers both the totality and holistic approach of Maori as a collective, and as individual members advancing the rangatanga of the collective (Smith, 1997; Smith, 2012). Examining these tensions provides insight into Ngati Hine's engagement with the Crown in a contemporary context and rangatiratanga.

Te Tangi o Kawiti affirms Ngati Hine rangatiratanga and sovereignty just as other hapu have purakau that affirm rangatiratanga and sovereignty that was never given to the Crown or the New Zealand government or any other representative body. The notion of rangatiratanga is in accordance to a Maori worldview. The Crown however continues to claim sovereignty of New Zealand and over Maori despite vehement protest and war since the Northern War and more recently in the Ngapuhi mandate urgent inquiry (Waitangi Tribunal, 2015). *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has been central to this contention.

Foucauldians³³ see the movement in dominant discourses and “practices of power from the sovereignty of the Classical age to the discipline of the governmentality in modern age” (Steinberg, 2016, p.476). Similarities can be drawn with Kawiti as rangatira in his era and the Crown attempting to shift power. “As Foucault famously proposed to study power and the state in modern age it was necessary to cut the head of the king” (Steinberg 2016, pp.476-481). Similarities can be seen with the Crown and the New Zealand government seeking a settlement with Ngapuhi that

³³ Followers of the French philosopher Michel Foucault.

aims to shift rangatiratanga and sovereignty from hapu, like Ngati Hine over to the Crown and the New Zealand government. However, this has not happened because of resistance from hapu like Ngati Hine.

Tohe described how Maihi Paraone Kawiti affirmed rangatiratanga and outlined to the government the Ngati Hine area in 1876 declaring Te Porowini o Ngati Hine, “I mua. You had the government boundaries and then you had the Ngati Hine boundaries. So we were in those boundaries that no government was allowed to come into that area” (Tohe Ashby, Interview, March 23, 2018). *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has been a constant reminder of the truth of power in the country. Season-Mary discusses this further in reference to the location of Kawiti’s signature on Te Tiriti o Waitangi,

...he puts his tohu as my understanding at the top of the document which is the message to everybody yeah I am sovereign. I'm of my land. No one is above me. So he signs it at the time, top of Te Tiriti is my understanding and what that symbolises to the Crown was you know that he is the chief in his land. No one else. He did sign on assurances that his authority was going to remain intact (Season-Mary Downs, Interview, May 17, 2018).

Ngati Hine rangatiratanga is guaranteed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi when Kawiti signed with the sacred marks of “Ta Kawiti, ko te maaka o te ngu o tana ihu” (Kawiti, 1956, p.44) the scrolls on Kawiti's nose, part of his moko. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* has been a consistent reminder of that rangatiratanga. However, the Crown and the New Zealand government continue to deny that hapu like Ngati Hine maintain rangatiratanga and sovereignty. Joey discusses how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* gives insight into Ngati Hine rangatiratanga even though it has been undermined by the Crown and New Zealand government,

The untruths of our people of today too. The proper stories of what our people endured in their battles and how we've been falsely mentioned in history. In the battles, of some of those wonderful battles he done along with our people and that “trample hatred” I find that they twisted the stories and made the arts of war. Yet you know we beat them. So the hatred, of you know, being trampled under our feet or under your feet. There goes with that you “do not dishonour your ancestors peace memorials in greenstone” and all those sort of stuff ... Not to lead astray and do anything dishonouring to our tupuna.

Yeah “observe the white objects of the sea”. I think that that's the ships, the sails. That's come to us. And you shall be Pakeha boys. That's them trying to convert us into being a Pakeha and wanting, him wanting, to stay who we are. Our blood is Maori, Ngati Hine and we should always stay that. You can't be part of his uri but be somebody else (Joseph Rapana, Interview, May 07, 2018).

Te Tangi o Kawiti warns that Ngati Hine people would come under the threat of being subsumed into Pakeha ways. In some accounts as slaves of Pakeha or like Pakeha boys but to hold fast to the truth of who they are and to not forget their ngakau nui (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018). Ngati Hine rangatiratanga is for Ngati Hine to define and not the Crown, their role, from a Maori perspective is to maintain order and peace with Pakeha and tauiwi communities, to adhere to lores and tikanga of Maori tangata whenua as part of the extended whanau and kaitiaki of the whenua and te taiao.

5.5 *Te Tangi o Kawiti* binds Ngati Hine and the Crown

Te Tangi o Kawiti was spoken shortly after the battle of Ruapekapeka in 1846. The British casualties were over 40 and around 30 Maori wounded and killed (Martin, 1990). After the battle peace was negotiated and a reconciliation with Tamati Waka Nene. Kawiti composed *Te Taku Ate a Kawiti* where he expressed his thoughts around the division within Ngapuhi and the lack of support from factions of Ngapuhi against the British. Kawiti also acknowledges the right and mana each rangatira held in their area. The context surrounding *Te Tangi o Kawiti* provides some of the wairua, mauri and ahua that can be associated to the meanings and whakaaro of *Te Tangi o Kawiti*. It is difficult to estimate the sense of loss Kawiti may have felt. He had already lost his son Taura in a previous battle and the aroha he had for his people of Ngapuhi nui tonu and Ngati Hine is immeasurable. Following the battle of Ruapekapeka in a story taken from an ex soldier's diary Kawiti was resolute, when Kawiti was asked if he had enough of the fighting he said,

“If you have had enough I have had enough, but if you have not had enough then I have not had enough either”. The pakeha replied, “You are a noble sort of a New Zealand savage” (Kawiti, 1956, p.45).

This korero provides for some insight into the nature of the developing relationship between the Crown and Ngati Hine. Mihiwira Maria suggests that *Te Tangi o Kawiti* binds people together and over the years that is what it has done. She discusses Bob Marley's *One Love* song,

Yeah *One Love* and that's what Maori are well known for aroha. It's supposed to be. I don't know how Maori lost their one love. They had either kino or love. Yeah they gave up the kino for love. ...its part of their genes Ama...the Maori, our ancestors...that aroha (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018).

Following *Te Tangi o Kawiti* the notion of peace-making was paramount and Mihiwira Maria valued how her father was named Poai Pakeha. She suggests that Poai Pakeha is symbolic of a tension, which runs through this thesis,

It just suggests that we can't dwell on warfare, to find a solution to any of our problems we have to be happy with the peace. Peace. Aye. Peace is the only thing that gives us value to our life, value, true value to our life. Peace, aye, true? (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018).

Te Tangi o Kawiti is multi-faceted and riddled. It is an integral purakau and part of Ngati Hine identity that links into the wider relationships with Ngapuhi nui tonu and other hapu and purakau. Which are fundamental to Maori identity. Kawiti's *Te Tangi o Kawiti* is a taonga tuku iho, korero tuku iho, a pedagogy, prophecy, oath, ohaki, tikanga and a consistent guide that Ngati Hine continues to draw on for strength. It has been revitalised through the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement processes. While these processes have been Crown constructed and have trampled on the mana of hapu rangatiratanga and the papa pounamu that Kawiti describes in *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, Ngati Hine have actively engaged with the Crown in a bid to maintain peace in what is known in Ngati Hine and Ngapuhi as houhou te rongopai (Adair, 2016).

Ngati Hine's collaboration with other hapu, through Te Kotahitanga o Nga Hapu o Ngapuhi during the Treaty claims and mandating processes is evidence of a shift from a static oppressed reality. Pushing beyond what Freire (2000) describes as "limit situations" (p.99) and as "co-creators of a reality in process, in transformation" (p.83) with the Crown. Ngati Hine's assertion of mana, resistance in critical and significant moments but ultimately remaining actively engaged in critical dialogue with the Crown has seen in the Treaty Settlement process revolutionary techniques. Those techniques reflect Freire's (2000) notions of cooperation, organisation, unity and cultural synthesis. This is also seen, in the under acknowledged collaborative and collective approach to forming the Maranga Mai Report (Maranga Mai Engagement Group, 2016) and the collaboration and cohesion seen at many hapu hui held in Ngapuhi as part of the Evolved Ngapuhi Mandate Proposal rolled out by Te Roopu Tuhono in 2018.

The Treaty Settlement process has often negated tikanga Maori and trampled on the mana of hapu. The process drew Ngapuhi together with a common goal to challenge the Crown and the New

Zealand government's stance on sovereignty over hapu. Asserting hapu rangatiratanga and demanding co-design of Treaty settlements, redress and constitutional transformation of Aotearoa, Nu Tirenī, New Zealand remains a challenge. However, according to the accounts of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* as part of the analysis of this study, this must be done in such a way where warfare or bloodshed does not occur again as seen in the battle of Ruapekapeka and told in purakau.

Ngati Hine remains vigilant at all times and the war or battle is not over. However, the war has changed in nature where the conflict is with ourselves and with others, with fears that Ngati Hine will end up being Pakeha. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* urges Ngati Hine and other hapu to retain who they are as a people. However, a sour taste of distrust between the Crown and Ngati Hine continues to surface as the Crown through the New Zealand government continues to attempt to assimilate and control Ngati Hine, despite Ngati Hine rangatiratanga and sovereignty being guaranteed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi and *Te Tangi o Kawiti*.

The thesis highlights tension and tolerance between Ngati Hine and the Crown. There is no simple resolution to reconcile the tension or the differences but merely an acknowledgement that these tensions exist provides a pathway of understanding. This acknowledgement of difference gives space for appreciation. It is the appreciation of difference that binds and gives way for peace to settle in.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter analysed several aspects relating to the case study of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* and its impact on Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown in the Treaty settlement process. It discussed the impacts of colonisation and where the early settlement of Pakeha was mostly welcomed and Maori were enthusiastic (O'Malley, 2012). However, these early encounters of prosperity were smashed by the Crown's lies and manipulation that lead to Ngati Hine resistance, including the battle of Ruapekapeka. *Te Tangi o Kawiti* was spoken shortly after the battle and its revitalisation emerging in contemporary times as seen in Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement processes.

An understanding of rangatiratanga means that Ngati Hine would never cede their rangatiratanga or sovereignty to the Crown, despite the Crown and the New Zealand government constantly trying

to control and subsume Ngati Hine and other hapu into their systems of settlements that ultimately removes sovereignty from hapu. The participants data was utilised in this chapter, using the methodological approaches of kaupapa Maori, hermeneutics and qualitative research. What emerges is that despite colonisation, resistance in the processes of the Crown constructed Treaty claims, inquiry, mandating and settlement processes, *Te Tangi o Kawiti* binds Ngati Hine and the Crown in many ways. There is tension in the tolerance of Ngati Hine, engaging with the Crown, while resisting aspects of Crown processes that undermine rangatiratanga.

WHAKAMUTUNGA

Chapter 6 - Conclusion

This thesis articulates some of the different tensions and tolerances that Ngati Hine navigates with the Crown. The research was driven by the key question, How does *Te Tangi o Kawiti* impact Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown in the Treaty Settlement process? The research investigates how Te Ruki Kawiti's 1846 ohaki (final speech, lament or prophesy), *Te Tangi o Kawiti* still impacts Ngati Hine resistance activities and contemporary engagement with the Crown in the Treaty claims, mandate and settlement processes. The research revealed different tensions and tolerances and discloses a mutual sense of resistance yet engagement between the Crown and Ngati Hine.

The general Pakeha or western convention when it comes to literature reviews acknowledges that written published materials are reviewed and is a body of knowledge (Cooper, 2012; Marie & Haig, 2006). Whole paradigms can be reviewed and all the literature in it and its evolution is generally what constitutes literature reviews. One of the important contributions this thesis makes is that it combines a western model of literature with an indigenous and Maori understanding of what constitutes literature. In this instance oral forms of purakau and korero tuku iho. This is seen in the place names, people's names, ohaki and whakapapa in this thesis. Weaving those two forms of literature validates both of them. When combined they produce a form of literature that encompasses both worlds, that is transcultural and enhances our understanding and also presents a model that other researchers in the future can adapt for their work.

This lack of recognition of wider forms of literature means a wealth of knowledge is yet to be explored within whanau, hapu and iwi (Adair, 2016; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Martin, 1990; Martin, 1993; Martin, 1998; Milne, 2009; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). Purakau, kaupapa Maori research, te reo Maori, tikanga and whakapapa provide important pathways to navigate through the tensions that researchers face when examining kaupapa Maori topics. Tensions that extends to Pakeha, western and non-Maori researchers that struggle to grasp concepts from a different

worldview, epistemology, ontology, axiology and whakapapa (Adair, 2016; Cooper, 2012; Marie & Haig, 2006; Moon, 2004).

Ngati Hine rangatiratanga and sovereignty is affirmed in *Te Tangi o Kawiti* from 1846, yet its history and relevance to New Zealand's constitution has been negated, marginalised and deliberately ignored by the Crown and the New Zealand government as part of the machinery of colonisation and assimilation (Adair, 2016; Henry & Pene, 2001; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). This has created a tension so great that has seen a modern-day war within the people through the Crown constructed Treaty claims, mandate and settlement processes. Unlike the battle of Ruapekapeka of 1845 that saw the last physical war from Kawiti's people and their allies, in a contemporary context psychological warfare has been engaged by the Crown in a modern-day battle seen between Ngati Hine and the Crown in the Treaty claims, mandate and settlement processes.

Kawiti a paramount rangatira of the North, did not wish for his people to be restricted by the Governor (Kawiti, 1956; Ngati Hine Evidence, 2014) and the Crown. He was reluctant to sign Te Tiriti o Waitangi, however his people urged him to do so and he responded to his people at that time (Martin, 1990). A time where Maori were prosperous and had a strong sense of identity as tangata whenua, kaitiaki and as descendants who connect directly to atua (Adair, 2016; Henare, Middleton & Puckey, 2013; Iwi Puihi Tipene, personal communication, August 8, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 1997). *Te Tangi o Kawiti* was uttered after the battle of Ruapekapeka and advocates and affirms Ngati Hine freedom and sovereignty. It is laden with peace, compassion and aroha (Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018) with a reminder to not lose the essence of who Kawiti's people were before the arrival of Pakeha.

These ideas, conclusions and all of the literature that integrates with the case study in the previous chapters and the fact that they link is significant and important components of this thesis. The fact that there are theoretical links to the ideas that are manifested in practice makes an important contribution to the literature on this topic, not only for kaupapa Maori and indigenous research but for Pakeha, science and western researchers to engage with. This case study is innovative and unprecedented in the combination of ideas to the case study, this has not been done in this way before and has been an intricate, emotional and complex undertaking and process. This work ties

kaupapa Maori, qualitative research and hermeneutics in a manner not seen before that reveals Ngati Hine resistance in both written and oral form. A significant feature of this research is that it combines purakau and oral literature with written literature in examining *Te Tangi o Kawiti* from 1846 and its impact on Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown. This broader view of literature provides a wider lens through which some of these acts of resistance can be described.

However, resistance in this thesis is not a clear-cut linear process in this study. Ngati Hine resists the Crown but arguably the Crown has resisted Ngati Hine and Ngati Hine have tolerated the Crown and the New Zealand government's behaviour since Te Tiriti o Waitangi and earlier. The resistance is seen in relation to Ngati Hine responses to a forced mandate pushing for a settlement. Where Ngati Hine have engaged in the Crown process but at the same time resisted the Crown in aspects of the mandating and settlement processes. Resistance from both sides, creates a dynamic tension.

The tension is not easily resolved because if you are from Ngati Hine you are a part of the process through resistance, but you are also apart from the process as rangatira and sovereign. This tension is collective but probably within every person engaged in the Treaty claims, inquiry, mandate and settlement processes and as Ngati Hine. People both want to be part of their understanding of a settlement or redress, part of a good mandate, while at the same time there is a bubbling up of resistance to the whole process, because the Crown has forced this process. Through the law and legislation, the Crown have imposed on Maori tangata whenua and Ngati Hine over time (Adair, 2016, Downs & Jamieson, 2017, Ngati Hine Evidence, 2014). Different understandings are seen in the differences between Te Tiriti and The Treaty in the Maori and the English language versions. As much as people have said Ngati Hine were all involved in these processes, it is the Crown that has forced the process (Nathan, 2014; Moon, 2004; Waitangi Tribunal, 2015) because from a Ngati Hine perspective as rangatira we do not need the process to be sovereign in this whenua, the Crown that needs hapu like Ngati Hine to agree for them to be here.

The Crown continually pushes Ngapuhi to settle under the Crown's notions of settlement. The Crown imports or creates settlement mediators and processes such as the Evolved Ngapuhi Mandate Proposal in 2018. The Crown's relentless push has largely created the resistance and this

sense of tension. This thesis reveals an ongoing tension for members of Ngati Hine since the time of *Te Tangi o Kawiti* where the Crown has resisted Kawiti and Ngati Hine. It is arguable the notion of tension could be further viewed as tolerance Ngati Hine has displayed by not entering into physical warfare since the battle of Ruapekapeka. Words such as ‘ata noho’ and ‘rongo’ as seen in the preamble of Te Tiriti o Waitangi provide some insight into this tolerance from Maori and hapu like Ngati Hine. A tolerance of the Crown and the New Zealand government despite the ongoing psychological warfare that has manifested itself and can be seen in the compounded orangatanga, health and extreme incarceration statistics of Maori, this amplifies the implication of tolerance Maori and Ngati Hine have endured at the hands of Pakeha, the Crown and the New Zealand government as part of assimilation and colonisation. Pakeha tolerance of Pakeha hegemony and ignorance to purakau and Maori ways of knowing compounds the tolerance to shift into tension.

The purakau of the participants in this study acknowledges this notion of tolerance or peace as Mihiwira Maria Jakeman described as ‘houhou te rongo pai’ (Adair, 2016). However, if the tension goes unacknowledged there will be a constant tension, resistance, fight or struggle. Once it is revealed and where possible resolved then there is no tension. The ongoing tension comes through in this thesis and is an axiomatic feature of this project that has increased over time which all aspects in the study hinge on.

This notion of tension threaded throughout this thesis relates to an idea of two cultural views of literature. An indigenous view and a western or Pakeha view of literature and the tension that exists between those worldviews. For example, who validates oral literature? Western notions would argue no one, it is either literature or it is spoken (Cooper, 2012; Marie & Haig, 2006; Smith, 2012). However, this thesis proposes a new wider recognition of literature, which recognises a transcript is not just a transcribed interview where people are merely talking. Moreso that it is a knowledge base that is being transcribed and is equivalent to any other knowledge base. The choice to write this thesis largely in English is another tension and could be interpreted further as the manifestation of colonisation (Fanon, 2004; Freire, 2000; wa Thiong’o, 1986). The way the thesis uses both te reo Maori and English is reflective of this tension, an attempt to alleviate some of the shame and guilt associated with writing a kaupapa Maori topic predominantly in English, when the mana of many aspects in the study that would more naturally be understood in Maori.

A further tension exists between Ngati Hine as part of Ngapuhi nui tonu in Te Tai Tokerau and extends to the wider Maori people, tangata whenua. The Crown exploits these tensions and is a key contributor to tension that creates the resistance. These different tensions overlap between individuals, whanau, hapu and iwi and can change from one day to the next. The tension continues as the Crown and New Zealand government continue to negate and ignore Ngati Hine's sovereignty and rangatiratanga.

Rangatiratanga and Ngati Hine sovereignty is affirmed by *Te Tangi o Kawiti*, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, He Whakaputanga and in purakau (Adair, 2016). However, a tension also exists that seeks to clarify who are the leaders of Ngati Hine and Ngapuhi. Are they traditional hereditary leaders or are they elected leaders based on colonial constructs? In examining the text of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and British policy there is no question that rangatira did not cede their sovereignty (Adair, 2016; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). This is memorialised in *Te Tangi o Kawiti*. Kawiti, paramount rangatira of the time would not give his mana and authority over to the Crown in 1840. It is absurd to think that Kawiti would even consider giving over his sovereignty and mana to the Crown, nor any other of over 500 other rangatira who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Treaty at that time (Adair, 2016; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). The Waitangi Tribunal (2014) report reflects that in 1840 the idea was for the Crown to govern Pakeha settlers and not Maori and there was no apparent intention of governing anyone else.

This thesis does not attempt to offer a tidy, definitive, nicely bounded sweet, neat or completely resolved solution to Ngati Hine's experience. In a sense it takes the edges of the fabric and frays them. There cannot be, given the research carried out in this thesis, a neat resolution because the tensions cannot be overcome in a tidy or completely bound way. There will always be a source or pu (Figure 7) of action from tension. Without tension there is no compulsion to do anything. Everything is settled. The problem is in the context of this thesis it is difficult to come up with an easy resolution. This thesis does not attempt to either.

Essentially what is apparent from all of these tensions between hapu within the iwi, between the iwi and others seeking a mandate, between the notion of traditional leadership in hapu and iwi

versus more modern colonised forms of leadership where leaders are elected, the tension between the Crown, iwi and hapu, the tension between Maori and Pakeha, the tension between different systems of knowledge that is examined throughout this thesis, the tension between different types of literature which we use as a lens to interpret events. All of these sorts of tensions are part and parcel of identity and whakapapa. These are not necessarily problems to be fixed, they can be considered markers of what constitutes being Ngati Hine and how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* contributes to that.

The resistance tension theme that runs through this thesis adds to the literature on this topic. It is questionable as to who is resisting who. A rock does not resist, it is simply there. While this thesis points out the significance of tension and resistance, it must be noted that another lens is that Ngati Hine are like rocks, who have weathered the Crown and the New Zealand government but that tolerance is waning and resistance and tension has reared itself again, as seen before by Kawiti in the battle of Ruapekapeka and the Cold War. Most literature around Treaty Settlements is about how to settle, how to overcome the problem (Bargh, 2007; Jones, 2016; Moon, 2004). The mandate discussions focus on how to get a mandate, how to act together, how to satisfy all the parties. But it is apparent is that it is almost impossible, and possibly to do so would be to deny the essence of who Ngati Hine are because as rangatira and sovereign we do not need a mandate from the Crown to be as we are in Nu Tireni, Aotearoa, New Zealand. It is the Crown who need Ngati Hine, and other iwi and hapu, to allow them to be here.

The tension begins to appear everywhere. The Ngapuhi Evolved Mandate proposal rolled out by Te Roopu Tuhono in 2018, forced Ngati Hine to vote. Creating a tension that saw komiri tangata and sorting out Ngapuhi people. The tension is necessary to the Crown and the New Zealand government as they continue to undermine hapu rangatiratanga. The Crown processes as seen in the Evolved Ngapuhi Mandate proposal process invaded whanau, hapu and iwi tikanga. In some cases, voting at marae was carried out in a way that traumatised whanau with stories of leadership being nominated largely through the Crown process on behalf of the hapu that trampled on the people. As an insider researcher I witnessed the processes personally while attending several hui during the project.

The issues of tension cannot be smoothed over in the Crown's processes in these kinds of attempts because they are Crown forced and driven. This thesis exposes these tensions in a way that no other literature has done before. When you discuss resistance, resistance comes from tension because if you do not have tension you do not have a reason to resist. Therefore, beyond what is written in this thesis, there is a greater significance of tension, resistance and tolerance. This thesis can be viewed somewhat like a platform that projects from that platform some significant ideas and notions of tensions and tolerances. The purakau of seven participants has provided rich insight into these notions and how *Te Tangi o Kawiti* impacts Ngati Hine resistance to the Crown in the Treaty Settlement process.

Further Research

This research is significant as it allows others to pick up and continue into other areas for further research. The notions of sovereignty and rangatiratanga in a contemporary context is an opportunity for further research, which acknowledges the tensions and tolerances and how existing Crown constructs and institutions can support hapu rangatiratanga as a means of restoring mana that was ravaged through colonisation and assimilation.

Another area of study could be on whakapapa and identity to explore what constitutes hapu identity and how the Treaty settlement process impacts hapu, particularly as hapu did not cede their sovereignty (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). As Jones (2016) has observed, "While there is significant body of literature that examines the Waitangi Tribunal claims process, there is surprisingly little that addresses the mechanics of the settlement process" (pp.21-22), this is another area for further study.

There could be more work done around defining oral literature and purakau in an extensive, systematic written way that allow researchers, including non-Maori, to engage with in similar types of research projects, for example in either kaupapa Maori research or western, scientific research.

Further research into people as the holders of knowledge as a valid knowledge base rather than relying primarily on written literature. The ability to speak te reo Maori, practising tikanga and

physically connecting with Maori participants in research. These are all areas of further research that this thesis has built a platform for more work in this area.

This research is significant for Ngati Hine and the Crown and it does not end here. In fact, it opens up room for all sorts of other exploration to continue. It can be considered an ongoing matter relating back to the tensions and tolerances within this thesis. Part of the value of this thesis is that other people may use it in the future. Specifically, they can use it to combine kaupapa Maori with non-Maori research methods. The thesis can be used as a basis for purakau and korero tuku iho, for written and western literature to consider oral literature just as valid.

This research makes significant advances in the way literature is used to reveal tension in Treaty settlement process, both in terms of the cultural conflicts in securing a mandate and in terms of traditional leadership versus colonised leadership. Advances have been made in applying the literature to this particular case study and draws on what Kawiti's ohaki as a motif for Ngati Hine's situation. These sorts of ideas and notions can be considered outlets for people to do more research. Mauri ora. Ko te mutunga, ko te timatanga.

Participant/Informant/Whanaunga Interviews

Mihiwira Maria Jakeman, Interview, February 25, 2018

Manuwai Mariana Wells, Interview, March 13, 2018

Tohe Ashby, Interview, March 23, 2018

Kene Hine Te Uira Martin, Written Response Pre-Interview, April 18, 2018

Joseph Rapana, Interview, May 07, 2018

Pita Tipene, Interview, May 09, 2018

Season-Mary Downs, Interview, May 17, 2018

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